

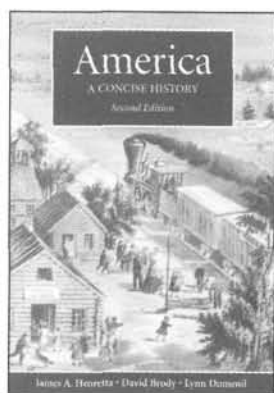
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In This Issue

This issue contains five articles and a review essay. The articles analyze the role of clothing in the triumph of American capitalism, changing Western notions of time in the nineteenth century, the sexual brutality of American slavery, Stalin as a man of the Russian borderlands, and the tensions between exceptionalism and globalism in the telling of American history. The review essay examines the contributions of Frankfurt School theorist Walter Benjamin to studies of the past. In addition, the issue contains our usual array of book and film reviews.

Articles

Michael Zakim explores the place of capitalism in the American political tradition through an analysis of clothing in colonial and antebellum America. He does so to demonstrate the depth and significance of the triumph of capitalism in the United States. And he also challenges those who assert the existence of a persistent pre-commercial ethos in the American republic. Such assertions, he argues, deny the revolutionary nature of capitalism. By chronicling the place of clothing and clothing styles in the development of American capitalism, Zakim demonstrates how they can be used to chart economic and political change as well as the links between the two, such as the emergence of ideas like market freedom. Similarly, he contends that the transformative sartorial changes also reveal the depth of capitalism's domination of American life through its power to commodify culture. Zakim's essay thus contributes to studies that compel us to understand the ordering power of the marketplace and of commercial values in the past.

Peter Fritzsche analyzes the reorganization of the Western sense of time over the course of the nineteenth century. He argues that as a result of the French Revolution history began to be recognized as a comprehensive force of irreversible change, which invited contemporaries in the West to recognize and dramatize their public and private lives in historical terms. This new sense of irreversibility also produced widely felt feelings of nostalgia that mourned the past and acknowledged that it could be repossessed only in fragmentary form. Thus, for many Westerners, history came to be regarded as a marauding force that produced ruins, which were no longer interpreted as signs of natural decay and regeneration, as they had been in the eighteenth century, but rather as evidence of untimely deaths, ghostly

presences, and alternative lives. Looking at popular autobiographies, Fritzsche stresses the social scale of these new ideas of historical change, particularly how an emphasis on the violence of historical ruptures enabled contemporaries to view alternatives in the records and thereby to undermine the imperatives of the present. Changes like these, he contends, facilitated the creation of a field of difference in which the ideas of temporal periodicity, national particularity, and individual sovereignty flourished. Fritzsche's essay thus contributes to the history of the discipline of history and to the study of the ways in which historical thinking have fashioned modern subjectivity.

Edward E. Baptist studies the records of one of the largest slave-trading firms in the United States during the boom years right before the Panic of 1837 to understand the multiple meanings, values, and attractions of slaves. In the letters of the men who ran these profitable businesses, he finds language and evidence of acts of terror and tyranny that suggest both commodity and sexual fetishism. Baptist argues that such acts and words reveal more than the psyches of a few traders, because the men were not just significant slave dealers but also powerful planters. Significantly, he maintains that the letters document twin urges of rape and commodification that reveal sources of white motivations in slavery quite different from the paternalistic ideology that many scholars have advanced in recent decades. In addition, Baptist suggests that there was an interconnection between the origins and growth of the modern concept of commodity and the pervasive sexualization of black bodies. His essay thus challenges our understandings of both slavery and the development of colonization and industrialization in the Anglo-Atlantic world.

Alfred J. Rieber adds a new dimension to the picture of Joseph Stalin. He argues that the Soviet leader must also be considered a man of the borderlands in addition to being depicted as a bureaucratic tyrant and mass killer. Rieber uses frame analysis and studies of ethnic and personal identity to draw a relationship between Stalin's construction of his own multiple identity and his concept of state building. He focuses on three aspects of Stalin's self-presentation: the Georgian (cultural), the symbolic proletarian (social), and the Great Russian (political). Through an analysis of these dimensions of Stalin's self-identity, Rieber tracks the complex process by which the Soviet leader layered real and falsified events during his uncharted "pilgrimage" from the periphery to the core of the Russian Empire and the revolutionary movement. He emphasizes Stalin's pseudonyms as a clue to tracing stages in this process. Rieber concludes that Stalin developed a new concept of a polyethnic, proletarian state that embodied all three aspects of his self-identity. At the same time, he maintains, that concept also served as a legitimating principle in Stalin's struggle for power and maintenance of control over the international communist movement and the Soviet Union. Rieber's essay thus contributes to our understanding of a central figure in modern world history as well as of biography as a method of analyzing the past.

Michael Adas asserts that most of the contributions to the substantial literature and equally substantial controversies over American exceptionalism have been offered

by scholars with European orientations or comparativists who include examples from the United States in their studies. The result, he argues, is the neglect of a fundamental paradox that has been in the literature of exceptionalism since the earliest days of North American colonization: on the one hand, the vision of the American nation as a social and political experiment without precedent or parallel in global history, and, on the other hand, the belief that the American experience represents the vanguard of human history and a model for all humankind. Drawing on evidence from the histories of other settler societies and key themes in the history of non-Western peoples and cultures with which the United States has increasingly interacted, Adas analyzes the tensions between exceptionalism and globalism from a new perspective and addresses neglected issues raised by that inquiry. He interrogates claims of American exceptionalism through an assessment of two of the more definitive, even mythic processes in U.S. history: colonial settlement and frontier expansion. In each case, Adas demonstrates that although American experiences reveal differences, they were by no means exceptional when placed in a comparative and global perspective. And he argues that patterns in the United States can be better understood within this larger frame of reference and, conversely, that an American dimension is critical for a full understanding of world history in the early modern and modern eras. Adas's essay thus compels us to ponder the sources and implications of segregating the United States past from the rest of world history.

Review Essay

Vanessa R. Schwartz uses the translation of Walter Benjamin's unfinished *Arcades Project* into English as an occasion to consider what his work might offer historians more generally. While recognizing that no unitary explanation of history can guide the historian's craft, she argues that Benjamin's insights can move cultural history in a new direction: toward the visual. Benjamin's life story has been of interest to historians as an example of the many losses to intellectual life that resulted from Hitler's rise. His work has already been placed in the intellectual context of his colleagues, who formed what came to be known as the Frankfurt School. While art historians and literary and film studies scholars long ago turned to Benjamin to understand the transformation of urban modernity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, historians have lagged behind. Schwartz offers a guide to some of Benjamin's most salient ideas for historians, notably by drawing a connection between his interest in capitalism and urban spectatorship, the rise of film, and a more potentially imaginistic and aphoristic materialist historical methodology. Schwartz's essay is thus both a very compelling analysis of Benjamin's work and an equally compelling argument about how historians can use his work in their interrogations of the past.

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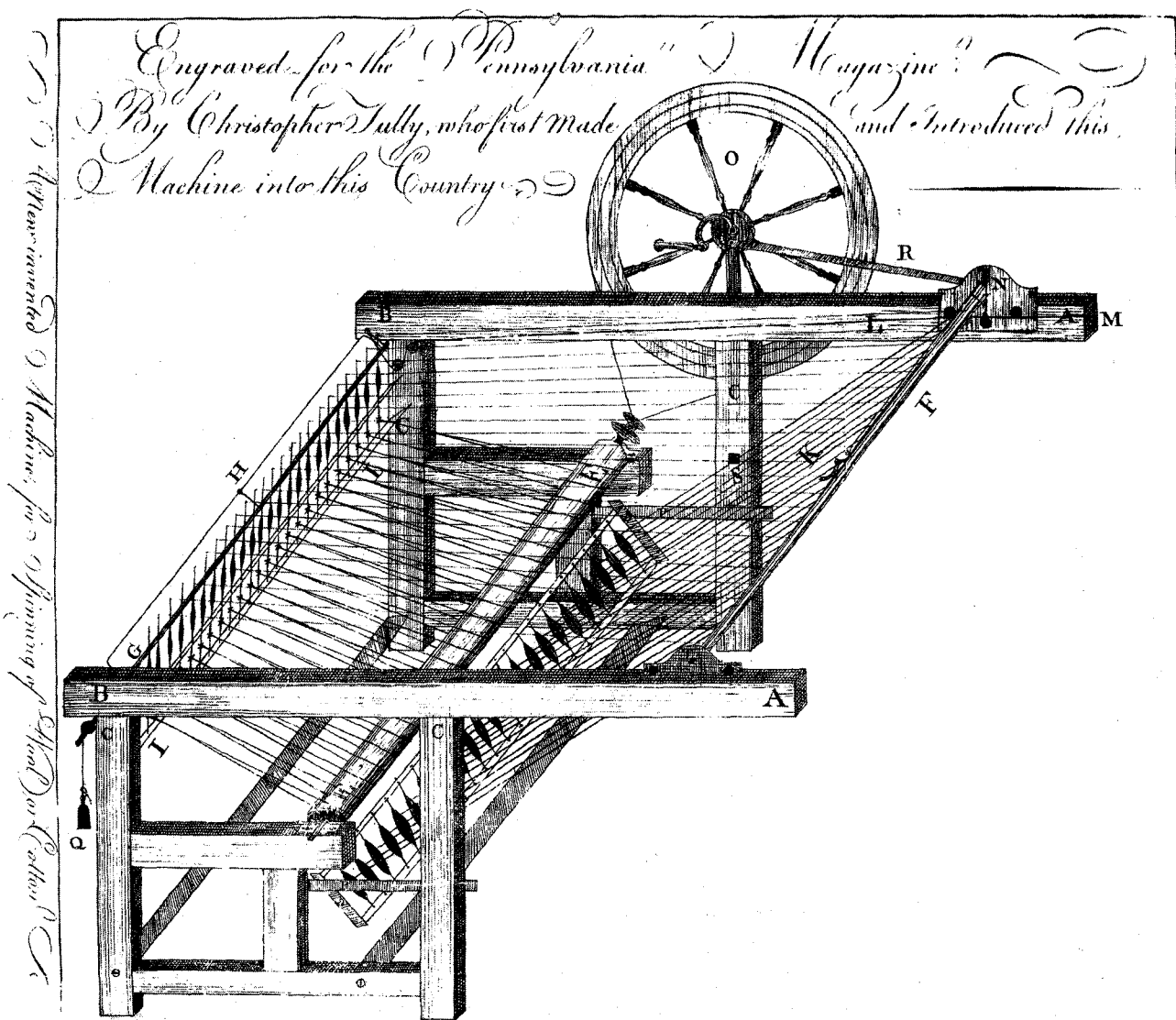
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FRONTISPIECE: A Spinning Machine. An exciting vision of the homespun future, as presented in 1775 in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, edited by Tom Paine. Courtesy of the William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Sartorial Ideologies: From Homespun to Ready-Made

MICHAEL ZAKIM

THE PLACE OF CLOTHING IN THE POLITICAL IMAGINATION is a familiar one. We need only recall Gandhi's mobilization of the spinning wheel as a symbol of colonial resistance, almost two hundred years after the Americans first employed it against the same empire, to recognize how clothing has consistently served as both material and metaphor for the social question. When sovereignty was located in the king's body, for example, courtiers' access to his toilette—to the appareling of that body—signaled their proximity to power. When such embodied monarchical authority began to wane, Goethe's Romantic individual, Werther, appeared on the scene in an anti-courtly ensemble of blue jacket, yellow vest, and leather breeches, which soon became a popular style of bourgeois masculinity. Indeed, a historical inventory of sartorial politics constitutes an impressive list of classical togas, liberty caps, silk stockings, sans-culottes, bloomers, brown shirts, denim jeans, Mao jackets, and burning bras.¹

The elevation of homespun to a political ideology in America on the eve of independence was an especially striking expression of the wider social implications of dress. Breaking flax and shearing sheep, and then transforming the raw fibers into cloth through a chain of tasks mobilizing the entire family, rehearsed the republican credo of propertied independence. When yeomen donned the coarse products of their home industry, they embodied an equally republican frugality. In both instances, the homespun constituted a conscious opposition to British luxury and corruption. In so doing, it also bridged the dual meaning of "domestic manufactures"—tying the productive efforts of the household to those of the

The author wishes to acknowledge the critical contributions of Eric Foner, Elizabeth Blackmar, and Richard Bushman to this essay. In addition, thanks are due to the Charlotte W. Newcombe Foundation for important financial support. Early versions of "Sartorial Ideologies" were presented to the Electronic Text Services Series of Columbia University, and at the Tzaharei Yom Gimel seminar of the School of History, Tel Aviv University.

¹ For Gandhi's conviction that the *khadi* would bring "economic freedom and equality of all," see M. K. Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj and Other Writings*, Anthony J. Parel, ed. (Cambridge, 1997), 173–74; Norbert Elias, "Etiquette and Ceremony: Conduct and Sentiment of Human Beings as Functions of the Power Structure of Their Society," in Elias, *The Court Society*, Edmund Jephcott, trans. (New York, 1983), 78–116; Daniel Purdy, *The Tyranny of Elegance: Consumer Cosmopolitanism in the Era of Goethe* (Baltimore, 1998), 147–79. On the political role of dress in liberal democracies, see Stuart Ewen and Elizabeth Ewen, *Channels of Desire: Mass Images and the Shaping of American Consciousness* (Minneapolis, 1992), 75–187; Gilles Lipovetsky, *The Empire of Fashion: Dressing Modern Democracy*, Catherine Porter, trans. (Princeton, N.J., 1994); Philippe Perrot, *Fashioning the Bourgeoisie: A History of Clothing in the Nineteenth Century*, Richard Bienvenu, trans. (Princeton, 1994). For a more idiosyncratic, and insightful, rumination on the significance of clothing, see Peter Stallybrass, "Worn Worlds: Clothes, Mourning, and the Life of Things," *Yale Review* 81 (1993).

nation—thus also becoming a most tangible expression of the citizen's attachment to the public's happiness.

Such coarseness did not long remain in the wardrobe, particularly not among those political classes who talked most about it. Nevertheless, homespun exhortations of industry and simplicity became a fixture of American ideological discourse over the following century. By then, the mass-produced suit emerged as the badge of a uniquely virtuous American polity, the only place in the civilized world where people could not be classed by their appearance, as contemporaries never tired of explaining. Plain woolen coats, vests, and pantaloons—the products of hundreds of men's clothing firms based in northern cities making up one of the country's most valuable commodities—represented the same industriousness, modesty, resistance to fashion's corrupting influences, and common civic life that homespun had. The “simple dress of an American citizen,” in fact, emerged as a political slogan in the 1850s, referring to Benjamin Franklin's countrified appearance as American representative to the court of Versailles in 1776 as a model of civic behavior for life in an industrial democracy.

This essay traces the improbable evolution of homespun into its ostensible opposite, the ready-made. As such, it is an account of how sartorial virtue changed from homemade to mass-produced, how it moved from a Malthusian world of scarcity to a machine-driven cornucopia of plenty, how it no longer signaled the self-sacrifice of elites but, rather, the propertied mobility of all, and how, from being a family effort, it became a male prerogative—all the while continuing to represent the same transcendent notions of productive citizenship. This history of dress is, consequently, a political narrative of capitalist revolution and America's “great transformation” into a democracy—an attempt to understand how the industrial nation-state was credibly presented by its advocates as a legacy of the country's republican beginnings.²

A PATRIOT DONNED THE UNREFINED PRODUCTS of his household's labor in order to renounce imperial hubris and augment its antithesis, domestic manufactures. In 1765, Daniel Dulany declared that tyranny would be resisted with the “Spirit, and Vigour, and Alacrity” manifest in such productive efforts. In 1767, after British passage of the Townshend Acts seeking additional revenue from the colonies, Boston's town meeting voted to resuscitate linen production throughout the colony. Bounties were proposed for each yard of Massachusetts homespun produced. Newspapers published instructions for raising flax, the raw material for making linen, and in Providence, Rhode Island, a prize was offered to whomever produced the most. The goal was to “prevent the unnecessary Importation of European Commodities, which threaten the Country with Poverty and Ruin.” Mercantilist anxieties over the drain of specie and artisanal worries over competition from abroad were not the only concerns, however. Political principles no less informed the homespun campaign. As Benjamin Rush, president of the United Company of

² “Great transformation,” of course, is borrowed from Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* (Boston, 1944). Any similarity between Polanyi's book and this essay is intentional.

Philadelphia for Promoting American Manufactures, argued, "A people who are entirely dependent upon foreigners for food or clothes must always be subject to them."³

"Industry and Economy" were the antidote. They would ensure American independence, which meant that when "thirty-three respectable ladies . . . met about sunrise, with their wheels, to spend the day . . . in the laudable design of a spinning match," they became actors in the great revolutionary drama. "At an hour before sunset, the ladies then appearing neatly dressed, principally in homespun, a polite and generous repast of American production was set for their entertainment, after which . . . Mr. Jewett delivered a suitable and instructive discourse from Rom. xii. 11: 'Not Slothful in business; fervent in spirit; serving the Lord.'" The *Boston Gazette* reported in 1768 that a number of women from South Kingston, Narragansett, had been invited to the "House of a Gentleman of the first Rank and Figure in the Town, to celebrate the New-Year Anniversary in a festival Manner; where they all appeared in homespun Manufactures." Reports from Providence, Salisbury, Byfield, Newbury, Rowley, Ipswich, Beverly, and Boston told of Daughters of Liberty gathering to spin in coordinated displays of "industry" designed to "save their sinking country." Harvard College's graduating class of 1768 wore homespun at commencement ceremonies. So did the graduates at Yale and the College of Rhode Island. The *South Carolina Gazette* described the appearance in Charleston of a gentleman "completely clad in the Product and Manufacture of his own Plantation." In Virginia, too, genteeler types dressed in home manufactures in order to register their dissatisfaction with English imperial policy in America. Robert Wormely Carter wore a whole suit of clothes made by a favored slave that became the envy of Williamsburg. At the House of Burgesses' ball in December 1769, men and women effected "a genteel appearance . . . chiefly dressed in Virginia cloth." And a Virginian declared that "the Whirling of our Spinning Wheels afford us the most delightful Musick, and Man is the most respected who appears clad in Homespun; as such a Dress is a sure Evidence of Love to his Country." In the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, "A Freeborn American" was even more adamant. "The skin of a son of liberty will not feel the coarseness of a homespun shirt! The resolution of a Pennsylvanian 'should be made of sterner stuff' than to be frightened at the bug bear—fashion!"

"The bug bear—fashion" that so exercised "A Freeborn American" was the thoughtless emulation of metropolitan style. It was fueled by love of luxury and was

³ This and the following paragraph are based on Edmund Morgan and Helen M. Morgan, *The Stamp Act Crisis: Prologue to Revolution* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1953), 86; *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, February 20, 1769; *Boston Chronicle*, March 28, April 4, 1768; Rush quoted in John F. Kasson, *Civilizing the Machine: Technology and Republican Values in America, 1776–1900* (New York, 1977), 9–10; William R. Bagnall, *The Textile Industries of the United States* (Cambridge, Mass., 1893), 37–38, 58–59; Jack P. Greene, ed., *Colonies to Nation: 1763–1789* (New York, 1967), 47; *Boston Gazette*, January 18, 1768; Alice Morse Earle, *Two Centuries of Costume in America* (New York, 1903), 741; Gail Gibson, "Costume and Fashion in Charleston, 1769–1782," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 82, no. 3 (1981): 240; Patricia A. Cunningham and Susan Voso Lab, eds., *Dress in American Culture* (Bowling Green, Ohio, 1993), 191; Arthur Harrison Cole, *The American Wool Manufacture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1926), 61–62; Bruce Allan Ragsdale, "Nonimportation and the Search for Economic Dependence in Virginia, 1765–1775" (PhD dissertation, University of Virginia, 1985), 101, 137; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 19, 1770, May 12, 1768; Alice Morse Earle, *Colonial Dames and Good Wives* (Boston, 1900), 240–75; Elizabeth W. Smith, "A Reminiscence," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 46, no. 1 (1922): 55–56.

inimical to liberty. As "Brutus" explained in 1769, luxury bred immorality and excess, which made persons vulnerable to corruption. According to the *Virginia Gazette* in 1778, luxury had even precipitated the war. It "begot Arbitrary Power," which "begot Oppression," which, in turn, begot resentment and revenge. It was a credible syllogism. John Adams later recalled how "scarlet and sable robes, of broad bands, and enormous tie wigs" became the sartorial standard in Massachusetts imperial courts exactly in these years when popular discontent with British rule intensified. The Yankee Doodle dandy, born a generation earlier as a British caricature of the uncouth colonial who could only dream of emulating a London macaroni, now proudly inverted his tastelessness into a symbol of patriotic simplicity.⁴

"Sterner stuff" was consequently required. For to resist luxury and so preserve their liberties, Americans would have to forsake the "conveniences and superfluities" (Franklin's categories in testimony to the House of Commons in 1766) regularly imported from Britain. Were colonials capable of such sacrifice? Did they have the requisite virtue to "consider their interests as [in]distinct from those of the public"?⁵ George Washington assured his London merchant in 1765 that, once domestic manufacturing became widespread in the colonies, "the Eyes of our People will perceive, that many of the Luxuries which we have heretofore lavished our Substance to Great Britain for can well be dispensed with whilst the Necessaries of Life are to be procured . . . within ourselves." Franklin, polemicizing under the pseudonym of "Homespun," promised that Americans would be able to give up their English tea, and breakfast instead on Indian corn, which was no more "indigestible [than] the Stamp Act." Proof of their resolution was evidenced already in the innumerable calls to stop eating lamb and deliver the extra fleeces to colonial spinners. The logic, as explained in the *Boston Gazette*, was simple. "Suppose that one half of the Woollen that is used in this Province is manufactured here of our own Wool: If therefore, they who keep Sheep would but double their Flocks . . . we might be enabled to make all our Woollen Clothing; and to prevent the Importation of any more from Europe." The Cordwainers Fire Company in Philadelphia likewise declared, "Whereas the Increase of our Woollen Manufactories will greatly conduce to the Benefit of this Country, it is therefore agreed . . . that we will not purchase any Lamb, nor suffer any to be purchased or used in our Families, during the Present Year."⁶

The industrious American householder thus confronted the empire simultaneously as the guarantor of political sovereignty and of material independence. Planting, harvesting, shearing, cleaning, drying, rippling, wetting, braking, hackling, dyeing, separating, and combing, and only then spinning for three weeks and weaving for another to produce the six yards of cloth necessary for a plain dress, to

⁴ Brutus quoted in Greene, *Colonies to Nation*, 157; Kenneth Silverman, *A Cultural History of the American Revolution* (New York, 1987), 505–06; Adams quoted in Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York, 1992), 16–17; Ferenz Fedor, *The Birth of Yankee Doodle* (New York, 1976), 90–103. On Yankee Doodle's continued popularity as a symbol for all sides during the war, see Marianne Holdzkorn, "Parody and Pastiche: Images of the American Revolution in Popular Culture, 1765–1820" (PhD dissertation, Ohio State University, 1995), 218–23.

⁵ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 12, 1768.

⁶ Washington quoted in Ragsdale, "Nonimportation," 100; Franklin in *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, January 2, 1766; *Boston Gazette*, January 25, 1768.

be made with material inferior to imported goods from England or the continent—this was the stuff of virtuous politics. In surveying the progress of the patriot cause in 1767, the *Boston Gazette* congratulated Ebenezer Hurd of Connecticut for having made “in his own Family this present Year, by only his Wife and Children,” no less than 500 Yards of linens and woolens, “the whole of the Wool and Flax of his own raising,” and Capt. Simon Newton of Providence for spinning and weaving 364 1/4 yards of linen cloth and having another 300 skeins of yarn unwoven, “the greatest part of the whole (and all the fine) spun in his own house.” William Attlee similarly reported to the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia on cloth production in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, for 1769: 3,744 yards of striped cotton, 4,091 yards of flax linen, 4,232 yards of tow linen, 1,394 yards of linsey; in all, more than 30,000 yards of household manufactures, “so great is the Spirit for Homespun among our good Females at present.” Attlee identified each family “who had manufactured any Part of the above Quantity, and also the Number of Yards of each Kind manufactured by each of them . . . all digested in proper columns.” The rhetoric of *res publica* thus became infused with the less sublime grammar of skeins and yards, a political arithmetic that allowed observers to gauge the respective dedication of their neighbors to the patriot cause.⁷

That cause sought to put an end to business as usual: the ever-growing amount of imported manufactures reaching America. This was the trade that led Adam Smith to call America “a nation of customers.” It satisfied mercantilist economics and offered English cultural refinement to an increasing number of colonials. Cloths constituted half of American imports and an even higher percentage of the goods shipped out from the port cities into the countryside for sale. The number of sheep in eastern Massachusetts had declined by almost a quarter per capita during the four decades preceding the Stamp Act. Who needed to grow wool and flax, let alone spin it, when shopkeepers listed such an extensive inventory of “broad-cloths, serges, cambets, ozenbrigs, cotton checks, damasks, calicoes, cambricks, sattins, taffeties, [and] highland plads,” whose prices had been dramatically dropping since the end of the previous century? The significance of this surfeit of cloth for Americans was evident in the extensive column inches devoted to merchants’ advertisements. It was no less evident in one of the most important cultural projects of the day, John Singleton Copley’s hundreds of portraits of the colonial elite, which faithfully reproduced the plush interior tapestries and, most of all, the effusive materiality of his sitters’ raiment. Neither Copley nor, apparently, his contemporaries could avert their gaze from these cloths. They were, in fact, the real subjects of the pictures. Even the famous painting of the shirt-clad Paul Revere, noticeably shorn of the usual layers of genteel outer dress, his artisanal hand tools ostenta-

⁷ J. Leander Bishop, *A History of American Manufactures from 1608 to 1860*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1868), 375–77; Arthur Meir Schlesinger, *The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution, 1763–1776* (New York, 1957), 64–65, 77, 122–23, 289; Bagnall, *Textile Industries*, 57; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 14, 1770; *All Sorts of Good Sufficient Cloth: Linen-Making in New England, 1640–1860* (North Andover, Mass., 1980), 21; *Boston Gazette*, January 18, 1768; for a good description of the cloth production process, see Adrienne Dora Hood, “Organization and Extent of Textile Manufacture in Eighteenth-Century, Rural Pennsylvania: A Case Study of Chester County” (PhD dissertation, University of California, San Diego, 1988).

tiously arrayed before him, was no less a study in the fineness of linen and the semiotics of sleeve ruffles.⁸

American concern about all this fine cloth was nothing new. In 1722, a young Franklin was already bemoaning the "Pride of Apparel" that had overtaken the colonies "ever since we parted with our Homespun Cloaths for Fourteen Penny Stuffs." The rise of fashionableness, Franklin complained, allowed persons with no real claim to social distinction to draw "Crowds of Imitators who hate each other while they endeavor after a similitude of Manners. They destroy by Example, and envy one another's Destruction." Fourteen-penny stuffs, that is, spawned a miasma of social pretension and, with it, a betrayal of the civic order. The natural hierarchy was obfuscated by people dressing beyond their rank. "A Fall was the natural consequence."⁹

Franklin's eschatology drew, in part, of course, on a puritanical legacy. That was evident in "The Forefather's Song," which continued to circulate in the eighteenth century:

Our clothes we brought with us are apt to be torn—
They need to be clouted [patched] soon after they are worn—
But clouting our garments they hinder us nothing;
Clouts double are warmer than single whole clothing.

Puritans had welcomed such straitened circumstances as an opportunity to resolve their "dilemma" between success in this world and their more stringent obligations to the next. Franklin's jeremiad, however, contained no such metaphysics. His condemnation of luxury rested on a notion of civic sobriety and a view of the conflict between material advance and social stability that had nothing to do with the Calvinist sense of sin. Both the solution and the problem, as he understood them, were entirely of this world. Franklin, who eventually became the colonies' leading publicist for the distinctly non-Puritan idea that virtue could be acquired through regular habits, described the sartorial ideal he had in mind: "He appear'd

⁸ T. H. Breen, "'Baubles of Britain': The American and Consumer Revolutions of the Eighteenth Century," in *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century*, Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, eds. (Charlottesville, Va., 1994), 468–72; John J. McCusker, "The Current Value of English Exports, 1697 to 1800," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 28 (October 1971): 623–27; Thomas M. Doerflinger, "Farmers and Dry Goods in the Philadelphia Market Area, 1750–1800," in *The Economy of Early America: The Revolutionary Period, 1763–1790*, Ronald Hoffman, et al., eds. (Charlottesville, 1988), 167–72; Max George Schumacher, "The Northern Farmer and His Markets during the Late Colonial Period" (PhD dissertation, University of California, 1948), 140–42; Carole Shammas, *The Pre-Industrial Consumer in England and America* (Oxford, 1990), 98–99, 269; Richard L. Bushman, "Shopping and Advertising in Colonial America," in Carson, *Of Consuming Interests*; Beverly Lemire, *Fashion's Favourite: The Cotton Trade and the Consumer in Britain, 1660–1800* (London, 1991), 12–42, 100–14; on Revere, see Claudia Kidwell, "Introduction," in Joan L. Severa, *Dressed for the Photographer: Ordinary Americans and Fashion, 1840–1900* (Kent, Ohio, 1995), ix–x. The pictorial brilliance of the fabrics in Copley's portraits was considerably toned down after the anti-imperial protests began. In 1774, Copley left America for good. See Carrie Rebora, et al., *John Singleton Copley in America* (New York, 1995).

⁹ Benjamin Franklin Papers, Library of America edition, *Wordcruncher CD-ROM*, June 11, 1722. On late seventeenth-century fashionableness in the American colonies, see William B. Weedon, *Economic and Social History of New England, 1620–1789* (1890; rpt. edn., Williamstown, Mass., 1978), 286–90; Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (New York, 1964), 93–94, 98.

in the plainest Country Garb; his Great Coat was coarse and looked old and thread-bare; his Linnen was homespun; his Beard perhaps of Seven Days Growth, his Shoes thick and heavy, and every Part of his Dress corresponding." What made such a dismal sight the object of universal respect? "It was not an exquisite Form of Person, or Grandeur of Dress that struck us with Admiration." Indeed, it was the opposite. Authority would issue from the fact that "he always speaks the Thing he means." The virtuous, in sum, eschewed artifice as they did fashion, for these were the languages of corruption. They favored, instead, the "homespun Dress of Honesty," which Franklin associated with "the first Ages of the world." It was a foundation myth of simpler and more frugal times designed to help establish the basis for social order in a secularizing, post-sumptuary world. A similar impulse informed the religious awakenings that swept the colonies in these same years. James Davenport notably instructed his followers to burn fancy clothing in addition to books. This would ensure that the accumulation of the ever-growing number of goods for sale did not "destroy" society. What appeared as nostalgic on Franklin's part, or a reactionary religious impulse represented by Davenport, was actually a new kind of response to a distinctly modern dilemma.¹⁰

One practical attempt to "virtuously" contain the effects of ambition in the New World took place in the newest American colony, Georgia. The colony's high-minded trustees, sitting in London, were highly apprehensive about the nefarious effects of commerce on social life. But they also recognized that, because America offered unprecedented material opportunity, newer and freer forms of economic association were unavoidable. Perhaps, it was hoped by the optimists among them, such opportunities would present a way to reconcile what had become, since Thomas Hobbes, a proverbial tension between doing good for others and doing good for oneself. In Georgia, the preferred method for striking that balance was to make everyone a primary producer. Even slavery was banned in the colony in accordance with that principle. Property would be widely distributed. The independent household was to be the predominant economic and social unit of the colony. And while production was thus facilitated, commerce would be strictly inhibited. That is because exchange was not the goal of the citizen's productive efforts. Credit was restricted and accumulation inhibited. In this way, it was thought, the luxurious aggregation of the householder's hard work would be avoided.¹¹

Georgia exemplified the unique role America played in seeking answers to what was emerging as a central political question of modern life: how to reconcile the

¹⁰ "Forefather's Song" quoted in Bishop, *History of American Manufactures*, 302; The Busy-Body, no. 3, *American Weekly Mercury* (Philadelphia), February 18, 1728; "On Simplicity," *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 13, 1732; Norman S. Fiering, "Benjamin Franklin and the Way to Virtue," *American Quarterly* 30 (Summer 1978); Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Dilemma: The Story of John Winthrop* (Boston, 1958); Jack P. Greene, "The Concept of Virtue in Late Colonial British America," in Richard Matthews, ed., *Virtue, Corruption, and Self-Interest: Political Values in the Eighteenth Century* (Bethlehem, Pa., 1994), 39-41; Isaac Kramnick, "Corruption in Eighteenth-Century English and American Political Discourse," in Matthews, *Virtue*. On Davenport, see Carl Bridenbaugh, ed., *Gentleman's Progress: The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton, 1744* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1984), 161. See also Daniel Walker Howe, *Making the American Self: Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), 22-33.

¹¹ John E. Crowley, *This Sheba, Self: The Conceptualization of Economic Life in Eighteenth-Century America*, 6, 16, 17-33; James T. Kloppenberg, "The Virtues of Liberalism: Christianity, Republicanism, and Ethics in Early American Political Discourse," *Journal of American History* 74 (June 1987): 17.



The 1767 portrait of Nicholas Boylston, by John Singleton Copley (1738–1815). The real subject of Copley's portraits of the colonial elite was their dress. Apparently, neither he nor anyone else could keep their eyes off the clothes. Courtesy of the Harvard University Portrait Collection, bequest of Ward Nicholas Boylston, 1828.

individual aspiration for material improvement with anxieties about its social consequences. Transatlantic sentiment regarded America as a “middle landscape,” no longer an untamed wilderness but not yet the site of refined artifice characteristic of Europe. It was where a “comfortable subsistence [without] the Pressures of Poverty and [with] the Surfeits of Abundance” was uniquely possible. Plainness was the mark of this life, an aesthetic complement to grazing flocks, rural idylls, and industrious farmers. One finds it, for example, in the simpler, visually flatter copies



Daguerreotype, circa 1840s, of Edward Knight Collins, businessman (1802–1878). Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Daguerreotype Collection, Prints and Photographs Division. Produced by Mathew Brady's studio. By 1850, 3 million Americans were having their portraits made each year, in black-and-white daguerreotypes that cost them 25 cents.

of English engravings that circulated in the colonies during the first half of the eighteenth century, or in the political pastoral of “independent and hardy YEO-MANRY, all nearly on a level—trained to arms . . . clothed in homespun—of simple manners—strangers to luxury—drawing plenty from the ground.”¹²

¹² “Middle landscape” is borrowed from Marx, *Machine in the Garden*, 35–51, 76–105; Crowley, *This*

But the Georgian experiment failed. The anticommercial zealotry by which the productive autonomy of each household was supposed to be maintained actually became an obstacle to the society it was intended to nurture; and anyway, the advantages of commerce proved irresistible. The problem was a basic one: while commerce served as the source of corruption because it made the pursuit of luxury possible, it was no less an agent of civilization. This was because the absence of material improvement was as much an affront to virtue as it was its guarantor. (It was also antithetical to the whole colonial project.) That tension was to be found in Adam Smith's new political economy as well, Smith having assigned acquisitiveness a positive social role while recognizing that the public's general happiness depended on the restraint of wants. The conundrum begged for a homespun solution that would wed industry and frugality, personality and society.¹³

The colonial household seemed to offer such a synthesis. While its origins lay in the distant past, it also proved to be thoroughly modern. The steady climb of prices for livestock and wheat after mid-century had generated a new division of labor within the family by which men increasingly stayed outside tending the herds, mowing the fields, planting feed for the livestock, and building their barns while women assumed increasing authority over household tasks. The result was a domestic system of production developing in response to the pressures and opportunities of the commercializing economy. It was this very commercialization—the growing number of things being grown for sale—that was the context for homespun politics. Making one's cloth and then wearing it, instead of trading or selling it (often in exchange for imported cloths of finer quality), was a dramatic protest against the imperial system because of the attendant sacrifice of its material benefits. At the same time, the homespun protest was implicit acknowledgement that the world of goods had become integral to any discussion of public happiness.¹⁴

Sheba, Self, 16–33; Irma B. Jaffe, "Ethics and Aesthetics in Eighteenth-Century American Art," in *The American Revolution and Eighteenth-Century Culture*, Paul J. Korshin, ed. (New York, 1986), 160.

¹³ On commerce's dual role as the source of corruption and of civic advance, see M. M. Goldsmith, *Private Vices, Public Benefits: Bernard Mandeville's Social and Political Thought* (Cambridge, 1985); Istvan Hont and Michael Ignatieff, *Wealth and Virtue: The Shaping of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 1983), 1–44; J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, N.J., 1975), 469–71, 494–98; John P. Diggins, *The Lost Soul of American Politics: Virtue, Self-Interest, and the Foundations of Liberalism* (Chicago, 1984); Cathy Matson and Peter Onuf, "Toward a Republican Empire: Interest and Ideology in Revolutionary America," *American Quarterly* 32 (Fall 1985); Kramnick, "Corruption in Eighteenth-Century English and American Political Discourse"; Lance Banning, "Some Second Thoughts on Virtue and the Course of Revolutionary Thinking," in Terence Ball and J. G. A. Pocock, eds., *Conceptual Change and the Constitution* (Lawrence, Kans., 1988).

¹⁴ Shammass, *Pre-Industrial Consumer*, 52–56, 61–62; Gloria L. Main, "Gender, Work, and Wages in Colonial New England," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 51 (January 1994): 63–64; Susan Greene, "A Loom at Every Hearth: Early Intestacy Inventories of Allegany County, New York" (MA thesis, Cornell University, revised, 1995), 48; Paul Zankowich, "The Craftsmen of Colonial New York City" (EdD dissertation, New York University, 1956), 407; Cole, *American Wool Manufacture*, 27; *All Sorts of Good Sufficient Cloth*, 6, 24; Bettye Hobbs Pruitt, "Self-Sufficiency and the Agricultural Economy of Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 41 (July 1984): 333–64; Alice Morse Earle, *Home Life in Colonial Days* (New York, 1898), 235–36; Arthur Harrison Cole, ed., *Industrial and Commercial Correspondence of Alexander Hamilton* (1928; rpt. edn., New York, 1968), 17–18, 26, 31–32, 37; Rolla Milton Tryon, *Household Manufactures in the United States, 1640–1860* (Chicago, 1917), 53–54, 78, 79; Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, "Wheels, Looms, and the Gender Division of Labor in Eighteenth-Century New England," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 55 (January 1998).

And, indeed, the patriotic boycotts of British goods first organized in response to the Sugar and Stamp Acts opened up new opportunities for commerce in domestic manufactures. In the mid-1760s, farmers in Chester County, Pennsylvania, increased the size of their flocks. They invested in improved pasture grounds and then hired weavers to turn the resulting yarns into cloth. They were happy to report that they had found “an encouraging small Profit” when selling their woollens in the Philadelphia market. These patriots certainly had no intention of replacing commercial relations with a simpler system of exchange. Their efforts rested on extensive social cooperation—the labors of spinners, weavers, fullers, dyers, bleachers, combmakers, cardmakers, among others—which was commensurate with the fledgling market. Revolutionaries accepted the reasoning of Maryland’s Governor Sharpe when he assured a nervous Lords of Trade in 1767 that no one “will think much of Manufacturing for themselves while they can with the produce of their Lands purchase such Goods as they may have occasion for.” But the rebels now sought to turn such logic to their own advantage. Their aim was to replace imported commodities—and by mid-century, most of the population of Chester County no longer wore clothing made at home—with American-manufactured ones. The Continental Congress’s “non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation” policy in 1774 was far less concerned with ascetic self-denial, for instance, than with encouraging the development of a national economy. Non-consumption, in other words, did not mean anti-consumption, and American agriculture, arts, and manufactures—“especially that of wool”—were explicitly encouraged.¹⁵

Homespun proved to be a business venture. In New York City, American-made woollens were rumored to be selling for three times their original value. And a Chester County farmer actually protested when the Stamp Act was repealed. “What security [will be] given us,” he inquired of proponents of non-importation, to make the patriotic call to sacrifice materially viable?¹⁶ Virtuous self-sacrifice did not rest on the effacement of private desires, in other words, but on their successful integration with public needs. Even Cato could be enlisted in this cause: “What is the public, but the collective body of private men, as every man is a member of the public?” The *Boston Gazette* gave this clear expression in 1768: “Every Man who will take Pains to cultivate the Cost of Homespun may easily convince himself that his private Interest, as well as [that of] the Publick, will be promoted by it.” Or, as the same paper more pithily expressed it on another occasion, “SAVE YOUR MONEY, AND YOU SAVE YOUR COUNTRY!” Profit was the happy result of a virtuous coordination of private and public. The patriot cause could even be

¹⁵ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 16, 1768; see also July 21, 1768; Hood, “Organization and . . . Textile Manufacture . . . in Pennsylvania,” 194–97, 223; for text of Continental Association, see J. Greene, *Colonies to Nation*, 247–50; Ann Fairfax Withington, *Toward a More Perfect Union: Virtue and the Formation of American Republics* (New York, 1991), 10–11, 113–22; Ragsdale, “Nonimportation,” 371–72. As the *New-York Weekly Journal* had explained as early as 1734, “We only want Frugality and Industry to make us Opuient.” Quoted in Matson and Onuf, “Toward a Republican Empire,” 516.

¹⁶ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 16, 1768; see also July 21, 1768; Hood, “Organization and . . . Textile Manufacture . . . in Pennsylvania,” 194–97, 223; E. B. O’Callaghan, *The Documentary History of the State of New-York*, 4 vols. (Albany, N.Y., 1849–51), 734; *Boston Gazette*, December 7, 1767; Gibson, “Costume and Fashion in Charleston,” 240; on the “practicality” of virtue, see Albert H. Wurth, Jr., “The Franklin Persona: The Virtue of Practicality and the Practicality of Virtue,” in Matthews, *Virtue*.

turned into an advertising strategy. Daniel Mause, a Philadelphia hosier, announced in 1766 that he had "lately erected a Number of Looms, for the manufacture of thread and cotton stockings and other kinds of Hosiery of any size or quality, hoping the good people of this and the neighboring Provinces will encourage this, his undertaking, at a time when AMERICA calls for the endeavors of Her Sons." In Virginia, where the non-importation campaign found widespread support among the largest planters, home production facilitated a long overdue economic reform intended to alleviate chronic debts by shifting the plantations to full seasonal labor, crop diversification, and a more profitable use of otherwise idle children and elderly slaves.¹⁷

A homespun economy would rectify imperial corruption by supporting an alternative commercial logic, monopolized not by government but by a civil society resting on the energies of independent householders who subsequently created a society, so it was believed, impervious to any monopolization at all.

The homespun imbued this public sphere with another novel characteristic: democracy. When sophisticates appeared in Boston and Charleston bereft of their figured silks and broadcloth woollens, they celebrated the coarseness that had long since become a sign of social marginality, the exclusive dominion of "Laborers & Servants." In his diaries, Alexander Hamilton described the homely effect on his landlady, for instance, by dressing her in homespun and then barely containing his distaste at the sight. A young apprentice, Joseph Gilman, newly arrived in Boston, wrote home to New Hampshire to request his mother send him additional garments, warning that if she dared include his homespun jacket, "I shall not wear it."¹⁸

Making the homespun a symbol of civic membership was, thus, a consciously leveling moment. Homespun erased the textured fineness of the cloth by which the "respectable Ladies" of Narragansett and Newport had traditionally maintained their status. "Rich and Poor all turn the Spinning Wheel," someone approvingly declared as a maxim for the times. The "indifferently clothed," those heretofore considered incapable of virtue precisely because of their unpropertied and consequently dependent status, were now promoted to full citizenship by homespun.¹⁹

¹⁷ Breen, "Baubles of Britain," 466–67; *Boston Gazette*, December 7, 1767; Cato quoted in Howe, *Making the American Self*, 14; Mause's ad quoted in Bagnall, *Textile Industries*, 54; see also Rita Susswein Gottesman, *The Arts and Crafts in New York, 1777–99: Advertisements and News Items from New York City Newspapers* (New York, 1954), 329; Crowley, *This Sheba, Self*, 72, 116; Ragsdale, "Nonimportation," 101–02, 110–11, 123, 127, 135–36, 325–26, 340; Wood, *Radicalism of the American Revolution*, 117; Joseph Ernst, "Ideology and an Economic Interpretation of the Revolution," in Alfred F. Young, *The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism* (De Kalb, Ill., 1976), 176–78.

¹⁸ Patricia Anne Trautman, "Captain Edward Marrett, a Gentleman Tailor" (PhD dissertation, University of Colorado, 1982), 93; Richard B. Morris, *Government and Labor in Early America* (1946; rpt. edn., Boston, 1981), 393; Bridenbaugh, *Gentleman's Progress*, 164; Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, "Cloth, Clothing, and Early American Social History," *Dress* 18 (1991): 41; Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York, 1993), 69–74; Victor S. Clark, *History of Manufactures in the United States*, Vol. 1, 1607–1860 (New York, 1929), 207–08; Tryon, *Household Manufactures*, 92, 101. Indeed, many household cloths produced for exchange probably found their way south, serving as the coarse clothing of slaves.

¹⁹ Linda Welters and Judanne Janacek, "The Social Meaning of Homespun Clothing in New England" (paper presented at Costume Society of America Symposium, May 18, 1991), 1–5, 27; Susan Anderson Hay, "From Husbandman to Gentleman: Costume in Prerevolutionary Providence, Rhode

For the first time in the history of democratic thought, necessity—the desiderata of material subsistence—became a legitimate subject of political life. The long-denigrated *oikos*, or household, was transformed into the pan-gendered basis of sovereignty in which civic virtue rested on a person's very proximity to the production of basic necessities. This elevated the simple artisan to the same civic stratum as the philosopher-statesman.²⁰ That was unprecedented, even in America. When he waxed nostalgic in 1732 about lost homespun innocence, Franklin had actually bemoaned the mixing of the classes. And when the Pennsylvania Associators sought to express "the Union of all Ranks" in 1748, they carried banners depicting three arms in brotherly embrace—respectively clad in ruffled, plain, and checked sleeves—or three Associators marching abreast with shouldered muskets "and dressed in different Clothes, intimating the unanimity of the different Sorts of People in the Association." The American Revolution's homespun ideology promoted a very different version of political unanimity, one no longer stratified into permanent ranks. Quite the opposite: the homespun now joined all on an equal footing in a manufacturing economy. And it prepared them for sovereignty by tying together their individual efforts through an ethos of *vita activa* that abolished, or at least suggested the abolition of, what had heretofore been an axiomatic division of humanity between the polite classes and the meaner sorts. As such, it was a most practical expression of what Thomas Jefferson would soon call the equality of all men.²¹

NOR DID CONCERNS ABOUT LUXURY AND ADMONITIONS toward frugality abate after independence. In fact, they escalated. Sovereignty brought Americans face to face with their republican revolution, and questions about how to institutionalize public happiness only assumed greater urgency. The homespun ideal proved no less relevant in the 1780s than it had twenty years earlier in searching for the answers. In the wake of a huge influx of British goods, there were calls to renew the pre-war boycott of British imports. Chastisements of the citizenry for "fluttering about in foreign dress" were common. In Philadelphia, the fashion-conscious fop was a subject of scorn,

Island," *Costume Society of America, Annual Abstracts* (1991): 33; Bishop, *History of American Manufactures*, 331; Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 71–72; Hood, "Organization and . . . Textile Manufacture . . . in Pennsylvania," 214–17; "Verse Occasioned by Seeing the North-Spinning, in Boston" (1769), in *Early American Imprints* (New York, n.d.); Gary B. Nash, *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), 343–48; Wood, *Radicalism of the American Revolution*, 271–78.

²⁰ For an impassioned lamentation on this redefinition of democracy, see Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution* (New York, 1963). In the nineteenth century, making a virtue out of economic necessity became known as the work ethic. See Jonathan A. Glickstein, *Concepts of Free Labor in Antebellum America* (New Haven, Conn., 1991).

²¹ "Devices and Mottoes," *Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 12, 1747. Wood, *Radicalism of the American Revolution*, 4–30; Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788–1850* (New York, 1984), 65–66, 92–93, 95; J. Greene, "Concept of Virtue"; Pocock, *Machiavellian Moment*, 514–15.

His scarlet coat, that ev'ry one may see,
 Mark and observe and know the fool is he,
 With buttons garnish'd, sparkling in a row
 On sleeves and breasts and skirts to make a show.

Timothy Dwight opened his patriotic verse *Greenfield Hill* by comparing American simplicity to European pretense and locating the former in that

Farmer plain,
 Intent to gather honest gain . . .
 In solid homespun clad, and tidy.²²

Matthew Carey's *American Museum* filled up with notices from Patriotic and Economical Associations around the country addressing "those ladies, who used to excel in dress, . . . [to] endeavor to set the best example, by laying aside their richest silks, and superfluous decorations [and] dress their persons in the plainest manner." The exhortations to plainness and sacrifice seemed to borrow verbatim from the previous generation's virtuous rhetoric. "No tax," the *New-York Gazette and General Advertiser* declared in discouraging women from adopting the new European fashions, "is more unreasonable and oppressive than that of Fashion." Or, as appeared elsewhere: "Surely the man who is clothed in American manufactures, which he wears for the sake of enriching his native country, and relieving his fellow citizens, may be allowed to have some claims to patriotism, which is the most honorable garb that can be worn." Public spinning matches were reinstituted. "Economy and Household Industries" were back in vogue. Tench Coxe promised that American manufactures would lead the country "once more, into the paths of virtue, by restoring frugality and industry, those potent antidotes to the vices of mankind, and will give us real independence by rescuing us from the tyranny of foreign fashions, and the destructive torrent of luxury."²³

But Coxe, the assistant secretary of the treasury, was no longer remonstrating against the king's ministers. He was nation building. And his good friend Matthew Carey was doing the same in proposing that all federal officers take an oath to perform their official duties "dressed principally in the manufactures of the united states." Carey actually called for the institution of a national costume. "We do not count it an honour to imitate the forms of government that prevail in Europe—why should we think it honorable to imitate the fashion of their coats!" A distinctly American dress would attach citizens to each other by forging a common identity,

²² Cole, *American Wool Manufacture*, 140–41; John J. McCusker, "The Current Value of English Exports," 621–22; Edmund S. Morgan, "The Puritan Ethic and the American Revolution," in *The Challenge of the American Revolution* (New York, 1976), 129–31; *Philadelphiad* (1784), quoted in Silverman, *Cultural History*, 506; see Gibson, "Costume and Fashion in Charleston," 245–46, for scarlet coats in Charleston; Timothy Dwight, *Greenfield Hills: A Poem* (New York, 1794), part 1, lines 42–65.

²³ *New-York Gazette*, August 9, 1799; Kasson, *Civilizing the Machine*, 14–19, 31; *American Museum* 2 (August 1787); Bagnall, *Textile Industries*, 110–11; Charles Warren, "Samuel Adams and the Sans Souci Club in 1785," *Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings* 60 (1926–27): 319–20; Earle, *Home Life*, 185–86; Morgan, "Puritan Ethic and the American Revolution," 37, 129–31.

especially important since so much of American culture was inherited from a corrupted England.²⁴

Carey did not describe what such national dress would look like, but his was not an entirely quixotic concern. From across the political spectrum, Thomas Paine also exhorted Americans to cease being “the servile copyists of foreign manners, fashions, and vices.” The creation of a republican system of government clearly required the establishment of a commensurate civic culture. And so, when the Virginia state legislature commissioned a sculpture of Washington from Jean-Antoine Houdon in the 1790s, a debate erupted over the subject’s costume. An earlier commission by Congress of a statue of Washington had already resulted in a figure draped in classical robes. But Benjamin West now advised Houdon to dress Washington in contemporary garb. This would not only satisfy the emergent Romantic sensibility in the arts but would articulate a recognizably American point of view. In comparison, the new French republic had commissioned a design for a national uniform from Jacques-Louis David that was supposed to be a sartorial representation of the new civic status of its *citoyens*. David submitted a thoroughly un-modern amalgam of Renaissance silhouettes, medieval guild motifs, and classical drapery. His hybrid idealization of virtuous pasts apparently satisfied French notions of the republican present: the Committee of Public Safety distributed 20,000 engraved copies of David’s proposal throughout the country. American republicans looked elsewhere for inspiration in inventing their public life. Washington himself endorsed West’s recommendation to Houdon and wrote to Jefferson, in questioning the togas popularly invoked to symbolize civic virtue, that a “servile adherence to the garb of antiquity might not be altogether so expedient.” It was now necessary, rather, to face the “new realities of republican life.”²⁵

This is exactly what Washington did at his first inauguration, where his appearance excited considerable public comment. The *Gazette of the United States* wrote: “The President of the United States . . . appeared dressed in a complete suit of homespun cloaths; but the cloth was of so fine a Fabric, and so Handsomely finished, that it was universally mistaken for a foreign manufactured superfine cloth. His excellency the Vice President, appears also in a suit of American Manufacture and several members of both Houses are distinguished by the same token of attention to the manufacturing interest of their country.”²⁶ Washington had recently visited the Hartford Woolen Company on a tour of New England. The company was a highly touted manufacturing project and the subject of adulation by patriots and the state of Connecticut, which exempted it from taxation. While there,

²⁴ Kasson, *Civilizing the Machine*, 14–15; Silverman, *Cultural History*, 506–07; Jacob E. Cooke, *Tench Coxe and the Early Republic* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1978), 182–216, 236–37; *American Museum* 3 (January 1788): 89; 2 (August 1787): 118–19.

²⁵ Jack P. Greene, *The Intellectual Construction of America: Exceptionalism and Identity from 1492 to 1800* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1993), 184–85; Bernard Rudofsky, *Are Clothes Modern? An Essay on Contemporary Apparel* (Chicago, 1957), 178–79; Lynn Hunt, “Symbolic Forms of Political Practice,” in Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1984), 52–86; Silverman, *Cultural History*, 449–51, 494–95; Garry Wills, “Washington’s Citizen Virtue: Greenough and Houdon,” *Critical Inquiry* 10 (March 1984): 420–40; Quentin Bell, *On Human Finery*, 2d edn. (New York, 1976), 72–76.

²⁶ *Gazette of the United States*, quoted in Gottesman, *Arts and Crafts in New York, 1777–99*, 328; also see Merideth Wright, *Everyday Dress of Rural America, 1783–1800* (New York, 1990), 9.

Washington solicited a sample of their best cloth. This was then made up into the suit he so purposefully wore for the inaugural ceremonies, together with American-made silk stockings and plain silver shoe buckles.²⁷

The most significant aspect of Washington's sartorial embrace of the "new realities of republican life" was the fact that the Hartford Company's commercial output was assigned the same homespun status as the coarse product of the householder's wheel and loom, flock of sheep, and patch of flax. That equation underlined what had been implicit during more than two decades of homespun politics—"domestic" had a dual meaning, simultaneously connoting the household and the nation. Popular sovereignty, of course, was based on the same equation of household and nation. As in the past, it was homespun that gave material tangibility to such abstract notions.

All sorts of arrangements fell under this rubric. The appearance in Philadelphia's grand Federal Procession on July 4, 1788, of a Mrs. Hewson, together with her four daughters, all attired in homespun cottons under the auspices of the city's Manufacturing Society, was one. The Hartford Company was another. So were the several hundred spinning wheels put under William Molineux's charge in 1770, Molineux being a leader of Boston's non-importation campaign, which had consequently produced so much yarn it became necessary to expand the project into an integrated cloth "apparatus" of warping and twisting mills, weaving looms, a furnace, hot and cold presses for finishing the goods, and a complete dyehouse with a large assortment of dyestuffs—a proto-factory based on mechanical innovations, such as one that allowed two boys to keep fifty looms supplied with yarn. These same patriot proponents of domestic manufacture had also made concerted efforts to secure a working model of James Hargreaves's spinning jenny in the years before independence. Meanwhile, the traditional household remained a locus of economic activity. Alexander Hamilton was the first to recognize the centrality of "family manufactures" to his post-independence development plans. The family's ability to clothe itself, he wrote in his seminal *Report on Manufactures* in 1791, was important "both in a moral and political view." Flax became a specific subject of federal encouragement precisely because of its role in household industry. "The ease, with which the materials can be produced at home to any requisite extent—the great advances, which have already been made, in the coarser fabrics of them, especially in the family way, constitute claims, of peculiar force, to the patronage of government."²⁸

But manufacturing societies and woolen companies were ultimately not the same thing as households, and the axiomatic unity of all forms of domestic industry began to unravel. The end of the revolution's homespun ideology was discernible in the

²⁷ Bagnall, *Textile Industries*, 102–03; Bishop, *American Manufactures*, 418; William L. Stone, *History of New York City* (New York, 1872), 303–04; Clark, *History of Manufactures*, 46, 366, 448.

²⁸ Bagnall, *Textile Industries*, 42–44; Bishop, *American Manufactures*, 375–77; Patricia Cunningham, "Simplicity of Dress: A Symbol of American Ideals," in Cunningham and Lab, *Dress in American Culture*, 189; Alexander Hamilton, *Report of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, on the Subject of Manufactures* (Dublin, 1792), 76; Cole, *Industrial and Commercial Correspondence of Alexander Hamilton*, 43, 76–81; Ulrich, "Wheels, Looms, and the Gender Division of Labor," 20–22. On women's spinning and weaving in 1791–1792, see Margo Culley, ed., *A Day at a Time: The Diary Literature of American Women from 1764 to the Present* (New York, 1985), 69–76.

flurry of republican pageants—rife with imagery and symbol—by which Americans celebrated their new political order.

Boston's official reception for the president in the fall of 1789 was a testament to revolutionary maxims. A military troop led the town's public procession. They were followed by town, county, and state officials, clergymen, and representatives of the professions. These notables were given no fanfares. They appeared without the accompaniment of a scarlet liveried guard, in telling contrast to monarchical British practice. Even more significant, however, was what followed, for marching behind them were Boston's tradesmen. These representatives of productive vigor and the common classes were, thanks to their homespun status, full participants in Washington's reception rather than the passive onlookers of yore. They marched in forty-six separate groups, organized by trades arranged in alphabetical order, from bakers to wheelwrights. Their presence turned the event into a popular demonstration of "industry and economy." True, each trade's representatives marched in a strict hierarchy of masters, journeymen, and apprentices, but this was indicative of corporate mutuality, certainly not yet of any class division.

In New York City, that same year, another procession "in honor of the Constitution of the United States" took to the streets. It, too, celebrated productive effort and located the citizen-craftsman at the center of the new political order. But in New York, this was done in entirely different terms than those that guided the thinking in Boston. In New York, gentlemen of the bar, merchants and traders, the president and students of the college, clergy, physicians, and militia officers all marched. However, they took their place at the rear of the procession. At the front was the requisite military detachment. Behind the artillery pieces marched foresters attired in their work frocks, carrying axes. Then a figure representing Columbus appeared, recognizable by his antique dress. More foresters followed, and after them, in order, came a plow, a sower, a harrow, farmers, and gardeners. Once the land was thus symbolically cleared and the most basic subsistence ensured, the tailors came marching, suppliers of the other elemental necessity of raiment. And so it was that in New York, too, all the trades were conspicuous participants in the new social order. This was not, however, in the static, neutral terms of Boston's alphabetization, but in a highly dynamic recounting of the material history of America, from European discovery to the present republican apotheosis. The procession narrated a story of progress, from pristine primitiveness, through productive effort, to the flowering of republican civilization as represented in the respectable personages at the rear of the parade. This was no less than a political economy acted out along Broadway.²⁹

²⁹ "The political economists began their historical accounts with a dark age of natural barbarism, not the golden age favored by republican theorists." Matson and Onuf, "Toward a Republican Empire," 518. Both processions—Boston's as well as New York's—can be said to have embraced Adam Smith's labor theory of value. See Louis Dumont, *From Mandeville to Marx: The Genesis and Triumph of Economic Ideology* (Chicago, 1977), 82–108. On the significance of alphabetization, see Cynthia J. Koepp, "The Alphabetical Order: Work in Diderot's *Encyclopédie*," in Steven Laurence Kaplan and Koepp, eds., *Work in France: Representations, Meaning, Organization, and Practice* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1986). On the processions, see Richard L. Bushman, *King and People in Provincial Massachusetts* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1992), 242–44; Howard B. Rock, ed., *The New York City Artisan, 1789–1825* (Albany, N.Y., 1989), 16; Silverman, *Cultural History*, 580–86; D. T. Valentine, *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York* (n.p., 1865), 570–71; Wilentz, *Chants Democratic*, 70–71. On progress, see Drew R. McCoy, *The*

In spite of its conscious republican schema and embrace of the victorious homespun ethos, Boston's procession already represented an anachronism. The street drama in New York advanced a different homespun narrative, one recognizing that the same industriousness that had turned a savage wilderness into a bucolic middle landscape showed no signs of abetting. This was an America, as Hector St. John de Crevecoeur observed, where "the idle may be employed, the useless become useful, and the poor become rich." Thus, for instance, what excited the most comment about Washington's homespun costume at his inauguration was not its domestic provenance per se but the quality of the American-made woolen, "so handsomely finished, that it was universally mistaken for a foreign manufactured superfine cloth."³⁰

The virtuous opposition between coarse and fine showed signs of fraying. Political sovereignty and the developing market destabilized homespun's meaning, pulling "industry" and "frugality" apart into separate, and even opposing, categories. The success in replacing imports with home manufactures now rested on the latter's relative fineness. John Chester, one of Hamilton's correspondents, wrote auspiciously from Connecticut that the state's more substantial farmers and mechanics had begun to wear Sunday dress made up at home. The improved quality of such manufactures, it was hoped, meant that the practice would become more common. "An American Farmer" could likewise still proudly declaim that in America there were none of "the works of luxury [and] the gorgeous temples" that characterized a decadent Europe. Underneath this familiar lexicon, however, was an altered grammar. "Those degrees of improvements will appear in time," was the happy prediction, once Americans removed more trees and cleared more swamps. The difference was that in America, unlike Europe, the effort would not benefit "greedy landlords" but, instead, the toilers themselves. Similar indications of the changing meaning of homespun virtue were also discernible in Royall Tyler's play *The Contrast*, the "first dramatic production of a citizen of the United States," staged in New York in 1787. Tyler, John Adams's not-so-favorite son-in-law, created a plot centering on the familiar opposition between the fashionable, self-centered Billy Dimple and the austere, upright Colonel Manly, who, characteristically, continued to dress in his wartime regimentals. Nevertheless, Tyler's contrast was no longer as stark or as elementary as it had once been. For while the foppish Dimple could never be a model of republican civility, Tyler suggested that Manly's naïve and even puerile self-abnegation promised no better a basis for responsible self-government. It was no longer so obvious with whom society's future best lay.³¹

The homespun had never been a utopian protest, frozen in time. Its prosaic, historical nature, in fact, was the key to its success as a symbol of the revolution.

Elusive Republic: Political Economy in Jeffersonian America (New York, 1982); and, more generally, Mary Poovey, *A History of the Modern Fact: Problems of Knowledge in the Sciences of Wealth and Society* (Chicago, 1998), 214–63.

³⁰ J. Greene, *Intellectual Construction of America*, 71, 78, 102–04, 114–16.

³¹ Cole, *Correspondence of Hamilton*, 3–5; Dennis D. More, *More Letters from the American Farmer: An Edition of the Essays in English Left Unpublished by Crèvecoeur* (Athens, Ga., 1995), 71; Silverman, *Cultural History*, 558–63. For the text of *The Contrast*, see Edwin H. Cady, ed., *Literature of the Early Republic* (New York, 1950), 392–449.

And that history, as New York's Constitutional Procession demonstrated, was now a distinctly linear narrative of commercial advance. Homespun augured progress. True, Franklin assigned it to "the first Ages of the world." However, that was in relation to European finery. Aboriginal status really belonged to the animal skins of Indians, whose atavism was measured precisely by their lack of a cloth-making tradition. Jefferson, who, in his *Notes on the State of Virginia* of 1787, famously opposed all manufacturing, including the household kind, as a mortal threat to American virtue—"Let us never wish to see our citizens occupied . . . twirling a distaff"—lectured the Cherokee chiefs as president in 1806 on the civilizing value of spinning and weaving their own cotton cloths. By 1812, on the eve of another shooting war with England that had grown out of a trade conflict, Jefferson reconciled with John Adams on the basis of a homespun vision of commercial progress. As Jefferson wrote back to Massachusetts:

I thank you . . . for the specimens of homespun you have been so kind as to forward me by post. I doubt not their excellence, knowing how far you are advanced in these things in your quarter. Here we do little in the fine way, but in coarse and middling goods a great deal. Every family in the country is a manufactory within itself, and is very generally able to make within itself all the stouter and middling stuffs for it's own cloathing and household use . . . For fine stuff we shall depend on your Northern manufactures . . . The economy and thriftiness resulting from our household manufactures are such that they will never again be laid aside.³²

This homespun was the same old celebration of productive energies and national improvement. It was still intended to mediate between material and political progress. However, the balance it now struck reflected a new kind of middle landscape, one in which luxury and virtue were no longer implacably opposed. That, for instance, was how the self-consciously refined members of the exclusive Sans Souci club in Boston countered familiar charges of "luxury, prodigality, and profligacy" directed against them by Sam Adams and other revolutionary veterans in 1785. Their cultural ambitions no longer signaled moral decline, they argued, but rather an ascent from primitivism to civilization.³³ Such logic was entirely consistent with the homespun's desiderata of production and national improvement. Indeed, luxuries could now become the best proof of liberty's success. "If you wish to separate commerce from luxury," a supporter of the Sans Souci wrote in referring to the dismal alternative in the *Boston Observer*, "you expect an impossibility; let us break the bands of society, refuse all connection with the arts and sciences which live under the patronage of commerce and retire to the woods; let us learn of the

³² Jefferson was not yet aware, since it was sent by separate post, that Adams's "homespun" gift was actually two volumes of Adams's collected essays and not the cloths of household provenance, which Jefferson so enthusiastically now considered of national import. We do not know if Adams's perspicacious irony was appreciated by Jefferson once the latter realized his mistake. Lester J. Cappon, ed., *The Adams-Jefferson Letters*, 2 vols. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1959), 2: 190–91; Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, William Peden, ed. (1787; New York, 1982), 164–65.

³³ Silverman, *Cultural History*, 558–63; Joyce Appleby, *Liberalism and Republicanism in the Historical Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), 8; see Robert Gross's comment in Linda Kerber, et al., "Forum: Beyond Roles, Beyond Spheres; Thinking about Gender in the Early Republic," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 46 (July 1989): 575; Warren, "Samuel Adams and the Sans Souci Club," 322–30.

savages *simplicity* of life, to forget humanity, and cut each other's throats without remorse."³⁴

What's more, in the new terms of this old debate, homespun admonitions toward frugality now often served to freeze the social order and stem the democratic tide. When hard-strapped farmers in western Massachusetts protested in favor of tax relief, debtor protection, and greater amounts of circulating currency, their political opponents countered with apocryphal stories about thrifty farmers succumbing to (their wives') taste for silk and porcelain, which had subsequently bankrupted them. "Luxury and extravagance, both in furniture and dress"—thus Abigail Adams analyzed the causes of Shays's Rebellion. Concern for public virtue, in other words, expressed conservatives' wariness of the ambitions of the less propertied. As Adam Smith explained, once "luxury" was accessible to the lowest ranks of society, "the labouring poor will not now be contented with the same food, clothing, and lodging which satisfied them in former times." The problem with luxury, a conservative complained, was that it confounded "every Distinction between the Poor and the Rich, [allowing] people of the very meanest parentages . . . if fortune be but a little favorable to them [to] vie to make themselves equal in apparel with the principle people of the place."³⁵ This was ironic mimicry of Franklin's plaint from half a century earlier about "Crowds of Imitators who . . . endeavor after a similitude of Manners." The republican creed of government by the disinterested and uncorrupted was now threatened by the same industriousness and self-exertion Franklin had considered to be the best safeguard against such corruption and social confusion in 1728. Franklin, in fact, supported the *Sans Souci* in the Boston cause célèbre. Others did not so easily update their homespun axioms to the new times. College orators debated "Whether Sumptuary Laws ought to be established in the United States?" A last historic attempt at legislative prescriptions on dress—a vestige of a political order when social arrangements rested on containing the effects of commerce, rather than vice versa—was actually made at the Constitutional Convention, where George Mason protested "the extravagance of our manners . . . and the necessity of restricting it." The convention appointed a committee to report on the question. It never did. Certainly, no such initiative found its way into the Constitution, which not only assumed that political sovereignty resided in the independent households of propertied citizens but also recognized the self-interested nature of their industrious independence. Popular government was thus tied to material improvement, as the use of homespun had long signaled.³⁶

³⁴ Quotes from Gordon S. Wood, *The Rising Glory of America, 1760–1820* (New York, 1971), 144–45. See also Matson and Onuf, "Toward a Republican Empire," 517–18; Jean-Christophe Agnew, *Worlds Apart: The Market and the Theater in Anglo-American Thought, 1550–1750* (Cambridge, 1986), 174–75.

³⁵ Silverman, *Cultural History*, 508; Myron F. Wehtje, "The Ideal of Virtue in Post-Revolutionary Boston," *Historical Journal of Massachusetts* 17 (Winter 1989): 74–75; Gordon S. Wood, *Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787* (New York, 1969), 478–79; on "luxury's" elasticity as a tool of political approbation since the sixteenth century, see John Sekura, *Luxury: The Concept in Western Thought, Eden to Smollett* (Baltimore, Md., 1977), 60–62, 64–65.

³⁶ Silverman, *Cultural History*, 516, 574; Wood, *Radicalism of the American Revolution*, 19–20, 250–59; J. G. A. Pocock, *Politics, Language, and Time* (1971; rpt. edn., Chicago, 1989), 145–46; Wehtje, "Ideal of Virtue," 69–72; Jeffrey Barnouw, "American Independence: Revolution of the Republican Ideal; A Response to Pocock's Construction of 'the Atlantic Republican Tradition,'" in Korshin, *American Revolution and Eighteenth-Century Culture*, 4–5, 41, 187–89, 250–53; Kloppenberg, "Virtues

By the time New York's Society for the Promotion of Useful Arts endorsed the importation of high quality merino sheep in 1807—so that American cloth manufacturers, the vast majority still working in the family, would have an improved raw material during the embargo—the postrevolutionary transformation of homespun ideology was complete. The independence of American farmers, the society declared, is what made it possible for them to advance beyond the mere necessities of life and to aspire to life's "conveniences and comforts." ("Conveniences and superfluities" were what Franklin denounced as inimical to homespun liberty in 1766.) "Such men will take pride and pleasure in being dressed in clothes whose softness and pliancy give warmth to the body, pleasure to the touch, and grace to the wearer. And they will be doubly proud of this, if it is the product of their own farms, and of the industry of their wives and daughters."³⁷ Americans, in other words, still wore too many foreign clothes, and only their own industry could wean them of the bad habit. But such efforts should now result in prosperity, not frugality. "Softness," "pleasure," and "grace"—no longer "the coarseness of a homespun shirt"—were the basis of a proper civic life.

BY THE END OF THE SECOND DECADE of the new century, it was clear that the industrial production of cloth no longer required the household. The homespun era was officially over.³⁸ The relationship between republican politics and clothing, however, was not. In a commodifying world, in fact, material considerations could only be expected to assume a greater role in the political imagination. Accordingly, in 1829, the new president, Andrew Jackson, issued instructions to American diplomats to appear in foreign capitals attired in proper civic costume. Jacksonian sartorial propriety was defined by its "comparative cheapness" and by its "adaptation to the simplicity of our institutions." The president prescribed a black coat, either a black or white vest, a three-cornered *chapeau bras*, and a sword to be worn in a white scabbard. The costume certainly struck a polite, even dignified, appearance. Its ideological provocation issued from the fact that foreign governments required the diplomatic corps to dress at court not only in a dignified manner but in the martial regalia of the monarchical aesthetic. The only ornamentation Jackson allowed was a single gold star affixed to the bottom of each coat collar.

Adoption of a civic costume was not directed just at European ostentation. It was no less a remonstrance against what the Jacksonian considered to have been the aristocratic predilections of previous administrations that had approved a diplomatic uniform consistent with foreign manners: a blue coat lined with white silk, a gold-embroidered cape with cuffs to match, white cassimere breeches, gold knee

of Liberalism"; Franklin A. Kalinowski, "David Hume and James Madison on Defining 'The Public Interest,'" in Matthews, *Virtue*; Bell, *On Human Finery*, 23.

³⁷ Society for the Promotion of Useful Arts, *Transactions in the State of New York* (1807): 88–90; see also Joyce Appleby, "Commercial Farming and the 'Agrarian Myth' in the Early Republic," *Journal of American History* 68 (March 1982).

³⁸ The landmark McLane Report on industry of 1833 carefully documented the disappearance of fulling mills, where homemade cloths were traditionally dressed. See also Tryon, *Household Manufactures*.

buckles, white silk stockings, and gold or gilt shoe buckles. The new directive, in other words, far from being a curiosity, was an element of Jackson's democratic program for American politics. Indeed, the issue had arisen during the fierce presidential campaign of the year before when a young congressman, James Buchanan, delivered a diatribe in the House of Representatives aimed at the sartorial habits of American diplomats posted abroad. He berated the ridiculous spectacle of American ministers "bedizened in all the colors of the rainbow." American manners, Buchanan insisted in rhetoric reminiscent of revolutionary proclamations, "ought to be congenial to the simplicity and dignity of our institutions. In every attempt to ape the splendor of the representatives of monarchical Governments, we must fail."³⁹

Twenty-five years later, Buchanan himself was the American ambassador to the Court of St. James when the diplomatic dress code reemerged as the subject of ideological polemic. In 1853, William Marcy, the secretary of state in Franklin Pierce's new administration, issued a circular ordering American ministers in foreign capitals to appear at court in "the simple dress of an American citizen." Such a presentation was thought to best express their "devotion to republican institutions." Again, the pronouncements were intended principally for domestic consumption. Letters of support poured into the State Department from all over the country, or so it was reported. The *New York Herald*, contemptuous of a foreign policy carried out by symbols and gestures, nevertheless recognized the measure of public approbation "from Cape Cod to California" that Marcy's patriotic self-flattery was sure to elicit. And, in fact, one such expression could be read the same day in the pages of the *New York Post*, which applauded Marcy's contribution to the creation of a "national individuality." An American minister abroad, the *Post* elaborated, "should be an American; he should look like an American, talk like an American, and be an American example." The nativism was palpable, but so was the familiar grammar of homespun virtue, for the *Post* defined such an American national identity as resting, first and foremost, on the rejection of livery and all

³⁹ There might have been a personal motive at work here as well. Jackson, the first congressman from Tennessee, had written disconcertingly to his wife that, upon his arrival in Philadelphia, he had immediately ordered a black coat and breeches. "They fit me quite well, and I thought I presented a handsome figure. But when I got to the Congress to be sworn in, I found myself the only one with a queue down my back tied with an eelskin. From the expression of the more elegant nabobs about me, I could see that they thought me an uncouth looking personage with the manners of a rough backwoodsman." Quoted in Gerry Beth Gilbert, "An Examination of the Influence of Social and Economic Development on East Tennessee Dress from 1790 to 1850" (MS thesis, University of Tennessee, 1971), 27. See also Andrew Jackson, "To the Embodied Militia," delivered just before the main battle at New Orleans in 1814, in which he attacks the effects of opulence and wealth. David G. Pugh, *Sons of Liberty: The Masculine Mind in Nineteenth-Century America* (Westport, Conn., 1983), 21. 36th Congress, 1st Session, Ex. Doc. 31, 3-4; Robert Ralph Davis, Jr., "Diplomatic Plumage: American Court Dress in the Early National Period," *American Quarterly* 20, no. 2, part 1 (Summer 1968): 171. See also Marcus Benjamin, "Court Costumes Worn by American Diplomats," *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine* 53 (November 1918): 638-45. Jefferson had been portrayed by Federalist rivals in red breeches and slovenly attire. See Michael Kammen, "From Liberty to Prosperity: Reflections upon the Role of Revolutionary Iconography in National Tradition," *American Antiquarian Society* 86, part 2 (1976): 238-39; also the anti-embargo caricature from 1809, rpt. in Editors of the Foreign Policy Association, *1776-1976: A Cartoon History of United States Foreign Policy* (New York, 1975).

other badges of "servility," "barbarity," and personal dependence characteristic of despotism and markedly absent from the American style of governance.⁴⁰

In London, James Buchanan was given the opportunity to practice the sartorial fidelity to republican principles he had so fervently preached a generation earlier. He did not disappoint. "A minister of the United States should . . . wear something more in character with our democratic institutions than a coat covered with embroidery and gold lace," he wrote to Marcy in February 1854, after his absence at Parliament's opening—necessitated by his refusal to wear court costume—was noticed by all the London papers and had provoked the threat of an official inquiry in the House of Commons. In fact, Buchanan had been negotiating with Sir Edward Cust, master of ceremonies, since the previous October in search of a compromise that would satisfy his instructions while respecting the exalted character of the queen, "both as a sovereign and a lady." One tentative solution allowed Buchanan to appear at court in the same attire he wore to the president's levees in Washington, with the single addition of a black-handled, black-hilted dress sword whose monochrome plainness made it "more manly and less gaudy." Victoria, however, took umbrage at Buchanan's pantaloons, and a different arrangement had to be found. Someone suggested to Buchanan that he adopt for this purpose the civilian dress worn by President Washington. No one could question its republican authenticity. At the same time, such an anachronistic appearance would satisfy the court's sumptuary bias toward the mock heroic. Buchanan considered the idea,

but after examining Stewart's portrait, at the house of a friend, I came to the conclusion that it would not be proper for me to adopt this costume. I observed, "fashions had so changed since the days of Washington, that if I were to put on his dress and appear in it before the chief magistrate of my own country, at one of his receptions, I should render myself a subject of ridicule for life."⁴¹

It was a telling observation. The fact is, Marcy's paeon to "the simple dress of an American citizen," for all its banal symbolism, touched on fundamental questions about political life in an industrial age. It was not enough to flatter the United States by comparison to a decadent Europe, or even democracy to monarchy (and here Buchanan's description of the "democratic" nature of republican simplicity finally made explicit what the homespun ideology had long intimated). American democratic identity had to rest on the country's own political inheritance, that "simple and unostentatious course which was deemed so proper, and was so much approved in the earliest days of the republic," as Marcy described it in his circular. Franklin—"our first and most distinguished representative at a royal court"—was promoted to archetype: he had purportedly (contemporary accounts are conflicted) appeared at Versailles in plain dress devoid of embroidery, and even in his own hair, not a wig. But just as no one in 1853 could wear Franklin's high-waisted coat

⁴⁰ *New York Herald*, June 15, 1853; *New York Post*, June 15, 1853; 36th Congress, 1st Session, Ex. Doc. 31, 6; Davis, "Diplomatic Plumage," 174; George Ticknor Curtis, *Life of James Buchanan* (New York, 1883), 106–16.

⁴¹ As Buchanan observed, "The simple dress of an American citizen' is exactly that of the upper court servants." Curtis, *Life of James Buchanan*, 116; *New York Tribune*, April 18, 1854; 36th Congress, 1st Session, Ex. Doc. 31, 16–20, 23–24. On the sword, see, for instance, Stephanie Grauman Wolf, "Rarer Than Riches: Gentility in Eighteenth-Century America," in Ellen G. Miles, ed., *The Portrait in Eighteenth-Century America* (Newark, Del., 1993), 95, 98.

and knee breeches, so the "simple and unostentatious" politics of virtue of his times had to be adapted to a new social and material reality.⁴²

There was no lack of sartorial images of civic virtue available in the mid-nineteenth century. The *Nation*, synopsisizing "the Great Dress Question" in 1867, when the issue yet again erupted into political controversy, correctly observed that "the 'simple dress of an American citizen' is, of course, a very vague term inasmuch as it includes all varieties of costume from full evening dress down to shirt sleeves and homespun pantaloons."⁴³ In fact, every such variation was in evidence. An 1835 statue of Hamilton erected at the exchange on Wall Street depicted him in contemporary eighteenth-century garb and then wrapped him in an outer layer of classical drapery, a medley that made Hamilton a son of 1776 while according his revolutionary times a transcendent status based on classical Roman provenance.⁴⁴ The same iconographical strategy was evidenced in the engraved frontispiece of J. Franklin Reigart's *United States Album*, which featured Washington on a steeply elevated pedestal standing before a craggy wilderness, dressed in a hunting shirt—which had its own virtuous associations from the revolutionary era, not to mention an obvious pertinence to nineteenth-century continental expansion—over which, as with Hamilton, classical robes were draped.⁴⁵ There was, perhaps, no more telling metaphor for the transition from an agrarian to an industrial world than the incongruity of these separate layers, but this was a style of dress better suited to statuary than to citizens going about their daily business. In the rest of Reigart's *United States Album*, an image-laden testament to national identity published in 1844, a more practical range of sartorial symbols was on display. The peruser could find inspiration in Maine's state seal, depicting a sailor and farmer standing side by side, attired in their respective working denims and linseys; or in Indiana's pioneer, stripped to his waist while felling trees in clearing the prairie; or in Kentucky's two fastidiously groomed gentlemen dressed in morning coats and closely tailored pantaloons, clasping each other's hand in civic affection amidst a well-appointed interior of books, Doric columns, and plush sofas; or in Massachusetts's half-naked Indian warrior, undressed not as a result of strenuous labor like the Indiana pioneer but as testament to his antediluvian innocence.⁴⁶

What the Indian, the working man, the pioneer, and the civilized bourgeois shared were distinct roles in the nation's material history. Each represented a stage in America's march to industrial greatness, as New York's Constitutional Proces-

⁴² 36th Congress, 1st Session, Ex. Doc. 31, 4–5; Davis, "Diplomatic Plumage," 167; John F. Kasson, *Rudeness and Civility: Manners in Nineteenth-Century Urban America* (New York, 1990), 29–31; *Mirror of Fashion*, new ser., 1 (1853): 30. On Franklin's genius for striking a pose of simplicity when it became the political fashion, see R. Jackson Wilson, *Figures of Speech: American Writers and the Literary Marketplace, from Benjamin Franklin to Emily Dickinson* (Baltimore, 1989), 21–25.

⁴³ *The Nation* (April 2, 1868): 267–68.

⁴⁴ *New York Mirror*, October 24, 1835.

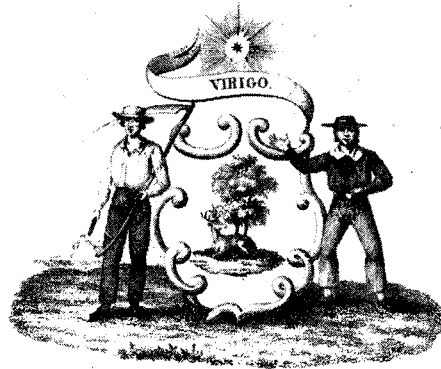
⁴⁵ One of the original designs for the great seal of the new republic included an American soldier dressed in a hunting shirt. Gaillard Hunt, "History of the Seal of the United States" (Washington, D.C., 1909), 2; see also Carolyn R. Shine, "Hunting Shirts and Silk Stockings: Clothing Early Cincinnati," *Queen City Heritage* 45 (1987): 26–28, 46; J. Franklin Reigart, *The United States Album, Embellished with the Arms of Each State . . . , Containing the Autographs of the President and Cabinet . . .* (Lancaster City, Pa., 1844); Wolf, "Rarer Than Riches," 98.

⁴⁶ Reigart, *United States Album*; see also E. McClung Fleming, "From Indian Princess to Greek Goddess: The American Image, 1783–1815," *Winterthur Portfolio* 3 (1966): 37–66.

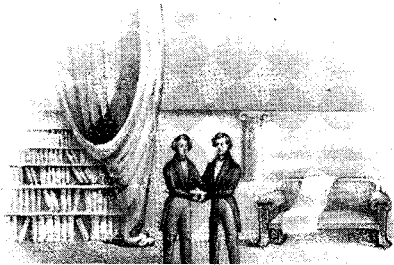
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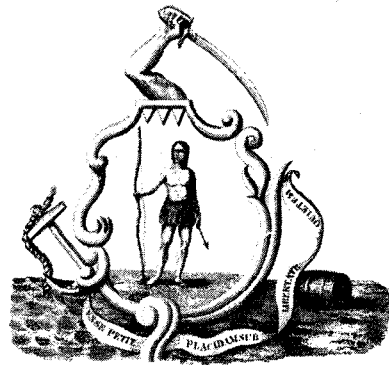
MAINE.



KENTUCKY.



MASSACHUSETTS.



"The 'simple dress of an American citizen' is, of course, a very vague term inasmuch as it includes all varieties of costume from full evening dress down to shirt sleeves and homespun pantaloons." Thus explained *The Nation* in 1867. J. Franklin Reigart had already illustrated that range of sartorial virtue in his *United States Album, Embellished with the Arms of Each State* (Lancaster City, Pa., 1844), four of which appear here. Courtesy of the Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection, Winterthur, Delaware.

sion had first displayed it sixty years earlier. Progress had been great indeed. In seeking to prove that industry could no longer be sustained by the agrarian republic, *Niles's Weekly Register* devoted most of a single issue in 1817 to showing that agricultural production fell \$128,459,000 short in paying the costs of clothing and feeding the nation, the same two criteria of sovereignty applied by revolutionary patriots fifty years earlier when Benjamin Rush proclaimed that "a people who are entirely dependent upon foreigners for food or clothes must always be subject to them." A generation later, in 1840, *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine* happily declared that "the art of household manufacture is fast being totally lost." The farmer was now entirely dependent on the city manufacturer for his garments. In place of a neighborhood division of the labor of spinners, weavers, fullers, and tailors, a transcontinental specialization of farmers, factories, and middlemen had arisen. This gave birth to a clothing industry led by innumerable "new men" coordinating

a transatlantic market in cloth, a continental market in credit, and a metropolitan market in labor. "Aided by cheap and rapid communication with all parts of the country . . . with all the advantages of large capital and machinery, [clothiers] supply every town and village with ready-made clothing, at the lowest prices." This was how the federal census of 1860 presented the meteoric rise of what had become one of the country's biggest businesses. Ever attentive to the relationship between the social and sartorial, it went on to note that "the manufacture and sale of clothing [is] a branch of trade which is everywhere directly dependent upon the progress of wealth and refinement."⁴⁷

And so, if Americans still measured their greatness "by the comparative lack of elevation of any one man above the rest," as Ralph Waldo Emerson claimed they did, this leveling now took place not on the coarse, homemade terms of homespun but on those of a fine suit of factory-manufactured (and usually imported) broadcloth, cut in a modern style (invariably originating in London or Paris) and organized into a continental system of clothing wholesalers and merchant tailors. In "the age of mechanical philosophy, of general physical comfort, and productive industry," as *Hunt's* defined the ultimate epoch in the progress of civilized nations, sartorial virtue was no longer a paean to scarcity and self-sacrifice but to industrial plenty and cultural refinement, and to that refinement's availability to all citizens. Thus Reverend Henry W. Bellows delivered an oration on "The Moral Significance of the Crystal Palace," where an Exhibition of Industry of All Nations opened in New York City in 1853: "Luxury is debilitating and demoralizing only when it is exclusive . . . The peculiarity of the luxury of our time, and especially of our country, is its diffusive nature; it is the opportunity and the aim of large masses of our people; and this happily unites it with industry, equality, and justice." Public happiness was attained not by means of frugality but by its opposite, mass production. This was an "industrial luxury," a middle landscape for the new century, which, no less than the homespun before it, was supposed to include all citizens. "Now the interests of everyone are all intertwined together," as *Hunt's* celebrated the industrial division of labor that brought an end to household manufacturing.⁴⁸

There was nothing strange, therefore, when the New York merchant tailor George P. Fox declared his ambition "to adorn the Doric simplicity of American principles by the inimitable grace and elegance of an appropriate cosmopolitan costume," or when *Putnam's Magazine* proclaimed in 1857 that "we reject the Spartan theory of republican life which simply leads us back to the barbarities of Spartan or Puritan despotism." The same 1860 census, whose manufacturing

⁴⁷ *Niles's*, June 28, 1817; Welters and Janecek, "Social Meaning of Homespun Clothing," 28; *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine* (October 1840): 305–10; (May 1840): 363–64; *Manufactures of the United States in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington, D.C., 1865), lxi–lxii; *Eighty Years' Progress of the United States* (Hartford, Conn., 1869), 309; on the birth of the clothing industry, see Michael Zakim, "A Ready-Made Business," *Business History Review* 73 (Spring 1999): 65–67.

⁴⁸ Emerson quoted in Isaac Walker, *Dress: As It Has Been, Is, and Will Be* (New York, 1885), 70–73; *Hunt's* 2 (May 1840): 361–72; Bellows quoted in Kasson, *Civilizing the Machine*, 40; Lady Emmeline Stuart Wortley, *Travels in the United States, during 1849 and 1850* (London, 1851), 1: 268. On the discovery of material abundance and man's Promethean powers, see Joyce Appleby, "Consumption in Early Modern Social Thought," in John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (New York, 1993). "Industrial luxury" is borrowed from Susan Buck-Morss, *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989).

schedule was actually published in 1865 as an *ex post facto* validation of northern industrial greatness, accordingly described the homespun practices of the past as “a compulsory frugality” forced on colonists by the “straitened pecuniary means of the underdeveloped state of all domestic arts.”⁴⁹ “Without fashion,” the men’s tailoring journal *Mirror of Fashion* insisted, echoing Franklin during the Sans Souci controversy, “commerce would be reduced from a wealthy giant to a sickly lilliputian.” And so, Horace Greeley reviewed the industrial exhibition at New York’s Crystal Palace and concluded that “every sober mechanic has his one or two suits of broadcloth, and, so far as mere clothes go, can make as good a display, when he chooses, as what are called the upper classes.” The *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, Greeley’s partisan rivals, called that achievement no less than “revolutionary.” “Articles of clothing are now at the command of the lowest members of society, which, but a century since, were scarcely within the reach of crowned heads.” The first thing that attracted one’s attention upon arriving in New York, a Welsh immigrant wrote in 1844, were the city’s people, “all so neatly and comfortably clad.” “The stranger is involuntarily led to enquire,” he continued, as to “where are the working classes—the tattered and half-fed, miserable-looking starvelings . . . of his native land.” The American contrast with Europe was no less dramatic—or flattering—than it had been a century before. However, now America offered plenty, while Europe was identified with scarcity.⁵⁰

It was a distinctly democratic plenty. The *Mirror of Fashion* wrote: “Even in Paris—‘the city of taste,’—*par excellence*, there are not more persons that wear coats, than in [New York].” And that, in fact, was the point Marcy wanted to make in dressing the country’s diplomats in the “simple dress of an American citizen.” For in so doing, he proclaimed that in America the common man was king, and popular taste ruled. Fashion was not handed down from the social elites to a sycophantic public. Rather, in the United States, as the Englishman Thomas Gratton wrote after a visit, everyone was, “as might be said, ‘his own gentleman’ [and] there is no standard for them, from the want of a permanent class in society to be looked up to and imitated.” This was the difference between the “freaks and follies of foreign fancy,” as the *Mirror of Fashion* defined European manners, and those fashions “strictly consonant with American feelings and predilections” that issued from the bottom up, like social power in general.⁵¹

⁴⁹ George P. Fox, *Fashion: The Power That Influences the World*, 3d edn. (New York, 1872), 23; Putnam’s quoted in Peter Buckley, “To the Opera House: Culture and Society in New York City, 1820–1860” (PhD dissertation, SUNY, Stony Brook, 1984), 602–03; *Manufactures of the United States in 1860*, lxii–lxiii.

⁵⁰ *Mirror of Fashion*, new ser., 1 (1853): 21; Horace Greeley, *Art and Industry as Represented in the Exhibition at the Crystal Palace* (New York, 1853), 231; *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review* (New York) 19, no. 100 (October 1846): 305; immigrant quoted in Richard B. Stott, *Workers in the Metropolis: Class, Ethnicity, and Youth in Antebellum New York City* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1990), 174–75. J. D. B. DeBow sounded a similar refrain. “The humblest classes have now the means of dressing as elegantly as did the highest fifty years ago.” DeBow, *The Industrial Resources, etc. of the Southern and Western States* (New Orleans, 1852), 207–08.

⁵¹ *Mirror of Fashion*, new ser., 1 (1853): 21; Thomas Colley Gratton, *Civilized America* (1859; rpt. edn., New York, 1969), 1: 190; see similar remarks in Charles Dickens, *American Notes for General Circulation* (1842; rpt. edn., London, 1972), 173. Second quote of *Mirror of Fashion* is quoted in *New Mirror*, January 13, 1844.

Those feelings and predilections were to be espied in Cornelius Mathews's "Man in the Republic" (1843),

With plainness in thy daily pathway walk—
And disencumbered of excess.⁵²

"Excess," however, was not entirely banished from American life. In fact, it now proved immanent to the female condition. In the era of ready-made virtue, women's dress became uniquely identified with corrupting pretense: the hoop skirt, for example, embodied encumbering artifice in much the same way that wigs had in the eyes of homespun patriots a century earlier. Both men and women, however, had worn wigs. Only women wore hoop skirts. And so, the "bug bear—fashion" no longer divided aristocrat and republican but, rather, women and men. This was a pointed instance of how sex replaced class as the great social divide in industrial democracies, disguising the asymmetrical nature of power in societies that otherwise promoted equality as a tenet of political life.⁵³ In 1828, Sarah Hale had actually sought to ally her new *Lady's Book* with the Jacksonian dress campaign, pledging to keep fashion plates out of its pages. Fashion was a European blight, the *Lady's Book* declared, unsuited to American life. Hale apparently aspired to tie female politesse to national virtue, in the same way that middle-class men were developing a sartorial aesthetic of "republican simplicity" to consolidate their civic status. However, she failed. Within two years, Hale's magazine was regularly featuring the latest styles from London and Paris, and women's dress was becoming an inverted reflection of male citizenship.⁵⁴

Nineteenth-century dress reform consequently addressed female irrationality. The best-known campaign promoted a costume named in 1851 for the reform activist Amelia Bloomer. It heightened the skirt to avoid dragging in the filth of the streets (long skirts, like tight lacing, were an old subject of reform protest). More to the point, it replaced the voluminous underskirts with pantaloons gathered at the ankle, or a little above. Skirt and pants were to be made of the same materials. The "Bloomer" appeared at the end of a decade of escalating physical constriction in woman's fashions and was designed to forge a new, truer relationship between a woman and her dress and, as a consequence, a more rational relationship to the world at large. Elizabeth Cady Stanton embraced the innovation, after having

⁵² Cornelius Mathews, *Man in the Republic, A Series of Poems* (New York, 1843).

⁵³ On the gendering of American industrial society and the consequent "depoliticization" of, respectively, urban space, partisan conflict, and conjugal marriage, see David Scobey, "Anatomy of the Promenade: The Politics of Bourgeois Sociability in Nineteenth-Century New York," *Social History* 17 (May 1992); Paula Baker, "The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780–1920," *AHR* 89 (June 1984): 620–47; T. Walter Herbert, *Dearest Beloved: The Hawthornes and the Making of the Middle Class Family* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993). For a classic or the (anti-)political uses of gender in liberal societies, see Carole Pateman, *The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism and Political Theory* (Stanford, Calif., 1989).

⁵⁴ *Lady's Book* 8 (1834): 253; Severa, *Dressed for the Photographer*, 3; Claudia Kidwell, *Cutting a Fashionable Fit: Dressmakers' Draftmaking Systems in the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1979); Wolf, "Rarer Than Riches," 98. On the symbolic meaning of w(h)igs in the 1830s, see the lithograph reproduced in Elizabeth Johns, *American Genre Painting: The Politics of Everyday Life* (New Haven, Conn., 1991), 47. On the development of a sentimental female culture opposed to manly republican simplicity, see Thomas N. Baker, *Sentiment and Celebrity: Nathaniel Parker Willis and the Trials of Literary Fame* (New York, 1999).

witnessed her Bloomer-clad cousin, "with a lamp in one hand, a baby in the other, walk upstairs, with ease and grace, while, with flowing robes, I pulled myself up with difficulty, lamp and baby out of the question."⁵⁵

Stanton and her cousin, Elizabeth Miller, like Bloomer, were all active campaigners for women's equal rights, and the new costume was an explicit expression of their feminism. As Susan B. Anthony asserted, "I can see no business avocation, in which woman in her present dress *can possibly* earn *equal wages* with man." Amelia Bloomer wrote in *The Lily*, which she edited, that the new outfit was ideally suited for women who were active and did their own housework. "We wash and iron, bake and brew, cook and wash dishes, make beds and sweep the house, etc.etc., and we find the short dress much more *convenient* than the long one." Flowing robes, Bloomer continued, could only appear graceful on women who solely struck poses. The argument had a distinctly homespun inflection. Indeed, the non-feminist *Ladies Wreath* described the Bloomer as "a dress altogether American and unique in its character, distinguished from any of those imported from abroad by its surpassing neatness and simplicity." And certainly, the cultural perfectionism that motivated these reformers could be compared, if not actually traced, to the ascetic self-sacrifice of the non-importation crusades of the previous century, when daughters of the genteel classes foreswore their English tea and silks. Proponents of the Bloomer were engaged in a similar sartorial politics directed against the corruptions of fashion. Their dress reform, it was accordingly declared, would obviate "distinctions of physical force, birth and rank . . . and [things] fashionable, aristocratic, and European."⁵⁶

But that was precisely the problem. For, in telling contrast to the homespun era, attempts by women in the industrial age to adopt a dress of virtuous protest required them to don male attire. And wearing trousers—the sole right of men, as contemporaries repeatedly proclaimed—bordered on "pantaloony."⁵⁷ Thus the

⁵⁵ The Bloomer was not divorced from fashionability, influenced as it was by contemporary interest in the Near East. Rudofsky, *Are Clothes Modern?* 184; Severa, *Dressed for the Photographer*, 7, 15; Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *Eighty Years and More* (London, 1898), 201–04. John Humphrey Noyes: "Woman's dress is a standing lie. It proclaims that she is not a two legged animal, but something like a churn standing on castors!" Quoted in Amy Kesselman, "The 'Freedom Suit': Feminism and Dress Reform in the United States, 1848–1875," *Gender and Society* 5 (December 1991): 496.

⁵⁶ *Holden's Dollar Magazine* 5 (March 1850): 179. The connection between homespun and the Bloomer was made explicit in "A Bloomer among Us," in *Godey's Lady's Book*, May 1854. Though critical and even dismissive, the author, Pauline Forsyth, clearly understood the ideological provenance of the Bloomer, as she made the father of the Bloomer-clad feminist a "homespun-looking man." Anthony quoted in Robert E. Reigel, "Women's Clothes and Women's Rights," *American Quarterly* 15 (Fall 1963): 391; Shelly Foote, "Bloomers," *Dress* 6 (1980): 5; *Ladies Wreath* 6 (1852): 248; *Lily* (May 1851): 38; the Bloomer's real practical success, by all accounts, was in its widespread adoption by "active women" in isolated farming settlements. Severa, *Dressed for the Photographer*, 88; David Holman and Billie Persons, *Buckskin and Homespun: Frontier Texas Clothing, 1820–1870* (Austin, Tex., 1979), 41–43; last quote from William Leach, *True Love and Perfect Union* (New York, 1980), 246. See also Ann Russo and Cheris Kramarae, *The Radical Women's Press of the 1850s* (New York, 1991). On positive responses to the Bloomer in the general press, see *Gleason's Pictorial*, June 14, 1851; *New York Tribune*, May 27, 1851. On the general political effect of the Bloomer protest, see William Hancock, *An Emigrant's Five Years in the Free States of America* (London, 1860), 96.

⁵⁷ Thus *Harper's Magazine* paraphrased Hamlet: "To don the pants—/ The pants! perchance the boots! Ay, there's the rub . . ." Quoted in Claudia Kidwell and Valerie Steele, eds., *Men and Women: Dressing the Part* (Washington, D.C., 1989), 150. On the dangers of impersonating men, see, for instance, Tassie Gwilliam, "Pamela and the Duplicitous Body of Femininity," *Representations* 34 (Spring 1991). On the nineteenth century's gendering of costume, see, for instance, Helene E. Roberts,

Ladies Wreath, despite its enthusiasm for such a uniquely virtuous American dress, still refused to endorse it. A costume that made it easier for women to walk would allow them to walk away from their duties. *Peterson's Magazine* observed that women lost all their natural grace when dressed in attire designed for a man's straightforward gait. *Harper's* conjured up a dystopian future in which women proposed marriage to men. Others warned that Wellingtons, canes, and even cigars were not far off.

Women, in other words, had no way to participate in sartorial virtue without betraying their nature. That is not to say they did not have a virtuous nature, only that it was a private one, now disconnected from questions of political economy and civic life represented in republican dress. Appropriately enough, there was no mass production of ready-mades for women before the Civil War. And, in fact, *Godey's Lady's Book*, the leading proponent of women using fashion to define a separate sphere for themselves, paid only scant attention to the whole Bloomer issue, hoping it would go away, which it soon did.⁵⁸

Men's industrial-age appearance, on the other hand, was successfully tied to a tradition of virtuous simplicity. The *Scientific American* wrote: "The fine arts flourish best amidst a luxurious people, where wealth is concentrated in the hands of the few . . . Objects of utility rather than objects of ornate ability, are the characteristics of American genius." In contrast to women's ornate nature, men dressed in a style of linear utility and monochrome plainness. An explosion in measuring and drafting technologies after 1820 turned the male body into a subject of rationalization and profit. Utility, in fact, proved to be the bridge from republican simplicity to industrial abundance: it tied men's raiment to the progress of the age. The *Mirror of Fashion* explained:

We have made great improvements in dress since the days of the Toga; but then we should not forget that the main argument in favor of the personal appearance of the moderns, is utility. Our dress being mathematically cut, discloses the shape of the figure, and yields to the conveniences of locomotion without restraint to limb, muscle, or joint, and yet without the inconvenience of carrying a surplus of cloth.

Marcy's "simple dress of an American citizen," in short, turned out to be what, at mid-century, contemporaries had begun to call "business dress"—daytime wear known for its convenience, comfort, and lack of pretension. And so, we find a business directory in 1855 describing the era's "self-made" man in terms dis-

"The Exquisite Slave: The Role of Clothes in the Making of the Victorian Woman," *Signs* 2 (Spring 1977); Mariana Valverde, "The Love of Finery: Fashion and the Fallen Woman in Nineteenth-Century Social Discourse," *Victorian Studies* 32 (Winter 1989); Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "The Other Side of Venus: The Visual Economy of Feminine Display," in Victoria De Grazia and Ellen Furlough, eds., *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996).

⁵⁸ *Ladies Wreath* 6 (1852): 248. It was a measure of the uncertain character of the times that dress reformers, no less than proponents of women's fashions, based their program on a putative "nature." Foote, "Bloomers," 5, 10; Kidwell and Steele, *Men and Women*, 149–50. In contrast, Elizabeth Cady Stanton wrote to Gerrit Smith, who opposed the Bloomer, in 1856: "Believing as you do in the identity of the sexes, that all the difference we see in tastes, in character, is entirely the result of education—that 'man is woman and woman is man'—why keep up these distinctions of dress[?]" Quoted in Leach, *True Love and Perfect Union*, 246; see also George Templeton Strong, *Diary of George Templeton Strong*, Allan Nevins, ed. (New York, 1952), 2: September 8, 1853. See, too, in general, Marina Warner, *Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form* (London, 1985).

tinctly reminiscent of Franklin's "homespun dress of Honesty": "They need no golden helmet or other blazon of wealth to win them the public gaze; in the shock of the conflict, fierce though friendly, the unknown knight, with his plain unostentatious black armor, without page or esquire, proved himself the victorious champion."⁵⁹

NOT EVERYONE WAS HAPPY with this transformation. Nathaniel Willis, the self-appointed copywriter for New York's Upper Tendom, complained that he lived in a "nation of black coats." It was little wonder, he lamented, that his fastidious British friends characterized Broadway as "a procession of undertakers." Willis, with his neo-Federalist suspicions of the nouveau riche and other self-made types, recognized that just because no elite was dictating fashions, that did not mean there was no dictatorial control over appearance. Indeed, if, as Thomas Grattan claimed, each American was "his own gentleman," then why did they look so much the same?⁶⁰

It was the question Tocqueville had asked, and then answered with his famous discovery that democratic community rested on each individual's anxious pursuit of his own material interest. For some, this was an unhappy situation. It led Horace Bushnell to protest the commercial saturation of life, in a centenary oration delivered in Litchfield, Connecticut, in 1851, which he entitled "The Age of Homespun." According to Bushnell, the age of homespun was a simpler, more virtuous time, free of the perpetual accumulation and striving of the present age. And it was here, in Bushnell's rendering of homespun as the antipode of modern industry, that the capitalist inversion of republicanism was completed.

Bushnell described an older world of work and modesty. It was an age, he claimed, when housewives made coats for children, sons built stone fences, and millers took an honest toll of rye. It was a time characterized by the "beautiful simplicity of nature." "Primitive and simple in their character . . . intelligent without refinement," homespun was the opposite of "all the polite fictions and empty conventionalities of the world." Bushnell reveled in a past in which people appreciated the true value of things because they produced them themselves. When no ready-made commodities were available, they knew just how much labor and effort were required to maintain their own material existence. "No mode of life was ever more expensive," he observed in sarcastic allusion to the bargain hunters of a wholesale age.⁶¹

⁵⁹ *Scientific American*, quoted in Ranson, *Civilizing the Machine*, 151–55; *Mirror of Fashion*, new ser., 3 (1855): 1–2; Anne Hollander, *Sex and Suits* (New York, 1994). On the social and cultural implications of measuring systems, see Michael Zakim, "Customizing the Industrial Revolution: The Reinvention of Tailoring in the Nineteenth Century," *Winterthur Portfolio* 33 (Spring 1998). For business dress, see, for instance, *Mirror of Fashion*, new ser., 1 (1853): 61, 83, 102, 122, 133, 143, 152; *Cohen's New Orleans Directory* (1855).

⁶⁰ N. P. Willis, *Dashes at Life with a Free Pencil* (New York, 1847), part 4, 16. On Willis, see T. Baker, *Sentiment and Celebrity*.

⁶¹ Horace Bushnell, "The Age of Homespun," delivered at Litchfield, Connecticut, on the Occasion of the Centennial Celebration, 1851, in *Centennial Celebration* (Hartford, Conn., 1851), 112, 114–16, 123–24. On the industrial century's nostalgic reinvention of the colonial past, see Beverly Gordon, "Dressing the Colonial Past: Nineteenth Century New Englanders Look Back," in Cunningham and

The homespun, the original ideology of production, had thus become by the middle of the industrial century a protest against the fate of man's productive energies in a world where industry and frugality were no longer complementary. For Bushnell, however, such irony had little meaning. He propounded a collective memory of an era before "affectation of polite living [and] languishing airs of delicacy and softness in doors, had begun to make the fathers and sons impatient of hard work out of doors, and set them at contriving some easier and more plausible way of living."⁶² As such, whether or not his idealized "home factory" ever really existed in such a pristine form, it contained redemptive powers for a far more ambiguous age.

Bushnell's was not the only expression of homespun nostalgia. In a story entitled "Dependence: or, What Made One Woman Meanly Penurious," which appeared in the feminist journal *Una* in 1853, the heroine redeems her profligacy by rededicating herself to labor—in this case, to sewing, for no one seriously thought about spinning anymore⁶³—and to its corollary, the rejection of fashion. In fact, the homespun ideology now seemed to unite disparate malcontents in the era of industrial revolution. Brigham Young declared in virtuous defiance that "I would rather wear gray homespun than your fine broadcloth. I would as soon wear a good home-made coat as a coat of the finest cloth in the world." And the radical working-class *Subterranean* denounced the sophism of those who wore white silk gloves and gracefully lifted their hat upon meeting an acquaintance. It presented an alternative image of "true politeness": "The man who lays aside all selfishness, in regard to the happiness of others . . . is a polite man, although he may wear a homespun coat, and make a very ungraceful bow."⁶⁴

However, none of the protesters could escape the dialectics of homespun ideology. Even Bushnell, who ignored homespun's actual role in the colonial exchange economy, had to acknowledge its relationship to market success:

It is because they have gone out in the wise economy of a simple, homespun training, expecting to get on in the world by merit and patience, and by a careful husbanding of small advances; secured in their virtue, by just that which makes their perseverance successful. For the men who see the great in the small, and go on to build the great by small increments, will commonly have an exact conscience too that beholds great principles in small things, and so will form a character of integrity.

This was the same ethos that guided the entrepreneur. "Although I realize only a small profit on each sale, the enlarged area of business thus secured makes possible a great accumulation of capital and assures the future," as A. T. Stewart explained his business success.⁶⁵

Lab, *Dress in American Culture*. See also Willis's *New Mirror*, April 29, 1843, for an anticipation of Bushnell's rhetoric.

⁶² Bushnell, "Age of Homespun," 123.

⁶³ *Una*, April 1, 1853. Spinning belonged to "those [past] days of primitive contentment." *Ladies' Companion* (August 1840): 20.

⁶⁴ Ruth Vickers Clayton, "Clothing and the Temporal Kingdom: Mormon Clothing Practices, 1847 to 1887" (PhD dissertation, Purdue University, 1987), 125; *Subterranean*, June 27, 1846.

⁶⁵ Bushnell, "Age of Homespun," 126. There were other acknowledgements of the influence of New England's "early thrift and industry" on the country's commercial success. See "The Influence of the Trading Spirit upon the Social and Moral Life in America," published in the Whig-aligned *American*

Meanwhile, proponents of industrial revolution dismissed homespun as a distant memory. This is not to say they had forgotten its original importance to industry. "It was [British suppression of manufacturing], rather than taxation, that was the probable ground of the Revolution," as *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine* now interpreted the nation's founding impetus. "The colonists, simple in their habits of life, were contented to ride from farm to farm upon pillions, dressed in cloths woven from their own looms, and to acquire their subsistence between the handles of the plough." But the "progress of civilized nations" relegated homespun to the status of artifact. Its very antiquatedness, in fact, became a gauge of progress: homespun emerged as the negative reflection of productive achievement.⁶⁶

This was most obvious in the escalating polemic between North and South. In his condemnatory travelogue of the Cotton Kingdom written on the eve of the Civil War, Frederick Law Olmsted quoted a letter from an Illinois farmer published in the *New York Times* that disapprovingly observed the backward condition of citizens in a slave society. "For the most part, the people of these regions manufacture all their every-day clothing, and their garments look as though they were made for no other purpose than to keep them warm and to cover their nakedness; beauty of colouring and propriety in fitting are little regarded." Likewise, Olmsted himself wondered how it was that while "in Ohio the spinning-wheel and hand-loom are curiosities, and homespun would be a conspicuous and noticeable material of clothing, half the white population of Mississippi still dress in homespun, and at every second house the wheel and loom are found in operation?"⁶⁷

If there were any doubt left about homespun's contemporary identification with political reaction, one had only to observe how the coming of the war provoked a rush of enthusiasm for homespun throughout the South. When Carrie Long graduated from College Temple in Georgia in the spring of 1861, her class chose homespun as the material for their dresses. "The whole county praised the act." On that day, everybody was singing:

Hurrah, Hurrah! For the Southern girls, Hurrah!
Hurrah, for the homespun dresses that the Southern Ladies wear!

Another popular song was even closer to eighteenth-century origins:

Review 1 (January 1845), excerpted in Robert V. Remini, *The Age of Jackson* (Columbia, S.C., 1972), 183–89. Stephen N. Elias, *Alexander T. Stewart: The Forgotten Merchant Prince* (Westport, Conn., 1992), 30. The same homespun origins of Stewart's business success are ascribed in Matthew Hale Smith, *Sunshine and Shadow in New York* (Hartford, Conn., 1868), 31.

⁶⁶ *Hunt's* (May 1840): 368.

⁶⁷ An earlier version of the same argument is found in Tocqueville's comparison of the two banks of the Ohio River. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, J. P. Mayer, ed. (New York, 1969), 1: 345–48; Frederick Law Olmsted, *The Cotton Kingdom* (New York, 1984), 539–41, 506–07. For a Georgian plantation woman complaining about northern women's ignorance of household skills, see Ann DuPont, "Textile and Apparel Management in the Nineteenth Century Plantation South," *Ars Textrina* 18 (December 1992): 54. John Greenleaf Whittier, in an 1846 poem published in the pro-labor *Voice of Industry*, reversed these terms in favorably comparing the humble northern spinner to the haughty southern planter. But in order to do this, the radically inclined Whittier had to write sentimentally of the spinner singing by her wheel "at the low cottage door" of her country home, in a journal that was published in the industrial city of Lowell, Massachusetts. Quoted in Alice Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States* (New York, 1982), 42.

My home-spun dress is plain; I know my hat's common too,
But then it shows what Southern girls for Southern rights will do.

The governor of Alabama was reported to have appeared in a suit of homespun made by a wife of one of the state's legislators, there being no better "practical illustration of Southern Independence."⁶⁸

And so, homespun once again became a patriotic symbol of virtuous sacrifice in the face of a political and military threat posed by a corrupt economic giant. And while the homespun ideology thus tied the Confederacy to the original revolutionary impulse in a way the abolitionist Horace Bushnell would have had trouble explaining, or dismissing, the democratic North—which supplied its recruits with standard factory-issue blue kersey and flannels—had long since begun to buy its clothes at Brooks Brothers.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Myrtie Long Candler, "Reminiscences of Life in Georgia during the 1850s and 1860s," Part 3, in *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 33 (September 1949): 227; George C. Rable, *Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism* (Urbana, Ill., 1989), 91–95; Mary Elizabeth Massey, *Ersatz in the Confederacy* (Columbia, S.C., 1952), 86–91; Margaret Thompson Ordonez, "A Frontier Reflected in Costume, Tallahassee, Leon County, Florida: 1824–1861" (PhD dissertation, Florida State University, 1978), 161; see also Richard Maxwell Brown, "Violence and the American Revolution," in Stephen C. Kurtz and James H. Huston, *Essays on the American Revolution* (New York, 1973), 113–14.

⁶⁹ For wartime army contracts with New York clothiers, see National Archives, Research Group 92, entry 1246 (regular supplies contracts). On the homespun uniforms of Southern soldiers, see Judith C. Stewart-Abernathy, et al., *Life Threads: Clothing Fashions in Early Arkansas, 1810–1870* (Little Rock, Ark., 1989), 24. On Brooks Brothers, see William R. Bagnall, "Sketches of Manufacturing Establishments in New York City, and of Textile Establishments in the United States" (North Andover, Mass., 1977), 335–55.

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Specters of History: On Nostalgia, Exile, and Modernity

PETER FRITZSCHE

“MAN DOES NOT HAVE A SINGLE, CONSISTENT LIFE,” explained François-Auguste-René de Chateaubriand, the nineteenth-century French diplomat and celebrated memoirist, as he reflected on his return as a young man many decades earlier, in the 1780s, to Saint-Malo, the place of his birth: “He has several laid end to end, and that is his misfortune.” “Friends leave us, others take their place,” Chateaubriand added, “there is always a time when we possessed nothing of what we now possess, and a time when we have nothing of what we once had.”¹

This is an eloquent if gloomy apprehension of discontinuity. Chateaubriand did not feel able to repossess the past, which repeatedly evaded his efforts at recollection. The felt absence of a firsthand connection and resulting apprehension of loss at the moment of secondhand reflection prompted feelings of “misfortune.” These are recognizable as the melancholy of nostalgia. Phrasing his observations in a sonorous universal (“Man does not have”), Chateaubriand clearly indicated that his nostalgia was not merely the hurt of a single individual but was sensible as shared experience. At the same time, the declaration is something of a revelation: Chateaubriand found the knowledge of corpses sufficiently revealing to account for it by writing his memoirs. The studied terms of his examination—lives “laid end to end” in longhanded reconsideration and “laid end to end” again before readers—suggest a perplexity generated by specific circumstances of unsettlement. Although the graveyard he has stumbled upon is his own, it is a newly configured place in which the remains of past lives are registered as ghostly presences that arouse mourning and nostalgia. Chateaubriand’s self-reflection exposes the nineteenth-century context of revolution and war in which a modern history of remembrance and nostalgia can be conceived.

Chateaubriand’s graveyard is not the sanctuary of an eccentric old man. Exhuming his bygone lives, Chateaubriand participated in a fundamental reconsideration of history from one based on correspondence and fulfillment to one alert to rupture and difference. His alienation was not personal, an accident of bad luck, or a question of temperament, nor was it a universal, like death. The broken pieces

I am very grateful for the perceptive comments made by Aleida Assmann, Clare Crowston, Beatriz Jaguaribe, Diane Koenker, Reinhart Koselleck, Harry Liebersohn, Kathy Oberdeck, Glenn Penny, Mark Steinberg, and John Whittier-Ferguson, and by the anonymous readers for the *AHR*, and for financial support from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation.

¹ François-René de Chateaubriand, *The Memoirs of Chateaubriand*, selected and translated by Robert Baldick (New York, 1961), 73. In the complete edition, *The Memoirs of François René Vicomte de Chateaubriand*, Alexander Teixeira de Mattos, trans., 6 vols. (London, 1902), the quote appears on 1: 93–94.

that made up the *Mémoires d'outre-tombe*, which Chateaubriand wrote and rewrote for forty years before his death in 1848, were the specific debris of the French Revolution. "The old men of former times," Chateaubriand insisted, "were less unhappy and less isolated than those of today: if, by lingering on earth, they had lost their friends, little else had changed around them; they were strangers to youth, but not to society. Nowadays," that is, since 1789, "a straggler in this life has witnessed the death, not only of men, but also of ideas: principles, customs, tastes, pleasures, sorrows, opinions, none of these resembles what he used to know. He belongs to a different race from the human species among which he ends his days."² In Chateaubriand's view, the revolution had shattered lines of social continuity, casting the present off from the past and thereby creating a "different race," exiles who had become strangers in their own time and read contemporary history as dispossession. The force of this narrative is so violent that it provided the memoirs with their root metaphor: "I had scarcely left my mother's womb when I suffered my first exile"—which was his consignment to a wet nurse—Chateaubriand wrote at the outset, and in the six volumes that followed, he told and retold his life as a series of abrupt leave-takings.³

Chateaubriand's acknowledgement of multiple, disconnected lives is indicative of a broader reconfiguration of temporality in the aftermath of the French Revolution. The author's deliberate rupture of "a single, consistent life" into several is an action that relies on distinctly modern concepts of historical discontinuity and historical periodicity that first came into wide circulation at the turn of the nineteenth century. Lines of rupture preoccupied the Western imagination in the nineteenth century to such an extent that the past turned into a problem of knowledge and became a source of disquiet, a nagging, unmasterable presence of absence. My intention here is to investigate reports of dispossession in which contemporaries no longer felt the "givenness" of tradition or progress, articulated instead an unfamiliar sense of being out of place or of having died an untimely death, and attempted to partially recover the cast-off past. It exposes a catastrophic version of modern history. To be sure, it is not altogether surprising that aristocrats and émigrés felt nostalgia for the *ancien régime*. Nonetheless, the enormous production (and consumption) of memoirs and other individual testimonies and the rendering of autobiography as a kind of journey into exile suggest a more telling shift in historical consciousness, one in which the fate of nobles such as Chateaubriand spoke to the disorientation of "stragglers" more generally. Long after the revolution, literate Europeans returned again and again to the particular circumstances of counter-revolutionaries, because these seemed pertinent and poignant. However unrepresentative the experience of exile actually was, it was *represented* and repossessed in new, formative ways, and exile increasingly served as a remarkable signature of displacement in the modern age, "nowadays," in which a comprehensive process of destruction pushed the past away from the present. A study of nostalgia, the melancholy feeling of dispossession that is the result of this pushing away, reveals a sharper sense of temporal identity in both public and private lives

² Baldick, *Memoirs of Chateaubriand*, 174. A less fine translation can be found in the complete *Memoirs*, 2: 38–39.

³ Baldick, *Memoirs of Chateaubriand*, 12.

during the thirty years after the French Revolution. It thereby contributes to the history of memory and to knowledge about the historicizing self, which has been repeatedly called for in these pages.⁴

I argue that nostalgia is a fundamentally modern phenomenon because it depended on the notion of historical process as the continual production of the new. This promiscuous sense of time was closely related to the French Revolution's ideological dramatization of difference, and contemporaries increasingly recognized themselves playing various parts in an encompassing historical drama that extended throughout Europe, across the Atlantic, and beyond. This narrative dimension is crucial, because if the revolution and the wars that followed had simply been apprehended in terms of material devastation, they would not have prompted deep feelings of dispossession. Both in Europe and in the United States, the memory crisis of the nineteenth century was not the function so much of actual losses but of reconfigured structures of temporality that lifted losses out of obscurity and rendered them meaningful by giving them a historically specific locale. Secondly, narratives of loss not only presupposed the internalization of historical time but also authorized individual, subjective renditions, so that as more and more Europeans and Americans felt part of history, they insisted on their personal views and accounted their own damages. As a result, the figure of the exile or the site of abandoned graves resonated deeply in the nineteenth-century imagination, in songs, stories, and autobiographies. Finally, I contend that the recognition of temporal difference among the lives laid "end to end" enabled both the construction of distinct national identities and also a more individual and solitary sense of the self. In this way, nostalgia expressed an imaginative and often radical subjectivity.

A growing but fragmented body of scholarship has pointed to fundamental breaks in the Western consciousness of time, which in turn structured the way Europeans viewed their place in history, their connections with the past, and their ability to fashion themselves as active political subjects. In a series of brilliant essays, Reinhart Koselleck argues for a notion of modern time in which the last two or three hundred years have been distinguished by the continual reproduction of the new and different. (The stress is on sensibility and perception, since Koselleck is tracking not material change itself but the imaginative categories that apprehend it.) In the early modern period, he asserts, "the present and past were enclosed within a common historical plane" in which contemporaries believed themselves to inhabit the same moral and political universe as their Greek and Roman forebears and called upon classical examples to make sense of contemporary dilemmas. While seventeenth and eighteenth-century absolutist politics admitted a large number of variations, they were limited by a comprehensible set of institutional and economic variables, and "history was comparatively static." "Nothing particularly new could

⁴ Alon Confino, "Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method," *AHR* 102 (December 1997): 1386–1403; Margaret Atwood, "In Search of *Alias Grace*: On Writing Canadian Historical Fiction," *AHR* 103 (December 1998): 1503–29, as well as the comments made by Lynn Hunt; and Hue-Tam Ho Tai, "Remembered Realms: Pierre Nora and French National Memory," *AHR* 106 (June 2001): 906–22.

happen," Koselleck concludes about history conceived in this way.⁵ The basic commensurability of yesterday, today, and tomorrow was not at odds with an older Christian or millennial view of time in which the coming apocalypse had the effect of flattening out the variability of profane time that preceded it, or with more ancient ideas of the Golden Age, in which the subsequent diminishment of human society simply ran the Christian model in reverse. A sense of restless, profound transformation in the present was missing. And although Enlightenment conceptions of historical process, in which a singular logic moved human society toward the completion of a rational plan or universal scheme, upset the static nature of early modern time, they retained faith in the legibility and knowability of history.⁶ In this evolutionary model, past and present remained in balance with one another. Both the retrograde aspects of the past and the rational endeavors of the present provided unmistakable evidence for progress unfolding. Well into the eighteenth century, Western ideas of history did not scrutinize temporal difference.

Regarded at first as a further installment in the orderly development of social and political life, the French Revolution quickly confounded authoritative notions of continuity. Again and again, observers came to report on their disorientation, on the fallibility of their interpretations. For Edmund Burke, it was precisely the revolution's defiance of "the great principles of government" and "the ideas of liberty," which, as he ascertained in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, were "understood long before we were born," that made the rebellion such a "hideous phantom."⁷ In the face of "this chaos of levity and ferocity," Burke admitted in 1790, "everything seems out of nature."⁸ Revolutionaries themselves repudiated the authority of the past, and a gap widened between what Koselleck usefully conceives of as "the horizon of expectation" and the "space of experience."⁹

In the shadow of the approaching "horizon of expectation," extravagant conceptions of time filled the historical imagination of the nineteenth century: disconnection from remembered life-worlds, the exhaustion of tradition, an irretrievable

⁵ Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 4, 15.

⁶ Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 31. See also Christian Meier, "Historical Answers to Historical Questions: The Origins of History in Ancient Greece," *Arethusa* 20 (1987).

⁷ Edmund Burke, *Letters on a Regicide Peace* (1796), quoted in Conor Cruise O'Brien, "Introduction," to Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (Harmondsworth, 1968), 9; and Burke, *Reflections*, 92, 181–82.

⁸ Burke to A. J. F. Dupont, March 29, 1790, cited in O'Brien, "Introduction," to Burke, *Reflections*, 23.

⁹ Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 275–76. Koselleck's argument is consistent with older historiographical reflections, and his philosophical premises have provided contemporary theorists invaluable components for a definition of modernity around the notion of "unrepeatable time." See in particular Matei Calinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity: Modernism, Avant-Garde, Decadence, Kitsch, Postmodernism* (Durham, N.C., 1987), 13; Peter Osborne, *The Politics of Time: Modernity and the Avant-Garde* (London, 1995), xii; and Rudy Koshar, *Germany's Transient Pasts: Preservation and National Memory in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998), 18; as well as Klaus Behrens, *Friedrich Schlegels Geschichtsphilosophie (1794–1808): Ein Beitrag zur politischen Romantik* (Tübingen, 1984); Hans Blumenberg, *Die Legitimität der Neuzeit* (Frankfurt am Main, 1966); Richard Glasser, *Studien zur Geschichte des Französischen Zeitbegriffs* (Munich, 1936); David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge, 1985); Georges Poulet, *Studies in Human Time*, Elliott Coleman, trans. (Baltimore, Md., 1956); Richard Terdiman, *Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1993); and Rudolf Wendorff, *Zeit und Kultur: Geschichte des Zeitbewusstseins in Europa* (Opladen, 1980).

sense of loss, a fleeting experience of the present, and an often ominous anticipation of the future. Koselleck himself explores in some detail the dramatization of “new time,” in which the present gave way to the future and encouraged modern subjects to imagine “making” history. It is at this point, in the decades after the French Revolution, that utopian politics became possible. But ideas of the past were transformed beyond recognition as well. This was so not only because the eruption of “new time” shattered the legitimacy of experience and thus disconnected present from past but because its explosive, repeated arrival and marauding effects upset persistent attempts to find an overall coherence to historical change. It is thus possible to distinguish in Romanticism a partial recapitulation of an earlier Christian line of change that is “right-angled: the key events are abrupt, cataclysmic, and make a drastic, even an absolute, difference,” as M. H. Abrams writes.¹⁰ But, in contrast to the Christian worldview, modern time did not admit a final conclusion of judgment or rebirth but, rather, gave way to a growing recognition of the ceaseless iteration of loss, so much so that Richard Terdiman points to a far-reaching “memory crisis” at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The “massive disruption of traditional forms of memory” that was the result of the growing illegitimacy of tradition and the incongruity of experience after the French Revolution opened up new ways to approach and consume the past.¹¹ Well-articulated despair over the disappearance of the past combined with growing insistence on the need to work at its recollection; while the past was no longer present, it was constantly, even obsessively, represented in reflection and mourning.

Terdiman’s emphasis on “memory crisis” permits a historicization of the term “nostalgia.” Although nostalgia has the feel of the nineteenth century, it is a seventeenth-century term, coined by Johannes Hofer, a medical student who in 1688 cobbled together the Greek words *nostos* (return home) and *algos* (pain) to describe the strange melancholy of Swiss soldiers serving abroad. Fixated on a single idea, “the desire to return,” Hofer’s stricken Swiss had become indifferent and infirm, refused food and water, and even collapsed and died.¹² Nonetheless, it was in the middle of the nineteenth century that nostalgia found a secure place in household vocabularies, its general usage made tenable by the massive displacing operations of industrialization and urbanization, which also standardized its meaning as a vague, collective longing for a bygone time rather than an individual desire to return to a particular place. Nostalgia retains this general and temporal meaning; it distills the “dispirit of the age.”

What has remained constant since Hofer’s time is the assumption that nostalgia manifests an inability to make oneself “at home in a constantly changing world,” as Marshall Berman puts it.¹³ Nostalgia is typically seen as a symptom of erratic cultural stress due to social complexity and rapid change.¹⁴ (Hofer’s soldiers fared

¹⁰ M. H. Abrams, *Natural Supernaturalism: Tradition and Revolution in Romantic Literature* (New York, 1971), 36–37, 66–67.

¹¹ Terdiman, *Present Past*, 3–5.

¹² Jean Starobinski, “The Idea of Nostalgia,” *Diogenes* 54 (1966): 86–87.

¹³ Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (New York, 1982), 6.

¹⁴ See, for example, Fred Davis, *Yearning for Yesterday: A Sociology of Nostalgia* (New York, 1979). See also Edward S. Casey, “The World of Nostalgia,” *Man and World* 20 (1987): 361–84; Stephanie

worse the farther they were from home and the more remote the place they had made their homes, which is why the mountainous Swiss appeared to suffer so acutely from nostalgia.) In their search for security, nostalgics failed to cultivate abstract relations among strangers in formal settings. Familiar intimacies compensated for lack of social adeptness, so that nostalgia appears to most observers as sweet but dumb. A diminished outlook, it is based on repetition rather than novelty, order rather than juxtaposition. What these functionalist readings miss, however, is an appreciation for the way in which nostalgia is predicated on thoroughly modern structures of temporality. Historians have not accounted for the improbable form that nostalgic longing takes or the remarkable discernment of difference in the categories "past" and "present" it assumes. Moreover, they miss how nostalgia expresses a culture of victims that proposes an alternative version of history as catastrophe. In the end, an ominous ideological operation is at work when traces of another time are condemned for their sentimentality and dismissed as "irrational, superfluous, and overtaken."¹⁵

A more useful way to think about nostalgia is to see it in correspondence with the emergence of the historical age. Nostalgia not only cherishes the past for the distinctive qualities that are no longer present but also acknowledges the permanence of their absence. It thus configures periods of the past as bounded in time and place and as inaccessible, and thereby adheres to notions of periodicity that James Chandler regards as fundamental to historical understandings of the early nineteenth century. "The normative status of the period becomes a central and self-conscious aspect of historical reflection," he writes, and as such it introduced a high degree of discontinuity over time; such thinking also took an epoch to be distinctive and particular, individualizing the historical moment, and thereby undermined claims to the universal applicability and self-evident nature of the present.¹⁶ What the ghostly remains of other pasts recall is the fact of other presents and other possibilities. It makes sense, then, to reconsider nostalgia not as blindness but as sightfulness, which completes the modern experience of time with its insistent perception of disaster and its empathy to strangers stranded in the present.

Woven in among nineteenth-century narratives of progress, whether in liberal or Marxist versions, nostalgic sentiments caressed the scars of history. Part of modern experience was a deepening sense of melancholy, a feeling of disconnection with the past, a growing dread of the future, and uncertainty over the capacity to act or reform. This apprehension was not entirely new; both Montaigne and Jean-Jacques

Coontz, *The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap* (New York, 1992); and Helmuth Plessner, *Grenzen der Gemeinschaft: Eine Kritik des sozialen Radikalismus* (Bonn, 1924).

¹⁵ Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, "On the Theory of Ghosts," appended to *The Dialectic of Enlightenment* (New York, 1987), 216, cited and discussed in Avery F. Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* (Minneapolis, 1997), 19–20. See also Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning, and the New International*, Peggy Kamuf, trans. (New York, 1994). Both Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London, 1994), and Kathleen Stewart, "Nostalgia—A Polemic," *Cultural Anthropology* 3 (1988): 227–41, take issue with one-dimensional considerations of nostalgia. A good overview is also provided by Suzanne Vromen, "The Ambiguity of Nostalgia," *YIVO Annual* 21 (1993): 69–86.

¹⁶ James Chandler, *England in 1819: The Politics of Literary Culture and the Case of Romantic Historicism* (Chicago, 1998), 78.

Rousseau explored the fragmentation of the self.¹⁷ But the relentlessness with which the motions of modern history were dramatized, the promiscuity of political projects during the French Revolution, and the violence of economic and demographic change that followed all had the effect of intensifying feelings of loss and making them socially germane. What distinguished postrevolutionary society, notes Suzanne Nash, was that it was represented as much in terms of “what it had lost—as debris or ruins, quagmire or sewer”—as it was in terms of “the solidity of its foundations.”¹⁸ This presence of absence is worth paying attention to, for it has had the effect of repeatedly scribbling up the clean slates of modern development and raising unbidden questions about the origins of social identity, the givenness of the here and now, and the possibility of contrary movement in the flow of history. To get at these ghostly matters, I will analyze the recognition of difference in the movement of time in the years after the French Revolution, use the figure of the exile to examine the growing sense of dispossession, and explore how the partial recovery of the past enhanced the sense of historical distinctiveness and helped define sovereignty and subjectivity.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY was full of people who mourned the past and explored the specters of history in ways that the eighteenth century was not. That Talleyrand's famous aphorism about the sweetness of life before the French Revolution became a standard nineteenth-century cliché suggests how commonplace narratives of dispossession had become. The thousands of émigrés who fled France had particular reason to take Talleyrand's words to heart, and in many ways he spoke directly to them. A veritable publishing industry took off with the Bourbon Restoration, circulating texts in which former exiles recalled memories of the old kingdom, reported on years of hardship abroad, and conjured up a postrevolutionary world permanently out of joint. These narratives of displacement, including Chateaubriand's celebrated memoirs from “beyond the grave,” were early installments in what would become a vast literature of modern exile, and they attracted and fascinated readers well into the twentieth century.¹⁹

Even in the next generation, among children of aristocratic survivors, feelings of trauma persisted. The literary protagonists of this cohort—Astolphe de Custine, Benjamin Constant, and Alexis de Tocqueville—“were themselves ruins,” Irena Gross notes, “remnants of the *Ancien Régime*.” Tocqueville, who as a boy had witnessed his father's hair turn white overnight and whose mother never recovered emotionally from the revolution that had executed her relatives, rewrote sociology

¹⁷ Peter Bürger, *Das Verschwinden des Subjekts: Eine Geschichte der Subjektivität von Montaigne bis Barthes* (Frankfurt am Main, 1998); James Olney, *Memory and Narrative: The Weave of Life-Writing* (Chicago, 1998); and M. A. Screech, *Montaigne and Melancholy: The Wisdom of the Essays* (London, 1983).

¹⁸ Suzanne Nash, “Introduction,” to Nash, ed., *Home and Its Dislocations in Nineteenth-Century France* (Albany, N.Y., 1993), 5. See also Harvie Ferguson, *Melancholy and the Critique of Modernity: Søren Kierkegaard's Religious Psychology* (London, 1995).

¹⁹ See the recollections of Philippe Ariès, “Ein Kind entdeckt die Geschichte” (1946), in *Zeit und Geschichte*, Perdita Duttke, trans. (Frankfurt am Main, 1988).

in light of the upheavals.²⁰ For their part, groups of faithful republicans mourned the eclipse of the revolution rather than the end of the monarchy. They, too, felt out of sorts in smug postrevolutionary society. "That time is past with all its giddy raptures," wrote a lachrymose William Hazlitt after the Battle of Waterloo in 1815 had foreclosed on reform in both France and Great Britain.²¹

In more abstract terms, European philosophers and historians thought deeply about the legacy of the past and lines of continuity, trying in their historical and political investigations to account for the movement and duration of the revolutionary quarter-century. Never before had tradition been so closely or self-consciously examined.²² And for every Edmund Burke, Friedrich von Schlegel, or Joseph de Maistre, there was a society of antiquarians or an association of archaeologists busily surveying and preserving ruins and raising alarms about public indifference toward the past.²³ The revolutionary intention of fashioning citizens and creating constitutions, as well as the appalling losses suffered by ordinary people, who bore the brunt of the revolution's conscription orders, money levies, and labor *corvées*, left deep traces. Talleyrand spoke for them, too, insists George Steiner, who argues that the public reach of the revolution destroyed the "spaces and temporalities of personal consciousness" and pulled people inexorably into the possibilities and dangers of historical time.²⁴

What made even the recent past seem so far away to nineteenth-century observers was the deep rupture in remembered experience that came with the French Revolution. Two intertwined forces were at work in this period: the revolution's massive dislocation, and the narration of that dislocation as the eruption of the new, which was seen to extinguish tradition. Without the machinery of narration—histories, prefaces, memoirs—material changes could not have been interpreted as of one piece or identified as an encompassing historical passage that elevated parochial tragedies into meaningful, legible common fates. And without the restless mobilization of men and women into new economic arrangements, new geographic places, and new political services, the narration would have lost its pertinence, authority, and urgency.

As a result, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, material unsettlement combined with a new historical sensibility. Europeans had known devastating upheavals before—the Reformation and Thirty Years' War—but these were not comprehended in terms of fundamental change and so did not drastically alter the temporal identities of contemporaries. "All human beings were subject to general

²⁰ Irena Grudzinska Gross, *The Scar of Revolution: Custine, Tocqueville, and the Romantic Imagination* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991), 13. See also André Jardin, *Tocqueville: A Biography*, Lydia Davis, trans. (New York, 1988), 9; and Harry Liebersohn, *Aristocratic Encounters: European Travelers and North American Indians* (Cambridge, 1998), chap. 4.

²¹ Quoted in Simon Bainbridge, *Napoleon and English Romanticism* (Cambridge, 1995), 190–92.

²² On this theme, see Stephen Bann, *Romanticism and the Rise of History* (New York, 1995); Karl Mannheim, *Conservatism: A Contribution to the Sociology of Knowledge*, David Kettler, Volker Meja, and Nico Stehr, eds. (London, 1986); Stanley Mellon, *Political Uses of History: A Study of Historians in the French Revolution* (Stanford, Calif., 1958); and especially Linda Orr, *Headless History: Nineteenth-Century French Historiography of the Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1990).

²³ Susan A. Crane, *Collecting and Historical Consciousness in Early Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2000).

²⁴ George Steiner, "Aspects of Counter-Revolution," in Geoffrey Best, *The Permanent Revolution: The French Revolution and Its Legacy, 1789–1989* (London, 1988), 150.

disaster or exploitation as they were to disease," Steiner explains. "But these swept over them with tidal mystery," and did not revise the way most people thought about history; "it is the events of 1789 to 1815 that interpenetrate common, private existence with the perception of historical processes." Steiner gets to the essence of the changes in these revolutionary years with his wonderful remark that, when "ordinary men and women looked across the garden hedge, they saw bayonets passing."²⁵ Steiner is not simply referring to the presence of large mobilized armies, which were not so different from the grand armies of the seventeenth century, but rather to the ongoing dramatization of events in terms of a recognizable, comprehensive transformation that shaped private lives and gave the ensuing disruption a meaningful social context by providing experience with narrative form—the story of revolution "across the garden hedge."

Nostalgia is a characteristic component of this revolutionary narrative because it took history to be a swift, encompassing process of transformation in which differences over time assumed overriding importance.²⁶ While nostalgia takes the past as its mournful subject, it holds it at arm's length. The virtues of the past are cherished and their passage is lamented, but there is no doubt that they are no longer retrievable. In other words, nostalgia constitutes what it cannot possess and defines itself by its inability to approach its subject, a paradox that is the essence of nostalgia's melancholia. There can be no nostalgia without the sense of irreversibility, which is often lost on those critics who simply deride its sentimentality.²⁷ At the same time, there can be no more than sporadic nostalgia without the consciousness of history acting in a general way that gives credence to individual ideas of estrangement. If yesterday is different from today merely because disaster has occurred and misfortune has come to pass, the status of yesterday is not really challenged, and yesterday's fortune might well persist in some other place not afflicted by catastrophe. In the next valley, the world would still be whole and indifferent. Nostalgia therefore acts as a mechanism that uses the discontinuities that have been made available by revolutionary narrative in order to make parochial misfortunes socially meaningful.

The French Revolution rearranged previously authoritative structures of temporality by redrawing the horizon of historical possibility and thereby manufacturing a set of differences that separated past, present, and future. Cultural historians have drawn attention to the invention of a new political community animated by newly realized historical subjects. According to Lynn Hunt, who builds on the work of François Furet and Mona Ozouf, "the will to break with the national past distinguished the French from previous revolutionary movements." Particularly in ritual and ceremony, French revolutionaries dramatized "the instant of creation of the new community, the sacred moment of the new consensus." In so doing, they

²⁵ George Steiner, *In Bluebeard's Castle: Some Notes towards the Redefinition of Culture* (New Haven, Conn., 1971), 12–13.

²⁶ On "epochal consciousness" around 1800, see Chandler, *England in 1819*; Burkhart Steinwachs, *Epochenbewusstsein und Kunsterfahrung—Studien zur geschichtsphilosophischen Ästhetik an der Wende vom 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert in Frankreich und Deutschland* (Munich, 1986); and generally Silvio Vietta and Dirk Kemper, eds., *Ästhetische Moderne in Europa: Grundzüge und Problemzusammenhänge seit der Romantik* (Munich, 1997).

²⁷ Vladimir Jankélévitch, *L'irréversible et la nostalgie* (Paris, 1974).

also invented the *ancien régime*, which persisted to haunt the new French, whose republican virtue in what Hunt terms the “mythic present” depended on severing ties to the depraved past. With astonishing deliberateness, republicans set out to destroy the landmarks of the past: churches, abbeys, castles, and the graves of French kings at Saint-Denis. To get a sense of how radical was the French reorganization of time, Furet compares the French with the American revolutionaries who had preceded them by twenty years. Few if any of the principals in 1776 saw it as their mission to “snatch [America] from its past,” he argues, or to repudiate the prerevolutionary, colonial epoch.²⁸ Only in France did revolutionaries propose a new calendar, unraveling the customary weeks and months and replacing the Christian year 1792 with the republican Year 1.

It is difficult to overemphasize the extent to which the French Revolution disrupted Western conceptions of historical continuity. Again and again, commentators laid aside well-worn rhetorical templates by which they compared modern with ancient revolutions and instead picked up a new vocabulary that articulated the unprecedented force of events between 1789 and 1815. Johannes von Müller, at the time perhaps the most noted historian after Edward Gibbon, was tormented by the fear that the universal history of civilization and empire he had just completed had been made obsolescent by the revolution in France. In a series of heartfelt letters to his brother, he wrote repeatedly of his bewilderment at the eighteenth century’s unpredictable, furious end: *alles wird so ganz anders*—“Everything is becoming so different.”²⁹ Müller’s exclamation echoes the intentions of revolutionaries to remake the world, and it is reechoed throughout the next two hundred years. Although fundamental transformations had roiled earlier centuries, modern testimony insists on seeing it just like this: “Everything is becoming so different.” Müller and Burke at the very end of the eighteenth, Chateaubriand, G. W. Hegel, and Karl Marx in the nineteenth, and Walter Benjamin, Herbert Fischer, and Eric Hobsbawm in the twentieth century all follow the logic of this emplotment, even if they differ on particulars.³⁰ The fundamental difference between the modern and the non-modern on either side of 1789 is the robust role that difference and incommensurability play in the *self*-location of the former and the still exemplary status of ancient and other classical models in the latter.

This apprehension of difference made it difficult to understand what was going on. Historical precedents did not seem to apply, which is why Burke considered the French Revolution so unnatural. After seventeen revolutionary years, de Maistre,

²⁸ Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1984), 27, 50; François Furet, “The Ancien Régime and the Revolution,” in Pierre Nora, ed., *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past; Conflicts and Divisions*, Arthur Goldhammer, trans. (New York, 1996), 91. See also Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York, 1991), 35; and Philippe Raxhon, *La mémoire de la Révolution française: Entre Liège et Wallonie* (Brussels, 1996).

²⁹ Johannes von Müller to his brother, May 20, 1797, in Johannes von Müller, *Briefe in Auswahl*, Edgar Bonjour, ed. (Basel, 1954), 212. See also letter of July 2, 1796, 208.

³⁰ On Hegel, see Perry Anderson, *A Zone of Engagement* (New York, 1992), 293; on Marx, David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford, 1990), 261; Walter Benjamin, “The Storyteller,” in *Illuminations*, Harry Zohn, trans. (New York, 1969), 159; on Herbert Fischer, Modris Eksteins, *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* (Boston, 1989), 291; and Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes: A History of the World, 1914–1991* (New York, 1995).

another conservative, could still write: "Nothing resembles this epoch, and history does not provide any datum or analogy as an aid to judgment."³¹ Events proceeded outside "the standards of experience," agreed the historian Friedrich Maximilian Klinger, and like-minded statements abound. "The pen quivers in the hand of the historian who takes hold of it in order to try to portray the scenes of a year [1793] which seem to have surpassed human powers of description and feeling and which future generations will hardly believe actually took place," wrote Wilhelm von Schirach, editor of Hamburg's *Politisches Journal*, a sympathetic observer but who found no other formula than to repeatedly, if inelegantly, reiterate: "Never before" has "such a monstrosity been so wicked"; "never before" were so many "murderous battles fought"; "never before . . . have we seen such broad attacks and retreats."³² The revolution proved so confounding that several historians failed to complete their work. Müller, for example, admitted that events had overtaken his published conclusions, while Friedrich Gentz, the influential adviser to Metternich, filled one thick folio volume after another with his reflections on the revolution without publishing them, because he found his own explanations inadequate. Gentz was so confused that he appended astrological epilogues to his political epistolaries. "What do you say to the meteor in Wesel?" he asked fellow conservative Adam Müller, "and to the snow that fell on the 11th of October in Vienna, and in Lyon as well? And what about the flooding of the Danube right during the horrible days of Ulm!"—the last a reference to a key battle the Austrians had lost to Napoleon in 1805.³³ The revolution was profoundly strange to contemporaries—the eventful year 1815 convinced Rahel Varnhagen that "we are not headed toward the future," which one approaches and foresees; rather, "the future comes from behind," by surprise, an idea that "is breaking my head apart."³⁴

What was particularly strange about the French Revolution was its authorization of so many new historical subjects. The explicitly ideological nature of the revolution, its rejection of the past, and its celebration of the people and the nation broke apart the rules and standards by which political history had previously been analyzed. Johannes von Müller, for one, had no trouble identifying the source of the trouble: "Nothing in the world is worse than the rabble's destruction of order, than the demagogue's corruption of everything respectable, than the phrasemaker's humiliation of humanity."³⁵ The *Politisches Journal* also commented on the new curbside politics of revolution. "Never before was the spirit of the times so subject

³¹ De Maistre to M. le Chevalier de Rossi, April 26, 1804, in Joseph de Maistre, *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris, 1884), 10: 106. See also Mohamed-Ali Drissa, "La représentation de la Révolution dans *Les Considérations sur la France* de Joseph de Maistre," in Simone Bernard-Griffiths, ed., *Un lieu de mémoire romantique: La révolution de 1789* (Naples, 1993), 289–309; and Steiner, "Aspects of Counter-Revolution."

³² "Schilderung des Robespierre," *Politisches Journal* (August 1794): 856; "Historisch-politische Uebersicht des Jahrs 1796," *Politisches Journal* (January 1797): 3.

³³ Gentz to Müller, November 13, 1805, in Friedrich Gentz, *Briefwechsel zwischen Friedrich Gentz und Adam Heinrich Müller, 1800–1829* (Stuttgart, 1857). On Gentz's writing, see Golo Mann, *Secretary of Europe: The Life of Friedrich Gentz, Enemy of Napoleon*, William H. Woglom, trans. (New Haven, Conn., 1946), 36. In general, see Ernst Schulin, "'Historiker, seid der Epoche würdig!' Zur Geschichtsschreibung im Zeitalter der Französischen Revolution—zwischen Aufklärung Historismus," *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte* 18 (1989): 1–28.

³⁴ Rahel Varnhagen to Karl Varnhagen von Ense, Paris, October 11, 1815, in Rahel Varnhagen, *Rahel Varnhagens Briefwechsel*, F. Kemp, ed., 4 vols. (Munich, 1979), 2: 355.

³⁵ Müller to his brother, July 2, 1796, in Müller, *Briefe in Auswahl*, 209.

to passions and preconceived ideas"; "everyone has his party," the editors complained.³⁶ In the somewhat stilted language of *Partheylichkeit* (factionousness), editors in Hamburg put their finger on a key aspect to the French Revolution, namely its dramatization in ideological positions that incorporated contested visions of the future. Now that "every reader" had "his own opinion and his own prejudices," the calamities of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars were experienced as struggles over the authority and legitimacy of the past, and over the shape of the future, which was increasingly seen as wide open.³⁷ William Wordsworth summarized the new situation when he referred to a "multitude of causes, unknown to former times . . . now acting with combined force."³⁸ What this cumulative testimony expressed was sensitivity to the idea of living in a new time and, more abstractly, to the distinctiveness of this and, it followed, any other epoch. Thinking in terms of differences between historical periods challenged prevailing assumptions about continuity and commensurability and the teaching by example they authorized.

The revolution left such a deep impression in the way Europeans thought about the past and the future because it mobilized millions of people who, happily or not, came to participate in its drama. Moreover, the revolution took place across Europe over an entire generation, creating a common historical field in which contemporaries could exchange impressions and recognize themselves as participants in a shared historical process. (It is important to see the French Revolution working on the European imagination well after 1794; indeed, commentators found the revolution troubling not least because events after Thermidor did not bring closure or peace or any facsimile of restoration.) Koselleck comments on this transformation of far-flung events into the protracted "collective singular" of "History": "Freedom took the place of freedoms," he writes, "Justice that of rights and servitudes, Progress that of progressions and from the diversity of revolutions, 'The Revolution' emerged."³⁹ This "singularization" should not be mistaken for unisonality of opinion; rather, it indicated the universal reach of political claims and the common form to political discourse. This "collective singular" was most apparent in the intense correspondence among literary and political figures and in the common political stage to post-Napoleonic novels, but it also bent the conversations of everyday life. In other words, one aspect of the authorization of new historical subjects was the self-recognition and self-positioning of the subject in the new histories. Follow Sulpiz Boisserée, the Cologne art collector, around a crowded market boat on the Main River in summer 1815: "A carpenter, tailor, or cobbler in a reserveman's uniform, with a meerscham pipe in his mouth, speaks to a traveler, a noncommissioned officer, an Italian or a Pole, about Napoleon . . . recounting how Frankfurters ran to see Talleyrand: 'He too belongs on St. Helena!'" Boisserée makes his way to "the big cabin," where "someone is reading aloud a newspaper, a Jew is listening and so is a farmer . . . The black-bearded Jew believes that

³⁶ *Politisches Journal* (December 1794): 1266–67.

³⁷ *Politisches Journal* (November 1800): 1095–96. See also Klaus Behrens, *Friedrich Schlegels Geschichtsphilosophie (1794–1808): Ein Beitrag zur politischen Romantik* (Tübingen, 1984), 16–20.

³⁸ Wordsworth is quoted in Chandler, *England in 1819*, 249–50.

³⁹ Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 31; see also Georg Lukács, *The Historical Novel*, Hannah and Stanley Mitchell, trans. (1962; rpt. edn., Lincoln, Neb., 1983), 23.

Napoleon will still escape.” As for the farmer, he laughs at a story about Blücher punishing the French. “After dinner, a small cabin in the back”—Boisserée has moved on: “a Catholic priest has gathered a crowd . . . he’s from Nassau and complains about the Russians, about the Germans, and particularly about the Prussians and their pride. They demand twice as much, and wheel and deal at the innkeeper’s expense—‘those are liberators?’—he snorts his tobacco . . . Soon the discussion turns to world affairs. Jacobins in Berlin, in Vienna . . . then a fairy tale about the Peace of Tilsit . . . and back to generalities: France; Napoleon still has his fingers in everything; the French are not doing well; Napoleon is the smartest creature alive, only pride corrupted him.” Other passengers tell “the Italian or the Pole,” Boisserée doesn’t know which, stories about serving in the wars in Spain and in Sicily. In the front cabin, an English Hussar, who lost his leg in “Pamplona ’13,” chats with some peasant boys, who themselves have fought in the wars of liberation.⁴⁰

The description is marvelous. Boisserée wandered from cabin to cabin, catching snippets of publicly informed conversation, pointing out the newspapers, the uniforms, and the ordinary mix of travelers, and revealing just how the revolutionary wars created a shared historical awareness. Figures such as Napoleon, Talleyrand, and Field Marshal Blücher, and red-lettered events, some quite recent, others eight years’ past (Tilsit), belonged to the repertory of conversation, but their significance was not self-evident; this has to be argued out, according to the guesswork and opinions of cobblers and tailors, Jews and farmers, Poles and Italians, who do not hesitate to place their own experiences (“Pamplona ’13”) into the larger picture. What is striking is not simply all the talk about the revolution and the wars, which is taken up again and again, before dinner, “after dinner,” cabin to cabin, or even the wood-hewn setting on the market boat, but also the exchange of opinion and evidence whereby well-known public events are retold in various personalized versions. The travelers participated in a common historical drama by which they organized and connected the events of their time and through which they told their own stories and found others who were interested. They insisted on registering their sense of history. Carefully setting the scenes—“the small, more elegant room in the back,” “the big cabin,” “a small cabin,” “in the front cabin”—and attentively transcribing talk and back talk—Boisserée enhanced the dramatic qualities of the social exchanges he witnessed. He wanted readers to see people seeing history, and he took such care with his stage effects because he was aware of how novel was this dramatization of experience as the evidence of history.

The market boat crowded with travelers and soldiers evokes the raucous movement of the revolutionary epoch. The extensive mobilization is easily surveyed: the levée-en-masse of French citizens, the soldiering across all of Europe, the mustering of home guards, the ebb and flow of refugees and exiles, the tax and capital levies in occupied regions, the dissolution of religious orders, the introduction of the Napoleonic Code, the anguished anticipation and joyous celebration of peace, the commemorations of the victories at Leipzig and Waterloo—all this

⁴⁰ Entry for August 17, 1815, in Sulpiz Boisserée, *Tagebücher*, Vol. 1, 1808–1823, Hans-J. Weitz, ed. (Darmstadt, 1978), 249–54.

maneuvered ordinary men and women into the flow of history and made them increasingly aware of the present taking them away from remembered pasts.

Nothing dramatized the revolution as much as war, which extended the ideas of the revolution in at least crude form to millions of people from all classes. Up to 2.5 percent of the French population served in the revolutionary armies of 1794, and at least twice as many did in the years 1813–1815; in Prussia, the figure reached 6 percent in 1813. The small British army of 40,000 men in 1789 had expanded sixfold twenty-five years later; the navy increased from 16,000 men to 140,000 in the same period. Many hundreds of thousands of citizens also took part in the island's volunteer militias, especially during the invasion scare of 1802–1803. Death rates were even more drastic: one in every five French born in the first years of the revolution (1790–1795) was killed in its last years (1806–1815).⁴¹ From the thousands of French who took up domiciles on the left bank of the Rhine to the scarlet-coated British officers who stepped into the lives of the Bennett sisters in Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* to the poor soldiers from Saxony and Bavaria whom townspeople encountered in ones and twos as they straggled back from Russia in 1813, the revolutionary wars mobilized and garrisoned more men than had any other previous war. This gave the military an unprecedented visibility in daily life. One day, there were no soldiers; on the next, they had decamped on the marketplace and taken up lodgings in private homes. Indeed, the obligation to house soldiers was such a familiar burden during this period that aunts and uncles greeted visiting relatives with the half-alarmed cry, "Die Inquartierung kommt!" (The troops are here!)⁴²

The upheaval of war pressed the revolution into the private lives of countless Europeans. From the outset, the French Revolution was seen as something that demanded judgment and opinion. Thus the handful of French troops housed in a middle-class home in Cologne found a ready welcome at the family dinner table—despite the fact that their wooden shoes readily identified them as "sans-culottes"—because "our Herr Vellnagel was a great friend of the French," at least until his tablemates whom he placed at his left and right addressed him with the familiar "tu" and stole his pocket watch.⁴³ Even this disappointing scene indicated the ways in which the most ordinary encounters between civilians and soldiers acquired an unprecedented political aspect. As they debated the merits and the justice of the revolution's aims, families divided into ideological camps and friends broke apart. "Knebel is simply mad," wrote Charlotte von Stein to her friend Charlotte Schiller: "we disagreed so furiously about the French that he has stayed away for eight days now."⁴⁴ The arguments went on for twenty-five years, right up to the eve of the invasion of Russia, when Leo Tolstoy has Pierre and the vicomte

⁴¹ Hew Strachan, "The Nation in Arms," in Best, *Permanent Revolution*, 57, 63; Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, Conn., 1992), 287; and Jacques Houdaille, "Pertes de l'armée de terre sous le premier empire, d'après les registres matricules," *Population* 27 (1972): 27–50.

⁴² Wilhelm to Jacob Grimm, January 18, 1814, in Hermann Grimm, Gustav Hinrichs, and Wilhelm Schoof, eds., *Briefwechsel zwischen Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm aus der Jugendzeit* (1881; Weimar, 1963), 238.

⁴³ Boisserée, *Tagebücher*, 1: 9–10.

⁴⁴ Charlotte von Stein to Charlotte Schiller, March 6, 1790, in Günter Jäckel, ed., *Das Volk braucht Licht: Frauen zur Zeit des Aufbruchs 1790–1848 in ihren Briefen* (Darmstadt, 1970), 82.

de Montemorte quarrel about Napoleon at Anna Pavlovna's soiree in the opening pages of *War and Peace*.

The differences themselves should not obscure the ways in which the revolution pulled contemporaries into a common orbit. As readers and writers, they reviewed the revolution again and again, and the revolution, in turn, prompted renewed reading and writing. "So much writing and talking," complained Hannah More from her outpost in rural England about the uproar concerning France, revolution, and political reform.⁴⁵ Indeed, one scholar attributes part of the rise in literacy at the turn of the nineteenth century to the general desire in Britain to read commentaries on the revolution, to follow Burke, Tom Paine, and William Godwin.⁴⁶ Across the Atlantic, American exceptionalism did not keep the French Revolution from being a commonplace item of discussion; "whatever is connected with Napoleon promises deep interest," the editors of *Godey's Lady's Book* noted as late as 1832.⁴⁷ Reading, writing, talking—almost immediately, the French Revolution constituted a remarkable republic of letters that stretched throughout Europe and across the Atlantic to North America.

The shared terms of this republic came into view again and again as observers recognized the general revolution in specific events. When crossing Morecombe Bay to Rampside after visiting relatives one day in early August 1794, Wordsworth "carelessly inquired if any news were stirring." A ferryman transporting travelers from Ulverston cried out, "Robespierre is dead!"⁴⁸ Given Wordsworth's detailed response to this event, his biographer Kenneth Johnston regrets not knowing where the poet "was standing when he heard the news of the fall of the Bastille," which was "one of those world-shaking events that tend to isolate spots of time for everyone."⁴⁹ But surely the reason for the presence of a detailed account in 1794 and the absence of a corresponding account for 1789 is not an archival accident but the fact that, in the intervening years, the French Revolution had come to be recognized as a universal drama. It made a claim on an ordinary band of travelers and a ferryman and on the most careless inquiries in ways not imaginable at the time of the fall of the Bastille. Similar events such as the execution of Louis XVI in 1793, Napoleon's coup d'état in 1799, or his escape from Elba in 1815 were remembered as what is today labeled "flashbulb" memories precisely because they illuminated with bright clarity the historical drama that Europeans had come to share. The shock was one of recognition.⁵⁰

The philosopher Georg Lukács was right when he insisted on the novelties of

⁴⁵ Diary entry for February 9, 1794, in William Roberts, ed., *Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More* (London, 1834), 2: 415. In general, see Mary A. Favret, *Romantic Correspondence: Women, Politics, and the Fiction of Letters* (Cambridge, 1993); and Nicola J. Watson, *Revolution and the Form of the British Novel, 1790–1825: Intercepted Letters, Interrupted Seductions* (New York, 1994).

⁴⁶ Cited in James K. Chandler, *Wordsworth's Second Nature: A Study of the Poetry and Politics* (Chicago, 1984), 17.

⁴⁷ *Godey's Lady's Book* 4 (1832): 16; see also "French Revolution," 2 (1831): 230; "The Monk: A Tale, Descriptive of the Political State of France in 1793," 5 (1832): 306–14. See "Miss Denby," in Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Oldtown Folks* (Boston, 1869), 513–14.

⁴⁸ Kenneth R. Johnston, *The Hidden Wordsworth: Poet, Lover, Rebel, Spy* (New York, 1998), 72, 419.

⁴⁹ Johnston, *Hidden Wordsworth*, 162.

⁵⁰ Ulrich Raulff, *Der unsichtbare Augenblick: Zeitkonzepte in der Geschichte* (Göttingen, 1999), 64–66. On "flashbulb" memories, see Barbie Zelizer, *Covering the Body: The Kennedy Assassination, the Media, and the Shaping of Collective Memory* (Chicago, 1992).

soldiering in this period. "What previously was experienced only by isolated and mostly adventurous-minded individuals, namely an acquaintance with Europe or at least certain parts of it," he argued in his analysis of the "inner life" of the nineteenth century, "becomes in this period the mass experience of hundreds of thousands, of millions." Even more important than the fact of travel were the categories in which the travelscape was understood. These terms were distinctly historical and revealed "the social content, the historical presuppositions and circumstances of the struggle," making it possible to connect the war with "the entire life and possibilities of the nation's development."⁵¹ What more and more people saw "across the garden hedge" were not natural occurrences but political phantasms, audacious attempts to remake or undo the conditions of social life. For that reason, the revolution pressed itself into the lives of private Europeans with unusual force. Whether the world was in a state of decay or advance, nineteenth-century critics spoke easily about the "spirit of the age" and "signs of the time," and quite knowingly—rather in the manner of having discovered a master code—distinguished reactionaries and revolutionaries, old and new, and things pregnant with the future and things anachronistic and past, denoting as they did the present as a distinct period of transition.⁵² The gestures of hailing for the latest news, by asking strangers, writing letters, or reading newspapers, could only flourish in an age conscious of itself as such, that is, of having taken itself to be a distinctive epoch in which the differences between today and yesterday and today and tomorrow were dramatized as visible and regarded as pertinent. Martin Heidegger drew attention to this representation of difference when he argued that "the world picture does not change from an earlier medieval one into a modern one, but rather the fact that the world becomes a picture at all is what distinguishes the essence of the modern age."⁵³ The terms of this "world picture" enabled the nineteenth century's nostalgic look backward.

THE WORLD IN THE NEWLY DRAWN WORLD PICTURE admitted strange places. The process by which the future colonized the present with the settlements of the new generated a genuine sense of anticipation and hope, and it is on this meliorist sensibility that historians of the nineteenth century have usually focused, but it also sustained feelings of dread and alienation, since so many people felt disconnected to their past lives. This unease with the idea of living in modern times deserves closer attention. Of his contemporaries in the 1820s and 1830s, Tocqueville remarked: "They do not resemble their fathers; nay they perpetually differ from themselves, for they live in a state of incessant change of place, feelings, and

⁵¹ Quoted in Chandler, *England in 1819*, 42.

⁵² Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 231–66; Chandler, *England in 1819*, 78, 90, 105. For a contemporary view, see Theodor Mundt, *Moderne Lebenswirren: Briefe und Zeitabenteuer eines Salzschreibers* (Leipzig, 1840).

⁵³ Martin Heidegger, *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays*, William Lovitt, trans. (New York, 1977), 130. The connections between representation and nostalgia are explored by André Aciman, "Pensione Eolo," in Aciman, *False Papers: Essays on Exile and Memory* (New York, 2000); while Elizabeth Deeds Ermarth, *Realism and Consensus in the English Novel* (Princeton, N.J., 1983), analyzes how the realist novel worked to unify and synchronize the Western experience of time.

fortunes.”⁵⁴ In Tocqueville’s view, the burden of modern identity was to live amidst unrest and strangeness. In recent years, scholars have paid increasing attention to conditions of exile and homelessness, which are taken to be as constitutive of social formations as ties to place and home. Diasporic, postcolonial, and other hybrid identities highlight patterns of unsettlement in an age of unprecedented transnational mobility and global exchange. With great sensitivity, historians and anthropologists have described the conspicuous sense of dislocation and the exigencies of improvisation among migrants, refugees, and other twentieth-century travelers.⁵⁵ The French émigrés at the very end of the eighteenth century belong to this group: they had become strangers in the modern world because the republican community was remade in their absence and on the basis of their exclusion. Even after they returned home, they continued to feel out of place. Like Tocqueville, they reported on the postrevolutionary world with the eyes of archaeologists, following lines of rupture and tracking evidence of wreckage and unsettlement.

The first émigrés—the brothers of the king and their respective courts—left France in the first week after the fall of the Bastille, but they had little sense of permanent dispossession. Like Burke, royalists reviled the revolution as illegitimate, and since they thought in fundamentally juridical, not historical, terms, most early opponents gave the revolution little staying power. Moreover, the condition of exile had been shared by seventeenth-century Protestants and Frondeurs and was therefore not considered unusual. “One or the other of my wife’s ancestors left the kingdom for religious reasons,” one early émigré, M. de Bacquencourt, consoled himself: “that’s the way the world turns.”⁵⁶ The assumption prevailed that France would return to prerevolutionary moorings. The moment of restoration seemed at hand in the summer of 1792, when armies of the French princes joined those of Austria and Prussia to invade the new republic. There was no mistaking this royalist force of legitimate return: a self-assured Joseph Thomas d’Espinhal reported that “our princes have expressed a wish that every one of us, whether mounted or unmounted, shall provide himself with a white scarf . . . in addition to his cockade and white plumes.”⁵⁷ But the easy victory at Verdun in August turned bad in the muddy rout at Valmy in September. Suddenly, the collective force and unquestioned confidence of the grand seigneurs broke apart: “Now everyone went about solitarily, no one looked at his neighbor,” testified Goethe in his firsthand account, “Campaign in France.”⁵⁸

Observers at the time and memoirists who recollected after many years the events in September 1792 endowed the defeat at Valmy with great historical power.

⁵⁴ Bruce James Smith, *Politics and Remembrance: Republican Themes in Machiavelli, Burke, and Tocqueville* (Princeton, N.J., 1985), 243.

⁵⁵ See, for example, Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis, 1996); James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997); Hamid Naficy, ed., *Home, Exile, Homeland: Film, Media, and the Politics of Place* (New York, 1999).

⁵⁶ M. de Bacquencourt to Mme. de Falaiseau, October 15, 1791, quoted in Adélaïde de Kerjean de Falaiseau, *Dix ans de la vie d’une femme pendant l’émigration*, Vicomte de Broc, ed. (Paris, 1893), 53.

⁵⁷ Entry for August 19–29, 1792, in Joseph Thomas d’Espinhal, *Journal of the Comte d’Espinhal during the Emigration*, Ernest d’Hauterive, ed., Mrs. Rodolph Stawell, trans. (London, 1912), 327.

⁵⁸ Johann Wolfgang Goethe, “Campaign in France,” *Miscellaneous Travels of J. W. Goethe*, L. Dora Schmitz, ed. (London, 1882), 118.

Goethe, who accompanied the duke of Saxe-Weimar as a kind of "field-poet," recognized the endurance of the revolution when he famously remarked that "from this place and from this day forth commences a new era in the world's history."⁵⁹ Other witnesses came to the same conclusion, for they lingered at the sight of the ruins of the nobility: correspondents told about the roads north from Valmy littered with broken pieces: "the debris of broken carriages," "the unburied bodies of dead men and horses."⁶⁰ The extinction of the nobility as a class appeared close at hand. By the end of 1792, not only had the king been arrested but the perpetual banishment of exiles and the sale of their properties were announced. Refugees streamed into Germany and the Netherlands and remained in motion as revolutionary armies advanced in subsequent years. The revolution continually threatened to overtake the exiles: "What catastrophes! What accumulated ruins!" wrote Abbé Martinant as he recalled fleeing one German town after another in the summer of 1795. Over the next months, Martinant made his way to Augsburg, south to Constance, and eventually back east to Hof, but even there, in July 1796, "I made haste to leave, fearing once again the invasion of the French."⁶¹ Thousands of priests, nobles, and other opponents of the republic shared Martinant's fate as they crowded into border towns and suffered the suspicions of local inhabitants, who viewed them as both harbingers of revolutionary disorder and obstacles to peace with France. After Valmy, emigration had become banishment, and individual feelings of loneliness or isolation emptied into a general sense of dispossession. Moreover, the continued presence of the revolution throughout Europe kept most exiles from finding a psychological or physical haven. "Every idea I have is sad; there is not one that consoles me," wrote a father after his service in the Bourbon armies: "The future is so uncertain, we are so unhappy."⁶² Even if memoirs were embellished after many decades, the point remains that exile came to stand for a rupture far greater than the alternations of fortune implicit in Bacquencourt's imperturbable view of the world. When in the autumn of 1792 one anonymous exile commented dispiritedly, "time passes," it was without anticipation of an eventual rehabilitation; it served as a severe measure of losses incurred.⁶³ The experience of the French émigrés was defined by the fundamental suspicion that they would not resume the course of their old lives but were lost in the world forever.

The émigrés eventually returned to France, yet their arrival was ambiguous. Memoirs surveyed a postrevolutionary world not set right. Emigrés not only returned to find their properties in ruins or sold off, but they recognized alarming traces of the revolution and discerned the graffiti of republican virtue—"ou la mort"—still visible through the coats of whitewashing lime: the old order had not

⁵⁹ Goethe, "Campaign in France," 118. Even at the time, Goethe emphasized the importance of the events in letters and conversations. See Nicholas Boyle, *Goethe: The Poet and the Age*, Vol. 2: *Revolution and Renunciation, 1790–1803* (New York, 2000), 128–29, 134, 136.

⁶⁰ Charles de Cézac, *Dix ans d'émigration: Souvenirs de Cézac, Hussard de Berchény, volontaire à l'armée de Condé*, Baron André de Maricourt, ed. (Paris, 1909), 36. See also Chateaubriand, *Memoirs*, 2: 54.

⁶¹ G. J. Martinant de Préneuf, *Huit années d'émigration: Souvenirs de l'abbé G. J. Martinant de Préneuf 1792–1801*, G. Vanel, ed. (Paris, 1908), 175–76, 215.

⁶² Letter to Edouard Dillon, September 26, 1792, in *Correspondance originale des émigrés peints par eux-mêmes*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1793), 2: 152.

⁶³ Letter to de Jouville, October 3, 1792, in *Correspondance originale*, 1: 104–05.

been fully restored, nor had the revolution been entirely destroyed.⁶⁴ Despite a ferocious outcry, nobles whose lands had been sold as “national goods” after 1792 were not indemnified until 1825 and then only in the form of an annual pension, which did not undo the revolutionary act of disinheritance. Although most émigré nobles recovered some property, pieces that either had not been sold or had been transferred to relatives, many continued to think of themselves juridically and sentimentally as a distinct class of displaced persons. They thereby invited others to treat them as nostalgic relics. This was certainly the case with the novelist Honoré de Balzac, who placed the most refractory émigrés in what he aptly named *The Gallery of Antiquities* and described one Old Regime household in *Lily of the Valley*: “family silver without uniformity, Dresden china which was not then in fashion, octagonal decanters, knives with agate handles, and lacquered trays . . . I was delighted in these quaint old things.”⁶⁵ There was no definitive return for those caricatured as the living dead. Elsewhere, as in Chateaubriand’s *René*, the old house is a vacated ruin, haunted by memories of prerevolutionary life. Haunted houses are evidence of how changing ideas of historical time rearranged the sense of place. Resonating with the “half-repressed memory of . . . cultural defeats,” argues Katie Trumpener, they are the remnants of a past that can no longer be reconciled with the present.⁶⁶

A painful process of relocation composed the imagination of exile. Exiles at once mapped the center at which they had once stood and the margins to which they had been displaced. Indulging memories of the securities of the past, reporting on the uncertainties of the future, the émigrés pictured history as a comprehensive disaster that had left them homeless. Their narratives always manifested an articulate historical sensibility about the epochal significance of 1789, but they also rendered experience in highly personal terms, which served to emphasize real distress and to denote the particular, individual effects of general historical forces. This imbrication of the personal and the public is a key aspect to nostalgia. Without the availability of a general narrative about the movement of history and the primacy of the revolution, the exiles would not have felt stranded in a “new time,” and their experiences would have accordingly lacked historical poignancy. Their individual experiences could only be brought forward once a general frame of meaning had been constructed to constitute and absorb such evidence. The narrative acts of exile rested on Müller’s assumption that “everything is becoming so different.” Once such a frame was in place, however, evidence was easily summoned by all sorts of witnesses, and counternarratives rapidly appeared to contest the dominant version of events, only to multiply in countless variations.⁶⁷

Chateaubriand is emblematic of how nineteenth-century autobiographies assimilated increasingly authoritative cultural assumptions about the passage of time.

⁶⁴ Pauline de Noiville and Changy, both cited in de Falaiseau, *Dix ans de la vie d’une femme pendant l’émigration*, 289–90, 297–98. See also Chateaubriand, *Memoirs*, 2: 155–56.

⁶⁵ Honoré de Balzac, *Lily of the Valley*, Katherine Prescott Wormeley, trans. (Boston, 1901), 49–50. See also Balzac, *The Gallery of Antiquities*, Wormeley, trans. (Boston, 1901). On the indemnification debate, see Andre Gain, *La Restauration et les biens des émigrés* (Nancy, 1929).

⁶⁶ Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (Chicago, 1998), 149.

⁶⁷ On the narrativization of experience, see Joan W. Scott, “The Evidence of Experience,” *Critical Inquiry* 17 (1991): 773–97.

The memoirist placed the French Revolution at the very center of his life-writing. His exile as a political émigré structured the composition of his autobiography, his "orphan," who surveyed the separations and shipwrecks, and the revolutions that left him alone. The orphan or the straggler embodied new structures of feeling in the nineteenth century: the decomposition of the community of tradition and the individual's solitary, often involuntary passage to new affections and new places. In the face of this homelessness, however, Chateaubriand did not despair, because he fixed his identity in the circumstances of contingency. "I believe in nothing except religion," Chateaubriand announced, and so "I distrust everything."⁶⁸ He made an awkward republican in America, cut a poor figure as an émigré in England, and infuriated his fellow legitimists during the Restoration. He described himself as a swimmer in the course of events who refused to try to reach the banks on either side despite turbulent conditions. "Each age is a river that carries us off according to the whims of the destiny to which we have abandoned ourselves," Chateaubriand explained. "There are those (the republicans) who cross it headlong and throw themselves onto the shore opposite. The others are perfectly happy to remain where they are, without plunging in. Trying to move with the times, the former transport us far from ourselves into an imaginary realm; the latter hold us back, refusing to enlighten themselves, happy to be men of the fourteenth century" at the end of the eighteenth.⁶⁹ For his part, Chateaubriand preferred to remain cast away. He cherished the past, acknowledging its devastation without ever abandoning its remnants. Wreckage swirled around the swimmer, who gave up on any attempt to gather up the debris and found solace in hanging on to this or that piece. Chateaubriand is such a compelling figure in the aftermath of the French Revolution because he made rupture the acknowledged pivot of his political and personal sensibilities, of his literary labors, and of his self-estimation. Behind the counterrevolutionary émigré lurked a modern exile who anticipated quite contemporary concerns about the place of home in the modern world.

The fugitive identity that Chateaubriand constructed for himself can be found in less stylized versions throughout the revolutionary period. Aware of their alienation from developments in France and their fragile position in society, émigrés proved open to differences in custom and culture in the world around them. In exile and on the run, they became, in Mallet du Pan's felicitous phrase, "cosmopolitans despite themselves." Self-consciously comparing the old places they had left and the new places in which they found themselves, exiles gained a kind of epistemological privilege as they acknowledged people on the margins of conquest or those left behind by catastrophe.⁷⁰ Well-born French travelers to the United States, for example, felt a genuine affinity with Native Americans, who were no longer regarded as noble savages but as savaged nobles, dispossessed by an expanding commercial world.⁷¹ The "denial of coevalness," which Johannes Fabian argues has

⁶⁸ Chateaubriand, *Memoirs*, 2: 95.

⁶⁹ Quoted in Pierre Barbéris, *Chateaubriand: Une réaction du monde moderne* (Paris, 1976), 107–08. See also Peter Fritzsche, "Chateaubriand's Ruins: Loss and Memory after the French Revolution," *History and Memory* 10 (1998): 102–17.

⁷⁰ Fernand Baldensperger, *Le mouvement des idées dans l'émigration française, 1789–1815*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1924), 1: 44, 111. See also Edward W. Said, *Out of Place: A Memoir* (New York, 1999).

⁷¹ Liebersohn, *Aristocratic Encounters*, 39–47, 59.

been central to the Western anthropology of primitive "others," was itself denied by the duke de Liancourt, Michel Crèvecoeur, and Chateaubriand, each of whom recognized himself in the untimely death of the Iroquois. This was a startling moment when alternatives to the logic of European colonialism could be imagined.⁷² Fernand Baldensperger, whose 1924 study of the émigré literature remains unsurpassed, commented on the nature of this cosmopolitan knowledge. What eventually triumphed, he maintained, was "a sense of the diversity of the world, one that paid attention to local color, to the picturesque presentation of reality, but also to juxtaposition and dispersion: the dramas and elegies of the emigration played themselves out in an increasingly incoherent universe."⁷³ It is not at all surprising that Stéphanie de Genlis, who had been closely connected to the Bourbons, eventually published a practical guide to local customs, a *Manuel de Voyageur* in six languages, containing, as the English-language edition put it, "the expressions most used in travelling, and in the different circumstances of life."⁷⁴ The last fateful phrase indicates the extent to which French émigrés anticipated the traveling cultures of the present day and found clues to their subject positions in foreign places. Indeed, it is difficult to regard émigré or otherwise estranged travelers without the foreign destinations that enabled the exploration of their own dispossession: the United States in the case of Chateaubriand and Tocqueville, Spain and Russia in the case of Astolphe de Custine, Germany and Italy in the case of Germaine de Staël.⁷⁵

What is remarkable about this early literature of exile, which was almost exclusively autobiographical, is the authority it acquired. "Nearly the entire world," concluded the *Journal littéraire et bibliographique de Hambourg* in 1799, "regards the emigration as an inexhaustible source for novels."⁷⁶ Why was this the case? To some extent, accounts of the emigration had all the elements of the adventure stories that had been popular in the eighteenth century. The escapades of Madame de La Tour du Pin certainly contributed to the enduring appeal of her memoirs.⁷⁷ But the hardships of exile also resonated among readers across Europe who themselves suffered the calamities of war. "In all the novels that deal with the French Revolution," observed Agnes von Gerlach from French-occupied Berlin, "it is always the case that unhappiness separates families and divides lovers, and now I find this to be the case."⁷⁸

After the wars had come to an end, the production of autobiographical texts continued unabated. Indeed, the French Revolution prompted an outpouring of memoirs equaled only by the survivor literature after 1945, Marilyn Yalom argues.

⁷² Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York, 1983).

⁷³ Baldensperger, *Le mouvement des idées*, 1: 113.

⁷⁴ Stéphanie de Genlis, *The Traveller's Companion for Conversation*, 5th edn. (Florence, 1821). The languages were English, German, French, Italian, Spanish, and Russian.

⁷⁵ Gross, *Scar of Revolution*, 16; Charlotte Hogsett, *The Literary Existence of Germaine de Staël* (Carbondale, Ill., 1987), 94–95, 130–31, 154. In general, see Michael Seidel, *Exile and the Narrative Imagination* (New Haven, Conn., 1986).

⁷⁶ Baldensperger, *Le mouvement des idées*, 1: 208.

⁷⁷ Henriette Lucie Dillon, Marquise de La Tour du Pin Gouvernet, *Memoirs*, Felice Harcourt, ed. and trans. (London, 1969).

⁷⁸ Agnes von Gerlach to Marie von Raumer, December 23, 1808, in Hans Joachim Schoeps, ed., *Aus den Jahren Preussischer Not und Erneuerung: Tagebücher und Briefe der Gebrüder Gerlach und ihres Kreises, 1805–1820* (Berlin, 1963), 368–69.

Of course, the Holocaust and World War II are traumas of a different order, but the point is that dispossession invited proliferate self-reflection about loss in the present and remnants of the past and a consideration of history as catastrophe. For over one hundred years, friends and relatives assiduously cultivated the émigrés' opposition to republicanism, handing down stories about displaced royals and anguished exiles, preserving handwritten recollections, and editing published versions. That the nineteenth century stood out as a "century of memoirs," as Mme. de Fars Fausselandry proclaimed in 1830 on the first page of her autobiography, was due to the insistent press of public events on private lives and the pertinence of the reconsideration of those lives in the light of historical change. In gestures of recollection, the émigrés easily found for themselves the role of special victim; their eyewitness accounts presupposed a personal relationship to public history and marked out a collective identity. But the particular misfortunes of the exiles resonated among a much wider range of readers for whom "hybrid chronicles that track[ed] the convergence of an individual destiny with national destiny" corresponded to a general sense of displacement in what was quickly shorthanded as the Age of Revolution. Literary scholars argue that memoirs found readers precisely because readers recognized the historical nature of the hardships of their own lives: it was not so much the hardships that were new but the historical pertinence they acquired. Memoirs reenacted the founding premise of the nineteenth century's privileged literary form, the novel, which was that the story of private people expressed the general experiences of society.⁷⁹

The publication and circulation of so many accounts of exile made the early nineteenth-century world look completely different, because it scattered across its face the ruins of its people. The literary embellishment of the story of "Frenchman's Island" on Lake Oneida, New York, well illustrates this archaeological rendering of the modern world. The "Frenchman" was Louis Des Watines, a nobleman who had left France before the revolution and settled with his family on the lake's westernmost island in 1792–1793. He cleared the land but soon discovered that the island belonged to someone else and returned to the mainland. After a few years of fruitless financial speculation, the colonist sailed back to France in 1799. Apparently, Des Watines was an unpleasant, forgettable man, but his stay on what became known as "Frenchman's Island" caught the imagination of neighbors, who savored the idea of "our French Robinson." That Des Watines' wife gave birth to a daughter in an Indian camp across from the island only sharpened their curiosity. This tale of a life "amongst savages" gained power when the German novelist Sophie von La Roche transformed the unlucky Des Watines (about whom she had learned from her son Fritz, who lived in the United States) into a lamentable French exile who had fled the guillotine with his young wife. La Roche dramatized the tension between the well-born origins of the Frenchman and his lowly state on Lake Oneida. She also juxtaposed the farm on Frenchman's Island to the American

⁷⁹ Marilyn Yalom, *Blood Sisters: The French Revolution in Women's Memory* (New York, 1995), 1, 10–11. See also Ariès, *Zeit und Geschichte*, 51, 54–55, 70; Pierre Nora, "Die Staatsmemoiren von Comynnes bis de Gaulle," in *Zwischen Geschichte und Gedächtnis* (Berlin, 1990), 98–111; Gustav René Hocke, *Das europäische Tagebuch* (Wiesbaden, 1963), 201–02; and more generally, Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub, *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History* (New York, 1992).

village on one shore and the Indian settlement opposite, thereby upholding both the differences that separated the aristocratic Des Watines from the rude commercial enterprise of the colonists and the alignment of the exile with the endangered “free” natives. La Roche’s Frenchman was quite unlike Des Watines; the turns of history had forced him into the wilderness and, once there, transformed him into a “cosmopolitan despite himself.” Retold by La Roche, the story of Des Watines poignantly recapitulated the fate of the émigrés. Published in 1798, La Roche’s book was successful enough to appear a few years later in a condensed version for young readers. Thanks to this popularization, the actual traces of Des Watines’ homestead that remained after the family’s departure acquired the aura of a ruin, which stood for both the misfortune and resilience of the exiled nobility. It attracted numerous pilgrims over the years, including Tocqueville and Charles Beaumont in the 1830s. They found what they were looking for: “a few fragments falling into dust,” precisely what evoked the losses and ruptures and absences of the forty years that had passed since the revolution. It was the perspective of the exile that allowed La Roche, Tocqueville, and Beaumont to look for and find the ruin of Frenchman’s Island.⁸⁰ Estrangement and homelessness emerged as such dominant themes in the nineteenth century due in large part to a literary tradition elaborated by the French émigrés. They encountered the new century from the interiorized, obsessively subjective perspective of displaced persons.

THE STORY OF FRENCHMAN’S ISLAND is only one of many in this period that drew attention to the strange displacement of individuals, their disorientation in new social and political places, and the difficulties they encountered in retrieving traces of their past lives: for example, Washington Irving’s tale, “Rip Van Winkle,” which measures the political distance from King George to George Washington, or the case of Kaspar Hauser, the son from nowhere who appeared without memories on Nuremberg’s Unschlittplatz in May 1828.⁸¹ The experience of the émigrés became increasingly paradigmatic, evocative of a wider experience of exile that served as a way of seeing and taking the measure of social and economic calamity. It was not so much that history had become more catastrophic, although that argument could be made for the nineteenth century, but rather that history was interpreted in a more catastrophic way, so that Johannes von Müller’s lachrymose aside—“Everything is becoming so different”—in fact became the signature, the conceit of modernity. By crumpling up the temporal structures of the present, the French Revolution made the displacements of what became known as the Industrial Revolution stand out. The political revolution encouraged contemporaries to think

⁸⁰ On the significance of the appropriations of Des Watines’ story, see Gross, *Scar of Revolution*, 103–20. She relies on the splendid study by Victor Lange, “Visitors to Lake Oneida: An Account of the Background of Sophie von La Roche’s Novel *Erscheinungen am See Oneida*,” *Symposium* 2 (1948): 48–78. See also Sophie von La Roche, *Erscheinungen am See Oneida* (1798; Eschborn, 1995).

⁸¹ “Rip van Winkle,” in *The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.*, Richard Dilworth Rust, ed., *The Complete Works of Washington Irving* (Boston, 1978), vol. 8; and on Hauser, see Liliane Weissberg, “Introduction,” Dan Ben-Amos and Weissberg, eds., *Cultural Memory and the Construction of Identity* (Detroit, 1999), 7–8. See also Thomas Carlyle, *The French Revolution*, K. J. Fielding and David Sorensen, eds. (Oxford, 1989), 409 [Part 2, Book 3, chap. 1].

of industrial transformation as a swift and comprehensive process that broke fundamentally with the past. Raymond Williams takes note of an "escalator" of historical perspective in which successive generations in the modern era dated the ruin of rural England to their childhoods or just before, but the genre itself originates in the first decades of the nineteenth century. The highly stylized rural scenes in early Victorian literature and painting register what "is no more."⁸² Even Americans in 1800 shared an awareness of "firstness," a sense of living in a period of unprecedented change that was marked not only by exceptional rates of westward mobility (and thus the abandonment of older places) but by the growing political sovereignty of all white men.⁸³ At least for this constituency, the past was increasingly seen as something distant and the present as a place of new encounters and new dangers that had not been anticipated before. Given this dramatization of discontinuity, the past became an object of intense scrutiny as contemporaries attempted to recover traces of former lifeways. For the rest of the nineteenth and, arguably, into the twentieth century, Western culture remained engrossed in the work of memory. More and more aware of their disposessions, contemporaries endeavored to reestablish some sort of connection to the past, one that was tenuous but also enriching and suggestive of the possibilities available in historical time, past and future.

One of the most striking operations of the reconfiguration of Western temporality at the turn of the nineteenth century was the production of ruins. Suddenly, traces of past lives appeared everywhere, like the "fragments falling into dust" on Frenchman's Island. The physical landscape as much as personal autobiography became a rendition of archaeology. Contemporaries constructed a "world picture" scattered with the ruins of other worlds (not the disrepair of their own) and scarred by the traces of calamity and destruction and conquest (not simply misfortune or carelessness). While debris recounted devastation and ruin, it also demarcated specific cultural traditions that even in fragmentary form defied the logic of imperial conquest and imperial sameness. For all its melancholy aspects, the evidence of loss corresponded to an acquisition of wealth because markers of rupture indicated possibility and variability. Ruins reidentified the variety of subjects available in the vicissitudes of history. They raised the specter of alternative modernities.⁸⁴ The construction of German identity in the period of French empire is perhaps the best example of the way in which the nationalisms of the nineteenth century relied on the visibility of ruins.

The collection of cultural debris to reconstitute German tradition was the

⁸² Elizabeth K. Helsinger, *Rural Scenes and National Representation: Britain, 1815–1850* (Princeton, N.J., 1997), 6, 146–47. See also Ann C. Colley, *Nostalgia and Recollection in Victorian Culture* (New York, 1998).

⁸³ Joyce Appleby, *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000). Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, 35, 40, 43, emphasizes disinterest in tradition in the early national period, which is the flipside to the idea of firstness, but overlooks countercurrents: see Hal S. Barron, *Those Who Stayed Behind: Rural Society in Nineteenth-Century New England* (Cambridge, 1984); and Lewis Perry, *Boats against the Current: American Culture between Revolution and Modernity, 1820–1860* (New York, 1993).

⁸⁴ In contemporary theory, memory work is often associated with the revisualization of difference. See, for example, the special issue on "Alter/Native Modernities," *Public Culture* 27 (1999). Trumpener's *Bardic Nationalism* anticipates these issues as well.

singular achievement of the Brothers Grimm. They described the fairy tales they had transcribed as fragments of a shattered whole, comparing the oral stories to small shafts of grass that had been protected by hedges and bushes after storms had flattened fields of crops.⁸⁵ To retrieve these lost pieces, they urged collectors to bend down close to the ground: “quietly pick up the leaves and carefully bend back the twigs, so as not to disturb the *Volk* and to furtively glimpse this small, rare part of nature, smelling like fallen leaves, meadow grass, and fresh rain.” This work of collecting had to proceed quickly, the Grimms urged, before “total decomposition ensues,” making clear that the summer storm was not merely a recurring seasonal danger but a very particular historical catastrophe. The revolutionary armies that the brothers had seen move back and forth across their native Hessen, and the surveyors and roadbuilders who arrived in the decades that followed, flattened fields as surely as any summer’s storm, wiping away older lifeways in the name of progress. Folk songs, a few books, and “these innocent fairy tales” were all that remained. Even these bits and pieces survived only along the edges of ordinary life: among hedges and “around the fireplace, the kitchen stove, the cellar stairs.”⁸⁶

Given how violently and thoroughly the storm of modern development had acted—“flattening a whole field of crops”—how fragile individual customs had become—collectors had to “carefully bend back the twigs”—and how hard the traditional villages were to find—places “where few paths led”—the Grimms insisted on preserving old folkways as they found them. They conceded that the stories and legends were no longer integral elements in the larger society that collected them, and argued that, as a result, efforts to translate them into a more accessible vernacular would ruin them. On the one hand, the folk tales formed a link to a distant past, which justified their collection, preservation, and dissemination. On the other, they had to be accepted as artifacts of a broken whole that could no longer be repaired. “The past” (*das Alte*) could not be “transplanted into our time, where it no longer belongs,” Jacob Grimm concluded. The wording suggests that today had once been commensurate with yesterday, but it was “no longer.” Following Stephen Bann’s distinction between exemplary specimens and recovered relics, a “shift in terms” around 1800 that “alerts us to a radical change in conceiving the relationship of the historical object to the past,” I would argue that the tales entered nineteenth-century culture as relics.⁸⁷ That modern scholarship has disproved the Grimms’ claim for the rustic, Germanic origins of the folk tales in no way invalidates the brothers’ and their readers’ engagement with the stories as recovered treasures. The “strange, noble creatures” that Jacob imagined his tales to be appeared as eloquent expressions both of the grandeur and of the alienation of the past. Giving depth to national history, they also withheld an immediate link to it.⁸⁸ Readers responded in similar fashion, embedding the tales in a national

⁸⁵ Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, “Vorrede,” July 3, 1819, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, Heinz Rölleke, ed. (Stuttgart, 1980), 15.

⁸⁶ “Aufforderung an die gesammte Freunde deutscher Poesie und Geschichte erlassen” (1811), in Heinz Rölleke, ed., *Die Märchen der Brüder Grimm: Eine Einführung* (Munich, 1985), 63–69, here 65.

⁸⁷ Stephen Bann, *The Clothing of Clio: A Study of the Representation of History in Nineteenth-Century Britain and France* (Cambridge, 1984), 86.

⁸⁸ Jacob to Wilhelm Grimm, May 17, 1809, in Grimm, Hinrichs, and Schoof, *Briefwechsel zwischen Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm aus der Jugendzeit*, 101. On Grimm scholarship, see Rölleke, *Die Märchen der Brüder Grimm*.

literary tradition over which family members—usually mothers and grandmothers—exercised guardianship. By the end of the nineteenth century, the fairy tales and the illustrations that accompanied them provided an iconography enabling contemporaries to recognize what they had not seen before: Germany's distinctive historical (and later touristic) landscape.⁸⁹

The proposed completion of the cathedral in Cologne had much the same effect. It was difficult to overlook the huge, unfinished structure, but throughout the early modern period it did not seem particularly interesting because it was broken down, left behind by the political developments that had taken place since the Thirty Years' War. After the French Revolution, however, it was seen afresh. An impressive array of intellectuals came to cherish it as a monument to a specifically German "prehistory." In their view, the resumption of work on the cathedral (which began in 1842 and was completed in 1880) made it possible to imagine following up the lost itinerary of German prehistory and introducing a new greatness and lost cohesion to German actions once the French had been defeated. For the journalist Heinrich Steffens, Cologne's cathedral beckoned an "indeterminate future," a space in which the various possibilities of history remained alive. The subjunctive future corresponded to the conditional past, in which defeat and demolition were no longer regarded as foreordained. To complete the Gothic cathedral in Cologne, to collect Germanic tales and customs, or to identify ruins along the Rhine River, which revealed itself as a "huge national museum"—all were critical elements in the dramatization of difference that allowed nineteenth-century Germans to fashion for themselves a new national subject and a new national history.⁹⁰

A similar process took place in France, where Charles Nodier, Alphonse de Cailleux, and Isidor Taylor embarked in the 1820s on a publishing venture to produce gigantic picture albums—the *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France*—depicting the regions of France. Rather than assemble historical events along a continuum, the authors traced indistinct origins, noted disruptive invasions, and described archaic religiosity, and thereby embellished France's rich and diverse past. Ruined castles, chateaus, and convents attracted the attention of antiquarians because these landmarks constituted evidence of political and religious struggles and brought into view a fabulous landscape of passion and belief. The determined demolition work of French revolutionaries in the 1790s only enhanced the sublime aesthetic of the prerevolutionary past.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Ingeborg Weber-Kellermann, "Hessen als Märchenland der Brüder Grimm," in Charlotte Oberfeld and Andreas C. Bimmer, eds., *Hessen—Märchenland der Brüder Grimm* (Kassel, 1984), 93–103.

⁹⁰ On the Cologne cathedral, see Gertrud Klewinghaus, "Die Vollendung des Kölner Doms im Spiegel deutscher Publikationen der Zeit von 1800–1842" (PhD dissertation, Universität Saarbrücken, 1971), 12, 27; as well as Hugo Borger, ed., *Der Kölner Dom im Jahrhundert seiner Vollendung: Essays zur Ausstellung der Historischen Museen in der Josef-Haubrich-Kunsthalle* (Cologne, 1980). Correspondingly less pertinent to this emerging national tradition was the heritage of ancient Greece and Rome. "Greek ways" are completely different, insisted the medievalist Sulpiz Boisserée in a priceless letter to Goethe: "when and where are we naked in public life?" he wanted to know. Boisserée to Goethe, June 23, 1817, cited in Eduard Firmenich-Richartz, *Die Brüder Boisserée: Sulpiz und Melchior Boisserée als Kunstsammler; Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Romantik* (Jena, 1916), 292.

⁹¹ Isidor Taylor, et al., eds., *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France*, 20 vols. (Paris, 1820–78). Each volume measured 18 by 36 inches. See also A. Richard Oliver, *Charles Nodier, Pilot of Romanticism* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1964).

Of course, French revolutionaries were not the first to wreck a church, but the fact that nineteenth-century observers loitered around the particular sites of revolutionary destruction indicated how recent history had come to be dramatized as a series of abrupt endings and new beginnings. Moreover, the French Revolution raised the specter of destroying the traces of the past and thus of alternative histories altogether. Whereas there was little concern in the eighteenth century about the perishability of the ruin, which was regarded as part of a natural landscape of decay and regeneration, in the decades after the revolution antiquarians launched extensive efforts to preserve the evidence of trauma, extinction, and difference.⁹² Obliterating the ruin was tantamount to annulling kinds of lives and varieties of belief. According to Chateaubriand, for example, the French Revolution was horrific not only for creating ruins—washing up émigrés on foreign shores—but for destroying monuments to the past. Again and again, he took his readers to the abbey of Saint-Denis, outside Paris, where in August 1793 revolutionaries had plundered the royal tombs and smashed the bones of France's kings.⁹³ To take away "the bones of their fathers," he wrote in another context, "you take away their history," robbing people of "the proofs of their existence and of their annihilation."⁹⁴ In what became a signature of conservative descriptions of the revolutionary place, German visitors, too, condemned France for being a country without memory. Upon arriving in France from Germany, Friedrich von Schlegel purported to be immediately aware of the dullness of the landscape. It was without remarkable features, pretty but superficial, lacking the wild residue of Germany's history.⁹⁵ Even in Paris, he reported, "luxury is the all-absorbing deity that governs the hasty revolutions of the fleeting day, amid an universal irregularity of existence, buildings, garments, and the ornamental refinements of life, interrupted only by the fantastic caprice of ever-varying fashion."⁹⁶

What is interesting is not whether Schlegel was right but how forcefully he and his contemporaries on both sides of the Rhine started to make judgments about places without memory, the value of ruins, and the stories imputed to them. In this view, then, it was the perpetual present, the ruin of the ruin, that constituted the real destructive potential of modernity. The preservation of the ruin, by contrast, made it possible to think about distinct, half-hidden pasts of which Europeans were the potential legatees and guardians. They came to represent their collective identities as bounded in time and place, making the case for their own historical specificity and for the particulars of the "spirit of the age," which laid the basis for the

⁹² On the changing status of the ruin, see Ingrid G. Daemmrich, "The Ruins Motif in French Literature" (PhD dissertation, Wayne State University, 1970); Roland Mortier, *La poétique des ruines en France: Ses origines, ses variations, de la Renaissance à Victor Hugo* (Geneva, 1974); and Günter Hauptmann, *Die Ruine im Landschaftsgarten: Ihre Bedeutung für den frühen Historismus und die Landschaftsmalerei der Romantik* (Worms, 1981).

⁹³ François-René de Chateaubriand, *The Genius of Christianity*, Charles I. White, trans. (Philadelphia, 1856), 524–25, 730–31 note pp; *Memoirs*, 2: 85, 155–56. See also Ernst Steinmann, "Die Zerstörung der Königsdenkmäler in Paris," *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* 10 (1917): 337–80.

⁹⁴ Chateaubriand, *Memoirs*, 1: 231.

⁹⁵ Friedrich von Schlegel, "Reise nach Frankreich," *Europa* (1803): 17–18.

⁹⁶ Friedrich von Schlegel, "Principles of Gothic Architecture: Notes of a Journey through the Netherlands, the Rhine Country, Switzerland, and a part of France in the Years 1804, 1805," in *The Aesthetic and Miscellaneous Works of Friedrich von Schlegel*, E. J. Millington, trans. (London, 1875), 198–99.

particularities of French, German, and British history. It is difficult to imagine European nationalisms without the visibility of the ruin and the apprehension of the past as a site of cultural disaster, imperial conquest, and national survival.

Reconfigurations in the structure of public time, which had severed the past from the present, had the additional and profound consequence of altering perceptions of the continuity of private life. Readers and writers became more self-conscious of breaks and disruptions in their own lives, performing for themselves the discontinuities that dramatized public life. The age of history was insistently autobiographical, a genre that made manifest the transforming work of time and dramatized lifelines with its emphasis on rupture and development. Literary scholars point to an explosion in the production of personal forms such as memoirs, autobiographies, and diaries beginning in the nineteenth century.⁹⁷ At the same time, ever larger numbers of readers consumed those texts and validated their publication.

In the first place, the broad and unmistakable public consciousness about the marauding movement of history after the turn of the nineteenth century had the effect of creating a common denominator to individual experiences, and people could recognize a general cause behind particular effects. This is why Wordsworth and the ferryman shared news about Robespierre at Rampside: they were both swept up in the same history and approached each other as contemporaries. The result was an extraordinary production and consumption of quite vernacular versions of general history. "Since the interesting era of the French Revolution," commented one British observer in 1824, "the people of these Kingdoms have been an inquisitive, prying, doubting, and reading people. Their feelings received then an extraordinary impetus."⁹⁸ One efficient way to grasp the sudden interest in autobiography is to consider the memoirs of ordinary soldiers. It was only at the end of the eighteenth century that soldiers and sailors began to emerge as empathetic figures with whom readers might identify. Before then, soldiers were regarded as mercenaries, unlucky at best, criminal at worst, and subject to a harsh and brutal life that was as remote as it was horrible to the great majority of literate Europeans. These views changed slowly, but massive wartime mobilization, which extended the reach of the army into many more families, the difficult burdens that both civilians and soldiers shared during the continental wars, and finally new notions of citizenship made the soldier increasingly sympathetic, a representative of "everyman," even a model of emulation. "The campaign in the Peninsula is the first in British history to be written up by a score or so literate men from the other ranks," notes Clive Emsley about Wellington's army in Spain in 1812–1813; "the common man's participation in war was recognized as important by him and by his readers."⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Hocke, *Das europäische Tagebuch*, 26, 189; René Bourgeois, "Fonctions du Journal intime, d'après le Journal inédit d'Antoine Métral," in Victor Del Litto, ed., *Le journal intime et ses formes littéraires* (Paris, 1978), 177–87; Rudolf Dekker, *Childhood, Memory, and Autobiography in Holland: From the Golden Age to Romanticism* (New York, 2000); and Yalom, *Blood Sisters*, 1, 11.

⁹⁸ Cited in Jon P. Klancher, *The Making of English Reading Audiences, 1790–1832* (Madison, Wis., 1987), 27. On the popular consumption of history, see Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, "Pop Culture in the Making: The Romantic Craze for History," in Chu and Gabriel P. Weisberg, eds., *The Popularization of Images: Visual Culture under the July Monarchy* (Princeton, N.J., 1994).

⁹⁹ Clive Emsley, *British Society and the French Wars, 1793–1815* (London, 1979), 172–73. See also Hocke, *Das europäische Tagebuch*, 67, 201–02; and Peter Gay, *The Naked Heart* (New York, 1995), 109.

But the revolution had an even more profound effect: its presence in daily life was not so much political as temporal. In this period, personal memories became increasingly stranded in an "old-fashioned" past that historical consciousness had molded and separated and cut off from the present. Indeed, the everyday use of adjectives such as "old-fashioned" or "old-time" dates from the early 1800s. It is also clear that autobiography as a genre was invigorated by the crisis of memory, which made the past an object of concern while denying complete access to it. According to Jerome Buckley, "autobiography sets the self-portrait in time and motion, presenting, as it does, a changing personality, developing, declining, remembering, regretting, rather than a fixed and finite impression."¹⁰⁰ In other words, newly validated experiences of dislocation and displacement nourished both the observing self and the autobiographical gestures it enacted. A telling example of this is the myriad recollections of childhood that became commonplace in nineteenth-century autobiography. It was from the perspective of the lost child that autobiographers apprised the discontinuity between past and present. "The fact is," writes Richard Coe, "that the origins of Childhood as a genre," with its sense of bitterness, frustration, and loss, "coincided from the outset with a major period of upheaval, with the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution each in its own way hard at work destroying the past."¹⁰¹ Joyce Appleby agrees; in her study of life narratives in the United States, she finds that the literal and the literary construction of an individual life in the tumultuous fifty years after the revolution was related to "the collapse of venerable hierarchies and the scattering of family members," which "caught Americans unawares" and set them off on "different avenues of emotional release."¹⁰² Given the emerging structure of temporality, which facilitated distinctions between the "I Now" and the "I Then," it was increasingly possible for the observing self to see itself anew in terms of a past that was far away and closed off; in turn, the acknowledged distance from and concern for a prior self prompted renewed, more strenuously self-conscious reflection.¹⁰³ And, since public life in large part fashioned the narrational devices by which private lives came to be understood as discontinuous, it is possible to conceive of the constitution of the private by the public.

John Gillis, in his important book *A World of Their Own Making*, points to an

An excellent example of the new appreciation for the contributions of the common man is William Wheeler, *The Letters of Private Wheeler*, B. H. Liddell Hart, ed. (Boston, 1952).

¹⁰⁰ Jerome Hamilton Buckley, *The Turning Key: Autobiography and the Subjective Impulse since 1800* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), 28–29. See also Aleida Assmann, "Die Wunden der Zeit: Wordsworth und die romantische Erinnerung," in Anselm Haverkamp and Renate Lachmann, eds., *Memoria: Vergessen und Erinnern* (Munich, 1993), 359–82.

¹⁰¹ Richard N. Coe, *When the Grass Was Taller: Autobiography and the Experience of Childhood* (New Haven, Conn., 1984), 65. See also Carolyn Steedman, *Strange Dislocations: Childhood and the Idea of Human Interiority, 1780–1930* (London, 1995); Irene Hardach-Pinke, *Kindertag: Aspekte von Kontinuität und Wandel der Kindheit in autobiographischen Zeugnissen 1700 bis 1900* (Frankfurt am Main, 1981), 14, 16–17; and Joseph F. Kett, "Adolescence and Youth," in Theodore K. Rabb and Robert I. Rotberg, eds., *The Family in History: Interdisciplinary Essays* (New York, 1973), 98.

¹⁰² Appleby, *Inheriting the Revolution*, 21–22.

¹⁰³ John C. Hampsey, "Houses of the Mind: The Architecture of Childhood," *Antioch Review* 51 (1993): 251–63. Taking Wordsworth as his example, Abrams, *Natural Supernaturalism*, 75, analyzes consciousness in terms of "the wide 'vacancy' between the I now and the I then." More generally, see Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989).

"epochal turning point in Western family life" at the beginning of the nineteenth century. "What sets our age apart," he explains, "is that each family is now the creator and custodian of its own myths, rituals, and images." Homes were increasingly invested with new meanings and resembled "mini-museums, filled with heirlooms, mementos, and souvenirs of family," with what Harriet Beecher Stowe later happily described as "household fairies."¹⁰⁴ Historians of private life concur: the nineteenth century witnessed an explosion of letter writing, diary keeping, scrapbook pasting, and portrait taking, above all in the middle classes, but the trend was general. Families took more care to commemorate personal occasions, birthdays, and holidays. Memories were "hoarded like capital," writes Anne Martin-Fugier.¹⁰⁵ Changing structures of temporality after 1800 refurbished private space in the family as well: wardrobes and attics and old houses, like the hedges along the Grimms' fields, were reconstituted by time, gaining richness and texture as repositories of memory. They were spaces in which the presence of other pasts had been scrambled, as Susan Stewart writes, "into a simultaneous order which memory is invited to rearrange: heaven and hell, tool and ornament, ancestor and heir, decay and preservation."¹⁰⁶

Strange places at the beginning of the nineteenth century such as Frenchman's Island, and also attics, haunted houses, and the remote villages the Grimms believed they had stumbled upon, indicate the extent to which everyday material life bore the marks of newly imagined ruptures of history. They contained a past increasingly regarded for its incongruencies with the present and approached as a separate place in time: bounded, distant, and intransparent. It would be silly to argue that suddenly the vast majority of Europeans and Americans consciously upheld this new historical consciousness or identified with the experience of exile or consorted with ghosts. What is striking, however, is the degree to which the past was represented in terms of public and private loss and the degree to which memory work became an obsession both for nations and families. An awareness of the breaks of the past made nostalgia for a different lifetime a familiar emotion: the reconfiguration of time necessarily impinged on the emotions of men and women and parents and children. To an increasing degree, the sense of nineteenth-century selfhood depended on the recognition and exploration of loss, which can be considered one of the "sources of the self" and a constituent part of "the modern identity."¹⁰⁷ Loss is a particularly useful way to explore the emergence of the modern self, because the apprehension of displacement relied on common structures of temporality that had the effect of connecting purely individual misfortunes

¹⁰⁴ John R. Gillis, *A World of Their Own Making: Myth, Ritual, and the Quest for Family Values* (New York, 1996), xvi–xviii; and Harriet Beecher Stowe, *House and Home Papers* (1864; Boston, 1890), 21.

¹⁰⁵ Anne Martin-Fugier, "Bourgeois Rituals," in Michelle Perrot, ed., *A History of Private Life*, Vol. 4: *From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 263–65. Beyond the sphere of the family, the newly emerging business in antiques indicated just how inventive these vernacular commemorative reconnections with the past could become. See Alain Corbin, "The Secret of the Individual," in Perrot, *History of Private Life*, 541–42; and Elizabeth Stiller, *The Antiquers* (New York, 1980).

¹⁰⁶ Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore, 1984), 150–51.

¹⁰⁷ C. Taylor, *Sources of the Self*. In this respect, Appleby's *Inheriting the Revolution* should be considered a superb case study.

to larger social processes, thus inviting narration, reflection, and mutual recognition. It also gave historical process an ordinary scale and a quotidian aspect. As a result, losses were understood in distinctly personal terms, and they made salient the subjective positions of contemporaries. Thus trivial stories had powerful resonance as testimony to the ways in which individuals fit themselves (however awkwardly) into history and allowed history to make sense of their own lives. The interplay between grand narrative and the individual evidence of experience produced a compelling interior voice that was characteristic of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It bared the "naked heart" to which Peter Gay refers and made possible a myriad of personal journeys by way of recollection and imagination to the broken regions of the past. As historians explore the historical nature of private realms and personal subjectivity, a useful point of departure might well be the interiorized versions of public history that express themselves as nostalgia.

At the same time, nostalgia and the recognition of loss have profound political implications. The singularization of history that Reinhart Koselleck identifies in the turbulence of the French Revolution opened rather than closed historical alternatives because it created a mutually comprehensible discursive field in which vernacular narratives and counter-narratives flourished; it helped pull together a sentimental community in which loss and pain could speak up and be validated.¹⁰⁸ The visibility of ruins, for example, reconstituted (national) difference in an age of empire in ways that remain pertinent today. Moreover, nostalgic renditions of contemporary history offered a critique of the claims and pieties of the present. These proved to be so compelling because they were alert to the individual scale of loss and dislocation.¹⁰⁹ Narratives of displacement, exile, and nostalgia dramatized difference and incommensurability, prompting empathy in the face of catastrophe and skepticism in the face of the present.

A study of nostalgia also clarifies the competing claims of social and cultural history, with their different emphasis on the categories "experience" and "perception." I have argued that nostalgia is a sightfulness that gives meaning to experiences that might otherwise have gone unremarked. Without a historical narrative, experience would have remained immediate and diminished in social meaning. At the same time, however, without the brutal penetration of new political and economic arrangements into ordinary lives, there would be only a tenuous recognition of larger historical narratives and little general interest in cultural relics and gestures of remembrance. Nostalgia requires both a discursive field in which discontinuity is given particular historical form *and* the material evidence of disruption in order to give historical forms the poignancy that allows them to be recognized over time and space. It is worth considering the shape of nostalgia in the present, when fragments of the past are energetically manufactured and avidly consumed but do not necessarily correspond to the evidence of experience. The

¹⁰⁸ On sentimentality and community, see Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, Thomas Burger, trans. (1989; Cambridge, Mass., 1991), 51; and Thomas W. Laqueur, "Bodies, Details, and the Humanitarian Narrative," in Lynn Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989), 177, 195.

¹⁰⁹ Interestingly enough, Christopher Lasch insists on this respect for ordinary loss in "The Politics of Nostalgia," *Harper's* (November 1984): 65–70, only to withdraw it in his subsequent book, *The True and Only Heaven: Progress and Its Critics* (New York, 1991).

interiorized voice and vernacular location of nostalgia have been made more obsolescent by the ability of the mass media to package and repackage the past in a way that facilitates its omnipresence and sensuousness—what Susan Stewart refers to as “desire for desire”—but diminishes its pertinence to particular lives. (Consider, for example, *Reminisce*, since 1990 “the magazine that brings back the good times,” signified mostly through bygone ads and fads.) Bits and pieces of the past are scattered about all around us, but insofar as they lack provenance they do not have the power to tell their own version of history or to undermine the versions of others. This is nostalgia without melancholy. Its ability to indict the present and imagine the future is accordingly lessened. Commodified in this way, the past is no longer a different place, and the troubled, tenuous connections that made historical self-awareness so satisfying are lost in easygoing consumption.¹¹⁰

The possibility of envisioning in the present day a version of nostalgia without melancholy recalls the historicity of the phenomenon. Nostalgia corresponds to the historical age, one that was not only saturated with narratives of transformation and movement but keenly aware of the estrangement that those motions called forth. At the very moment that the calamities that befall individuals are no longer comprehended in terms of a shared, knowable historical process, nostalgia threatens to simply shrivel into bad luck and fails to generate wider social meanings. This was the case before the onset of the historical age some two hundred years ago. A study of nostalgia suggests how fragile has been historical consciousness and how apposite is Chateaubriand's nightmare of an eternal present, a place that is undisturbed by the difference of the past because it cannot fashion the narratives to assimilate the signs of yesterday's lives.

¹¹⁰ S. Stewart, *On Longing*, 23. See also David Gross, *The Past in Ruins: Tradition and the Critique of Modernity* (Amherst, Mass., 1992), 75–76; Iwona Irwin-Zarecka, *Frames of Remembrance: The Dynamics of Collective Memory* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1994), 106–09; Frederic Jameson, “Nostalgia for the Present,” *South Atlantic Quarterly* 88 (Spring 1989); and Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, 13, 631–41. Allied to the growing familiarity of the past are the degradation of the authority of the future and the notion of the “extended present,” which colonizes both. See Helga Nowotny, *Time: The Modern and Postmodern Experience*, Neville Plaice, trans. (Cambridge, 1994), chap. 2.

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“Cuffy,” “Fancy Maids,” and “One-Eyed Men”: Rape, Commodification, and the Domestic Slave Trade in the United States

EDWARD E. BAPTIST

IN JANUARY 1834, THE SLAVE TRADER Isaac Franklin wrote from New Orleans to his Richmond partner and slave buyer, Rice Ballard: “The fancy girl, from Charlattsville [Charlottesville], will you send her out or shall I charge you \$1100 for her. Say quick, I wanted to see her . . . I thought that an old Robber might be satisfied with two or three maids.” Franklin implied that his partner was holding the young woman, one of many “fancy maids” handled by the firm of Franklin, Armfield, and Ballard, for his own sexual use. Unwilling, the jest implied, to share his enslaved sex objects, Ballard was keeping the desirable Charlottesville maid in Richmond instead of passing her on to his partners so that they might take their turn of pleasure. The joke, and the desire it did not seek to disguise, was business as usual. In this case, the business was a slave-trading partnership, and systematic rape and sexual abuse of slave women were part of the normal practice of the men who ran the firm—and the normal practice of many of their planter customers as well. Franklin, Armfield, and Ballard supplied field hands and carpenters to the raw new plantations of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Arkansas in the 1830s, but they also supplied planters with many a “fancy maid.” In fact, the letter quoted went on to suggest, tongue in cheek, that such women were in such heavy demand that the firm might do better selling coerced sex retail rather than wholesale. Referring to two enslaved women, Franklin mused self-indulgently on the conversion of female labor into slavers’ money: “The old Lady and Susan could soon pay for themselves by keeping a whore house.” Yet what did Franklin indulge most? Was sexual or monetary greed the trump suit in his own decision-making? Perhaps, he continued, in the vein of aggressive sexual banter that pervades the traders’ letters, the

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partners would rather see the house "located and established at your place, Alexandria, or Baltimore for the Exclusive benefit of the consern & [its] agents."¹

Franklin and his colleagues passionately wanted "mulatto" women, and black people generally: as bodies to rape and bodies to sell. If these men were more than mere exceptions in the society in which they lived—and I shall argue that they illustrate that society's half-denied and half-remembered assumptions about commerce and rape—then the stakes of explaining their desires are high. What sort of society did slaveowning white men create in the antebellum U.S. South? What sorts of ideas and psychological forces cemented their devotion to the supposedly pre-modern institution of racial slavery to a deep involvement in the rapid commercial expansion that reached a peak during the 1830s?

The present essay seeks to explain the ideas about slavery, rape, and commerce embedded in and produced by the passionate desires of Franklin and his partners. For some years, historians interpreting the institutions and ideology of nineteenth-century southern slavery have focused their attentions on explaining slaveholders' paternalist defenses of their planter institution. Like some of their sources, such histories have often explicitly or implicitly portrayed the domestic slave trade as a contradiction within an otherwise stable system.² Recent works have returned the issue of that trade to the forefront, arguing that the commerce in human beings was an inescapable and essential feature of the region's pre-Civil War society and culture.³ In the drop of water that is the correspondence between Franklin, Ballard, and their associates, one might perceive a need to push historians' revisions of the slave South's whole world further still. Indeed, these men reveal themselves as being so devoted to their picture of the slave trade as a fetishized commodification

¹ Isaac Franklin to R. C. Ballard, January 11, 1834, folder 13, Series 1.1, Rice Ballard Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina (hereafter, Ballard Papers). Wendell Holmes Stephenson, *Isaac Franklin: Slave Trader and Planter of the Old South, With Plantation Records* (Baton Rouge, La., 1938). See Phillip D. Troutman, "'Fancy Girls' and a 'Yellow Wife': Sex and Domesticity in the Domestic Slave Trade," unpublished paper presented at the Southern Historical Association, Louisville, Ky., November 10, 2000. For other references to the Franklin and Armfield or Franklin and Ballard firms, see George W. Featherstonhaugh, *Excursion through the Slave States*, 2 vols. (London, 1844), 1: 151–70; E. A. Andrews, *Slavery and the Domestic Slave-Trade in the United States* (Boston, 1836), 135–53; William Jay, *A View of the Action of the Federal Government in Behalf of Slavery* (New York, 1839), 75, 84, 86; E. S. Abdy, *Journal of a Residence and Tour in the United States of North America, From April, 1833, to October, 1835* (London, 1835), 2: 179–80; Frederic Bancroft, *Slave Trading in the Old South* (Baltimore, Md., 1931), 59–60, 64, 275–76, 304; Michael Tadman, *Speculators and Slaves: Masters, Traders, and Slaves in the Old South* (Madison, Wis., 1989), 80–81, 84, 104, 107; Ariela Gross, *Double Character: Slavery and Mastery in the Antebellum Southern Courtroom* (Princeton, N.J., 2000); William Calderhead, "The Role of the Professional Slave Trader in a Slave Economy: Austin Woolfolk, A Case Study," *Civil War History* 23 (September 1977): 195–211; and Calderhead, "How Extensive Was the Border State Slave Trade: A New Look," *Civil War History* 18 (March 1972): 42–55.

² Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women in the Old South* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1988), 98; Eugene Genovese, in *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York, 1974), perhaps most explicitly on 96–97; and Genovese, "The Logical Outcome of the Slaveholders' Philosophy: An Exposition, Interpretation, and Critique of the Social Thought of George Fitzhugh of Port Royal, Virginia," in *The World the Slaveholders Made: Two Essays in Interpretation* (New York, 1969), 118–244; Jeffrey R. Young, *Domesticating Slavery: The Master Class in Georgia and South Carolina, 1670–1837* (Chapel Hill, 1999).

³ Tadman, *Speculators and Slaves*; Walter Johnson, *Soul by Soul: Life inside the Antebellum Slave Market* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999); Stephen Deyle, "'The Irony of Liberty': Origins of the Domestic Slave Trade," *Journal of the Early Republic* 12 (Spring 1992): 37–62; Phillip D. Troutman, "Slave Trade and Sentiment in Antebellum Virginia" (PhD dissertation, University of Virginia, 2000).



John Armfield and employees guarding a coffle of enslaved men and women being marched southwest. From George W. Featherstonhaugh, *Excursion through the Slave States*, 2 vols. (London, 1844).

of human beings that we may need to insist on such a mystification as one of the necessary bases of the economic expansion of the pre-Civil War South. They also assert, especially through their frequent discussions of the rape of light-skinned enslaved women, or “fancy maids,” their own relentlessly sexualized vision of the trade. Finally, the traders insist in accidental testimony that sexual fetishes and commodity fetishism intertwined with such intimacy that coerced sex was the secret meaning of the commerce in human beings, while commodification swelled its actors with the power of rape. Such complexities lead one to wonder if historians might do well to reinterpret the antebellum South—a society in which the slave

Admittedly, the correspondence of the partners and employees of the slave-trading firm of Franklin, Ballard, and Armfield is a single group of sources from one of the several dozen trading firms operating in the South during the boom years of the 1830s. Thus the question of representativeness inevitably arises. Indeed, the records of Franklin, Ballard, and Armfield are not typical, in part because they are so extensive. But they are also atypical because they are so candid, so powerfully illustrative. These men, to borrow a phrase, “articulated the language that history had put at [their] disposal,” and articulated it with stunning indiscretion.⁵ The unrepresentativeness of their apparent honesty exposes representative elements of the world in which they lived. More openly than most, these men described the ways in which the sexual history of slaves and masters fogged their vision of enslaved black women with an erotic haze. And they also depicted the enslaved in mystical terms as standardized objects: units of trade, transparent in history, ready for sale and use.

⁴ Recent scholarship has revived the earlier claims of Eric Williams and others to reemphasize the role of slavery and slave trades in making capitalist and consumerist society: Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492–1800* (London, 1997); but see also Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1944); Barbara Solow and Stanley Engerman, eds., *British Capitalism and Caribbean Slavery: The Legacy of Eric Williams* (Cambridge, 1987).

⁶ Historians have now begun to address the experience of sexual abuse in slavery, which was traumatic and extensive, as African-American vernacular history had long since told anyone willing to listen. See Pauli Murray, *Proud Shoes: The Story of an American Family* (New York, 1956), 33–54; Paul Escott, *Slavery Remembered: A Record of Twentieth-Century Slave Narratives* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1979), 46–47; Deborah Gray White, *Ar'n't I A Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation South*, 2d edn. (New York, 1999), esp. 27–46; Angela Y. Davis, *Women, Race and Class* (New York, 1981), 3–29; Brenda Stevenson, *Life in Black and White: Family and Community in the Slave South* (New York, 1996), 236–38; Stephanie M. H. Camp, “Viragoes: Enslaved Women’s Everyday Politics in the Old South” (PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1998), chap. 1; John W. Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South*, 2d edn. (New York, 1979), 154–56, 172–73; Hortense Spillers, “Mama’s Baby, Papa’s Maybe: An American Grammar Book,” *Diacritics* 17 (Summer 1987): 65–81; Darlene Clark Hine, “Rape and the Inner Lives of Black Women in the Middle West: Preliminary Thoughts on the Culture of Dissemblance,” *Signs* 14 (Summer 1989): 912–20; Catherine Clinton, “Caught in the Web of the Big House: Women and Slavery,” in *The Web of Southern Social Relations: Women, Family, and Education*, Walter J. Fraser, Jr., R. Frank Saunders, Jr., and Jon L. Wakelyn, eds. (Athens, Ga., 1985), 19–34; Clinton, *The Plantation Mistress: Women’s World in the Old South* (New York, 1982), 212–13, 20–21; Saidiya Hartmann, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 1997), 79–112; Martha Hodes, *White Women, Black Men: Illicit Sex in the Nineteenth-Century South* (New Haven, Conn., 1997), 1–9; Adele Logan Alexander, *Ambiguous Lives: Free Women of Color in Rural Georgia, 1789–1879* (Fayetteville, Ark., 1991), 63–66, 78–79, 86–89; Carolyn J. Powell, “In Remembrance of Mira,” in *Discovering the Women in Slavery: Emancipating Perspectives on the American Past*, Patricia Gordon, ed. (Athens, 1996), 47–60; Victoria E. Bynum, “Misshapen Identity: Memory, Folklore, and the Legend of Rachel Knight,” *Discovering the Women in Slavery*, 29–46; Hélène Lecaudey, “Behind the Mask: Ex-Slave Women and Interracial Sexual Relations,” also in *Discovering the Women in Slavery*, 260–77; Patricia J. Williams, *The Alchemy of Race and Rights* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991); Thelma Jennings, “‘Us Colored Women Had to Go Through a Plenty,’” *Journal of Women’s History* 1 (1990); Harriet Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of Slave of a Slave Girl, Written by Herself*, Jean Fagan Yellin, ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1987);

particularly likely to fail when waged from the vulnerable height of the auction block. Resistance by enslaved African Americans also undoubtedly made more impact on the day-to-day lives of black folks than on whites' ideas, popular or erudite, about African-American women. Black resistance, of course, does not need to change whites' minds—or even register an impact on white culture—for it to matter, and matter beyond easy measure. Resistance is not the subject of this essay. Instead, here I focus on explaining why and how some white men identified rapes and slave sales as conjoined and essential parts of their very selves.

TO EXPLAIN THE WORDS LEFT BEHIND by Franklin and Ballard, we must talk about sexual coercion and sexual obsession, and also about the desire for commodities. These disturbing phenomena are not merely products of male biology, transhistorical psychological topology, *sui generis* individual perversion, or quotidian consumer behaviors. While, like antebellum apologists for slavery, many historians have blamed sexual violence on the allegedly unusually low morals of slave traders, not even the act of rape is a transparent product of an essential male nature.⁷ Likewise, the ability to perceive and treat human beings as commodities also grew from and supported social and cultural institutions and ideas that had their own tortured histories. In the case of this group of nineteenth-century slave traders, the concept of the fetish, or “the objectivized form of our desire,” can help us understand the way in which they interpreted their roles and experiences. Admittedly, the senses of this term are many and perhaps, within academic language, form a fetish of their own. But the two most well-known uses of the term—Karl Marx's definition of the commodity fetish and Sigmund Freud's argument that forms of sexual fetishism are central to male desires—offer terms that can begin an exploration of the passion for slaves shared by both traders and buyers.⁸

Johnson, *Soul by Soul*; and Nell Irvin Painter, “Soul Murder and Slavery: Toward a Fully Loaded Cost Accounting,” in *U.S. History as Women's History: New Feminist Essays*, Linda K. Kerber, Alice Kessler-Harris, and Kathryn Kish Sklar, eds. (Chapel Hill, 1995), 125–46.

But desire and rape are not seen as central pillars of the institution of slavery in most works that focus on white slaveowners, mistresses, and traders. Exceptions include Drew Gilpin Faust, *James Henry Hammond and the Old South: A Design for Mastery* (Baton Rouge, La., 1982), 86–87, 314–20; Walter Johnson, “The Slave Trader, the White Slave, and the Politics of Racial Determination in the 1850s,” *Journal of American History* 87 (June 2000): 13–38; Johnson, *Soul by Soul*; and some hints from Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York, 1982), 308–24; but usually, even historians who acknowledge the occurrence of rape are more descriptive than analytical: Bancroft, *Slave-Trading in the Old South*, 328–34; Edmund L. Drago, *Broke by the War: Letters of a Slave Trader* (Columbia, S.C., 1991); Tadman, *Speculators and Slaves*, 184. For resistance to the use of sexuality and desire as categories of historical explanation, one need look no further than the debates surrounding Thomas Jefferson's affair with Sally Hemings: Virginius Dabney, *The Jefferson Scandals: A Rebuttal* (New York, 1981); Joseph J. Ellis, *American Sphinx: The Character of Thomas Jefferson* (New York, 1996), 216–19, 303–07; Ellis, “Jefferson: Post-DNA,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 57 (January 2000): 125–38; Annette Gordon-Reed, *Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings: An American Controversy* (Charlottesville, Va., 1997); *Sally Hemings and Thomas Jefferson: History, Memory and Civic Culture*, Jan Ellen Lewis and Peter S. Onuf, eds., (Charlottesville, 1999).

⁷ For examples, see Bancroft, *Slave-Trading in the Old South*, 314.

⁸ Quote from Emily Apter, *Feminizing the Fetish: Psychoanalysis and Narrative Obsession in Turn-of-the-Century France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1991), 3; Michael Leiris in “Alberto Giacometti,” *Documents* 1, no. 4 (1929): 209, trans. by James Clifford in *Suffer*, no. 15 (1986): 39; compare Jean Baudrillard, *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*, Charles Levin, trans. (St. Louis, Mo., 1981); William

Describing what he termed "commodity fetishism," Marx argued that, in the process of industrial capitalist production, goods appear as abstractions with their own existence and their own value, independent of the social labor of the actual human beings who created them. To the mind of the consumer and the capitalist apologist alike, such goods have no relationship to the exploitative process of production. Like the wooden god-images called *fetiço* by early Portuguese voyagers to Africa, commodities appear to believers to have their own life and their own powers. Yet the fetishists themselves are the ones who ascribe such powers. Likewise, capitalists deny their own creation and control of the commodity, explaining it as objective, natural reality. For that very reason, one cannot distinguish in any useful way between "real" and "false" commodities, for each one of these social and cultural "facts," whether an inanimate object or an enslaved human being, is the product of determined and meaningful self-deception and forgetting.⁹

Marx emphasized a process of half-forgetting, but Freud's argument on sexual fetishism leaned toward the forms of half-remembering, which he placed at the center of his explanation of male sexuality. Formative castration dramas of infancy and early childhood, he argued, led men to layer meaning onto simultaneously rejected and desired objects such as shoes or parts of women's bodies (the foot, the breast, the hair). In his classic example, Freud depicted the birth of a shoe fetish in a young boy's act of peering up a woman's skirt. The boy's discovery of the absence of the female penis leads to traumatic fears of his own castration, and to dread of the woman's genitalia whose discovery occasioned such terrors. The woman's shoes, which the boy also saw, provide a redirected object for the traumatized boy as he becomes a young man. This choice of the conscious mind seems to forget its own cause. Yet the unconscious remembers the discovery of female difference and returns to it compulsively as an object both titillating and fearful, desired and reviled.¹⁰ The specific example used here may suggest that fetishism explains only a few rare perversions. But Freud sought to find not only keys to unlock individual psychologies but also culture-wide issues of male sexuality.¹¹ Fetishism, Freud argued, normally proceeded without neurosis. This was the typical course of development of male sexuality. In the early nineteenth-century South, history had structured sexuality by differences of "race" or class, as well as by sex and gender. There, skin color and other racialized characteristics (or still more, the social and

Pietz, "The Problem of the Fetish, I," *Res* 9 (Spring 1985): 5-17; Pietz, "The Problem of the Fetish, II," *Res* 13 (Spring 1987): 23-46; Patrick Brantlinger, *Fictions of State: Culture and Credit in Britain, 1694-1994* (Ithaca, 1996).

⁹ For this account of the etymology of "fetish," see Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest* (New York, 1996), 185-87; and Pietz, "Problem of the Fetish, II"; Emily Apter and William Pietz, eds., *Fetishism as Cultural Discourse* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1993). For Marx's account of commodity fetishism, see Karl Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, Ben Fowkes, trans. (New York, 1976), 163-78; and Michael Taussig, *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1980).

¹⁰ Sigmund Freud, "Fetishism," in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, James Strachey, ed. (London, 1953-74), 21: 152-58; and Freud, "The Sexual Aberrations," in "Three Essays on Sexuality," *Standard Edition*, vol. 7, esp. 152-55. This example comes from Freud, "Fetishism," 155.

¹¹ Those who still insist that psychoanalytic theories refer only to the individual, and not to culture, might revisit Peter Gay, *Freud for Historians* (New York, 1985), esp. 144-80.

cultural myths to which racists wired such characteristics) could serve as signs of displaced castration anxiety and sexual discovery.¹²

Neither Marx nor Freud is the final word on fetishism, and neither explains the sexual and economic obsessions that emerge so disturbingly from the letters of these slave traders. Freud's understanding of sexuality is completely masculinist and also reifies the culture of bourgeois fin-de-siècle Vienna as the transhistorical model of psychological formation.¹³ Yet what Marx and Freud do tell us is that seeming contradictions might not be examples of intellectual bad faith but keys to the not-so-secret, yet disavowed, relationships that have come to structure ways in which we perceive and act upon symbols and things. By looking at sexual and other forms of desire, and their self-deceptions, historians might uncover such acts of simultaneous forgetting and remembering, self-deception and aggressive desire—acts or the historical detritus of acts that displace deeply contradictory issues onto objects or even other persons. Indeed, historically constructed questions of group and individual identity are often charged with fierce, even erotic passions, and surrounded in processes of forgetting and remembering that defy constraint in simplistic paradigms. Having once forgotten his or her creation of the "impassioned object," the fetishist returns compulsively, often renewing relationships of exploitation in the process. For by doing so, he or she pleasures the self with the unacknowledged remembrance of a transgression without blame, an ambiguity controlled and fixed, a memory displaced onto and encoded in the fetish object. So even in our own day, we see the fetishization of flags, of skin color, battlefields, historic mansions, presidents' reputations, or black athletes.¹⁴

The slave traders' own half-hidden thought about impassioned objects emerges first from their letters as commodity fetishism. Only later, as one learns their private language, does the sexual emerge. Even the forgetting and remembering that made human beings into commodities was complicated. In his brilliant *Sweetness and Power*, Sidney Mintz argues that the evolution of slave-made sugar into a commodity with malleable meanings influenced the tandem developments of industrialization and imperialism, as well as that of their renounced parent, plantation slavery. Sugar, he argues, even shaped the growth of the modern concept of the commodity itself. Mintz balks, however, at considering the slave as an object of trade subject to all of the forces and distortions of the Atlantic world. "Slaves," he writes, "were a 'false commodity' because a human being is not an object, even when treated as one." Perhaps we ought to be glad that our initial reaction to analyzing the enslaved human being as an abstracted, fetishized commodity tends to

¹² For some explanations of this process, see Winthrop D. Jordan, *White over Black: American Attitudes towards the Negro, 1550–1812* (Baltimore, 1968); Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996), 37–41, 109–16, 207–11, 355–57; Jennifer L. Morgan, "'Some Could Suckle over Their Shoulder': Male Travelers, Female Bodies, and the Gendering of Racial Ideology, 1500–1770," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 54 (January 1997): 167–92.

¹³ Compare Luce Irigaray, *This Sex Which Is Not One*, Catherine Porter, trans., with Carolyn Burke (Ithaca, N.Y., 1985).

¹⁴ "Impassioned object" from McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 181–203; Pietz, "Problem of the Fetish, I"; John Hoberman, *Darwin's Athletes: How Sport Has Damaged Black America and Preserved the Myth of Race* (New York, 1997); David Shields, *Black Planet: Facing Race during an NBA Season* (New York, 1999).

be one of aversion. Mintz is morally right. Human beings should not be treated as objects, and social conventions that claim that certain people have no humanity or independent personhood are false and contradictory. But as a description of historical forces, his flat denial is incomplete. Commodification is a process that takes place in the eye of the commodifier, not the commodified. In the case of slavery in the Atlantic world, the fictions of commodification were powerful enough to ensure that some people were treated as objects. Slave traders and owners were in practice far from reluctant to treat, think of, and talk about humans as commodities.¹⁵

In fact, the domestic slave trade made the social, cultural, and psychological fiction of the slave-as-commodity—and the white man as slavery's fetishist—ubiquitous practice in the antebellum South. Between 1790 and 1860, the trade moved more than half a million enslaved Africans and African Americans from older states to the plantation frontiers of the South.¹⁶ We now tend to imagine slave traders as a group fundamentally different from the planter class. Abolitionists deployed the trade as a rhetorical symbol of the worst aspects of the South's "peculiar institution." Slave traders appeared in critiques as generally despicable, déclassé, and callous destroyers of black families.¹⁷ Opponents of slavery made their own fetish of stories about women stripped nude on the auction block and of young mulatto women sold into sexual servitude to depraved masters. Even defenders of slavery were ready by the 1850s to sacrifice the traders, if only in rhetoric, depicting them as a despised and degraded lot in the paternalistic society of the Old South—an unrepresentative bunch, no doubt entirely poor white or Yankee in origin.¹⁸

Perhaps, then, the slave traders are not typical representatives of the *mentalité* of most planters and, by inference, of plantation society in the pre-Civil War South. Perhaps, as early as the 1830s, even slave traders perceived themselves as a group distinct from and disagreeable to planters. After all, Isaac Franklin and his nephew

¹⁵ Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power* (New York, 1985), 43. Compare Johnson's citation (*Soul by Soul*, 111–12) of Chancellor Johnson of the South Carolina Supreme Court, who denied slaves' commodity status. In Johnson's further discussion (*Soul by Soul*, 118–30) of planters, slave traders, and slaves' commodity status, he emphasizes differentiation between slaves and the breakdowns and contradictions in whites' invocation of commodity and market myths to describe the enslaved. It should be obvious that on this point I disagree with his marvelous book: I see white slave traders' and buyers' attempts, at least in the Ballard Papers, to understand enslaved human beings as denatured commodities as successful on their own terms. Breakdowns and contradictions occurred and existed. But whites also thought and treated the enslaved as commodities, almost whenever it suited their purposes to do so. Fetishism, in fact, thrived on contradictions.

¹⁶ General historiographies of the trade include U. B. Phillips, *Life and Labor in the Old South* (Boston, 1929), 155–59; Tadman, *Speculators and Slaves*; Deyle, "Irony of Liberty"; Bancroft, *Slave-Trading in the Old South*; Winfield Collins, *Domestic Slave Trade of the Southern States* (New York, 1904); Johnson, *Soul by Soul*; Troutman, "Slave Trade and Sentiment."

¹⁷ See the description of Armfield himself in Featherstonhaugh, *Excursion through the Slave States*, 1: 151–70.

¹⁸ See D. R. Hundley, *Social Relations in Our Southern States* (New York, 1860), 139–47. For a few examples of northerners' obligatory discussion of mulatto women and sexual slavery, see H. Mattison, *Louisa Picquet, the Octoroon: A Tale of Southern Slave Life*, in Anthony G. Barthelme, ed., *Collected Black Women's Narratives* (New York, 1988); J. H. Ingraham, *The Quadroone: or, St. Michael's Day* (New York, 1841); Abdy, *Journal of a Residence and Tour*, 2: 100; Jay, *View of the Action of the Federal Government*, 67–73, 89; Harriet Martineau, *Society in America* (New York, 1837), 2: 106–36; Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, "The Quadroon Girl," *Poems on Slavery* (Cambridge, Mass., 1842).

certainly called their partners and employees “old robbers” and “pirates,” and Isaac liked to paint himself as the wise elder among a gang of lawless outcasts. “The Old Chief,” he wrote in an 1833 letter, referring to himself in the third person, “has felt [distress over the vagaries of the market] . . . but must endeavour to bear up, knowing his friends are all young men and if they Loose everything they can Robb far more.”¹⁹

In fact, the symbolic opposition between planter and trader has its roots in the crocodile tears of paternalism publicly shed by slavery’s defenders during the late antebellum period. During the 1830s, the slave trader’s symbolic place in southern culture was more ambivalent. This was a period of exuberant growth in both regional and national economies, and the slave trade was an important engine of capital formation and economic dynamism. While Franklin referred to fellow slave traders as “pirates,” he also called the planters with whom he dealt “robbers.” Bill brokers and merchants were “land pirates” and “shavers.” There may have been little difference, after all. Franklin’s jaundiced description of the world in which he moved admits that virtually every elite or would-be elite white man in the frontier South in this crucial period bent laws and pushed aside conventions to obtain economic and political power.²⁰ Ex-slave John Brown once saw a Georgia slave trader named Sterling Finney steal a white woman’s slave maid, rape her, and march her south before anyone else could realize what had happened. Finney, also a wealthy planter, later won election to the state legislature. The traders’ willingness to “rob” both slaves and the individuals with whom they traded—the willingness to put profit above all ethical inhibitions—made them neither too distasteful for polite society nor radically different from planters in the 1830s. Indeed, many traders became planters, while planters became traders. All could, quite literally, represent southern society.²¹

THUS, IN THIS CONTEXT of a rapidly expanding plantation regime, the partners of the Franklin, Armfield, and Ballard slave-trading firm were not so different from most other white masters in their origins, actions, or attitudes.²² The trajectories of their careers certainly reinforce such a conclusion. The early history of the eldest member of the firm, Franklin, is murky, but by the early 1820s he had teamed up with a man named John Armfield.²³ At that time, the two had begun to ship enslaved African Americans from the Chesapeake to the lower Mississippi Valley.

¹⁹ Quote from Isaac Franklin to Ballard, June 11, 1833, folder 11; compare Franklin to Ballard, December 8, 1832, folder 8; April 9, 1834, folder 11, Ballard Papers.

²⁰ Franklin to Ballard, December 8, 1832, folder 8; “Pirates” from Isaac Franklin to Ballard, April 9, 1834, folder 11; planters as “robbers” from same to same, January 29, 1833, folder 10; “Land pirates” from April 9, 1834, folder 11; “shavers” from March 11, 1834, folder 13, Ballard Papers.

²¹ John Brown, *Slave Life in Georgia: A Narrative of the Life, Sufferings, and Escape of John Brown, A Fugitive Slave*, F. N. Boney, ed. (Savannah, Ga., 1972), 19; compare William Reeves to Ballard, November 27, 1832, folder 8, Ballard Papers.

²² A minority of slavery’s critics stridently agreed: planters were no better than the much-maligned trader. Thus Harriet Martineau wrote: “Every man who resides on his plantation may have his harem, and has every inducement of custom, and of pecuniary gain, to tempt him to the common practice.” Martineau, *Society in America* (New York, 1837), 2: 112.

²³ Stephenson, *Isaac Franklin*, 14–16.

There, they sold the human cargoes to planters relocating year after year from Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas. Small markets organized to supply such migrants' needs for slave labor sprang up in cities such as Natchez, Mobile, and Tallahassee. But the grandest of all was New Orleans. By 1830, Franklin and Armfield had become perhaps the most prominent slave dealers in the country's biggest and most notorious market for human flesh.²⁴

Around 1831, the two dealers added a partner: Rice Carter Ballard, a man who originally made his home in eastern Virginia. Soon, the three partners were shipping as many as a thousand people per annum from Ballard's Richmond depot to New Orleans.²⁵ Ballard paid operatives to scour the interior counties of the Virginia Piedmont, inquiring at run-down tobacco plantations and sheriff's sales for surplus labor to ship south and west. In June and July of 1834, for instance, James G. Blakey traveled through Orange, Culpeper, Madison, and Albemarle counties. Ballard mailed him multiple bank drafts, each for a thousand dollars, "to be laid out in negroes or returned undiminished." Blakey found some bargains in Orange, happening upon three apprentice coopers for sale—"very likely indeed; three brothers." But two weeks later he wrote, "I have just returned from Charlottesville [the county seat of Albemarle] court, great many buyers and negroes was scarce and high." Whether prices were high or low, Ballard kept Blakey flush with the cash needed to sweep in Virginia's abundant surplus labor. Ballard counted and valued the slaves sent in by Blakey and other operatives. Then he shipped the unfree migrants in vessels owned or hired by the firm.²⁶ The ships sailed south around the capes of Florida and on to New Orleans. At that far end of the pipeline, Isaac Franklin also brought his nephew James Franklin on board as the company's agent in Natchez. The younger Franklin became an important cog in the trading concern, especially after a Louisiana law banning the import of slaves for sale within the state took effect in 1832. In response, the company moved most selling operations up the Mississippi River to Natchez. Even after Louisiana's legislature repealed its ban on the slave trade in 1834, proximity to customers made the younger Franklin's location ideal for the task of cashing out over \$400,000 in Mississippi and upper Louisiana accounts receivable accumulated by the firm in 1833 alone.²⁷

²⁴ Stephenson, *Isaac Franklin*, 22–33; for histories of this massive regional expansion, see Christopher D. Morris, *Becoming Southern: The Evolution of a Way of Life, Warren County and Vicksburg, Mississippi, 1770–1860* (New York, 1995); Joan Cashin, *A Family Venture: Men and Women on the Southern Frontier* (New York, 1991); Ann Patton Malone, *Sweet Chariot: Slave Family and Household Structure in Nineteenth-Century Louisiana*; Daniel Dupre, *Transforming the Cotton Frontier: Madison County, Alabama, 1800–1840* (Baton Rouge, La., 1997); Steven Deyle, "The Domestic Slave Trade in America" (PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1995); Troutman, "Slave Trade and Sentiment"; Edward E. Baptist, *Creating an Old South: Middle Florida's Plantation Frontier before the Civil War* (Chapel Hill, forthcoming 2002). For the New Orleans market's central place in the interstate trade, see Johnson, *Soul by Soul*; Bancroft, *Slave-Trading in the Old South*, 312–38.

²⁵ R. C. Ballard & Co. Invoice Book, folder 417, Vol. 2; R. C. Ballard & Co., *Slaves Bought, 1832–1834*, folder 420, Vol. 4; [Enclosures in Vol. 4], folder 421, Ballard Papers.

²⁶ "To be laid out" from Jas. G. Blakey to Ballard, June 17, 1834; "three brothers" from same to same, July 24, 1834; "great many buyers" from same to same, August 6, 1834, all in folder 15, Ballard Papers; *Tribune* from Isaac Franklin to Ballard, February 7, 1834, folder 13, Ballard Papers; Bancroft, *Slave-Trading in the Old South*, 275–76.

²⁷ Isaac Franklin to Ballard, January 9, 1832; January 18, 1832, both folder 4; March 11, 1834, folder 13; May 13, 1834, folder 14, Ballard Papers. For the law, see Collins, *Domestic Slave Trade*, 127–28. Collins cites *Acts of Extra Sess. of 10th Leg. of La.*, p. 4; Hurd, Vol. II, p. 162; *Laws of La., 1834*, p. 6.

At New Orleans and Natchez, the Franklins sold enslaved African Americans to purchasers who paid in cash, notes (promises to pay in the near future), or drafts on their own "factors." The latter were merchants who shipped and sold planters' cotton and sugar, and provided them with commercial credit and other financial services. Franklin and Ballard, however, dealt directly with the commercial banks of both the South and the North, which they used to secure ready access to cash for making slave purchases throughout the distressed plantation counties of Maryland and Virginia. After selling the slaves at New Orleans and Natchez, the firm routed their gains in cash and commercial paper back through New York and Philadelphia banks. Chesapeake banks and merchants then supplied Armfield and Ballard with a steady stream of cash that restarted the cycle. Thus slave traders and bankers cooperated to send bound laborers to the plantation frontier, where they produced cotton, the raw material of industrial textile manufacture. British and northern bankers and merchants also provided the credit necessary for frontier planters to purchase both the slaves sent southwest from Chesapeake plantations, of which enslaved human beings often represented the only economically viable product, and the cloth bought to cover the forced migrants. Money and credit rotated in a wheel of international scale, while plantation products such as cotton and sugar—or slaves—circled in geared opposition. And at every step of their participation in the circulation of capital and commodities, Franklin, Ballard, and Armfield siphoned off a modicum of what they bluntly called "profit."²⁸

The traders' participation in, and even manipulation of, a series of vast networks of financial and commercial exchange meant that they were well versed in the way that the world of production, trade, and consumption worked. They accumulated knowledge and expertise, and they accumulated profits as well. By the end of the 1830s, gains from the trade had enabled Isaac Franklin to settle in Tennessee on "Fairvue," one of several plantations that he now owned. This one was reputedly more impressive than his neighbor Andrew Jackson's, "The Hermitage." At his death, even in the depressed economic year of 1846, Franklin's estate still commanded a value of three-quarters of a million dollars.²⁹ Ballard, meanwhile, retired to Louisville, Kentucky, with his new wife. There, he lived off the skimmings of seven plantations that he had accumulated in the Mississippi Delta during the boom decade of the 1830s and the hard times of the 1840s. With almost a thousand slaves to his name, Ballard had clambered to a pinnacle of wealth occupied by only a handful of others in the antebellum United States. The slave trade had brought these men wealth, facility and familiarity with their economic world, and status.³⁰

²⁸ For the factorage system, see Harold Woodman, *King Cotton and His Retainers: Financing and Marketing the Cotton Crop of the South, 1800–1925* (Lexington, Ky., 1968); compare Ballard to Messrs. Franklin, Ballard, & Co., September 7, 1832, folder 7; Isaac Franklin to Ballard, March 11, 1834, folder 13; and for the investment of the larger southern financial system in interregional slave trading, see "An Abstract of the Lists of Debts Owed to the Bank of Virginia," enclosed in Bacon Tait to Ballard, May 1, 1838, folder 24, Ballard Papers.

²⁹ Stephenson, *Isaac Franklin*, 11–12. One of Franklin's plantations on the Mississippi River, "Angola," in Louisiana's West Feliciana Parish, has been since the early twentieth century the site of the notorious Louisiana state prison and labor camp of the same name. His home there has recently been excavated, as has "Fairvue."

³⁰ See Collection Overview, and Series 1.2, Ballard Papers. However, Ballard continued to trade, on a smaller scale, in slaves: compare Lucy Thurston, in George Rawick, ed., *The American Slave: A*

So Ballard and Franklin, planters and traders, were hardly the socially excluded slave traders of late antebellum fictions. They handled cash and credit as insiders, and their ideas about the other commodities they manipulated illustrate beliefs implicit in the trade as a whole. In many ways, slaves moved through the circuits of trade like other early nineteenth-century goods. Certainly, traders tried to push them through in similar fashion. Of course, human beings do present particular challenges to those seeking to treat all products, in the quest for profit, as transparently fungible. In Marx's famous illustration of the commodity fetish, buyers and sellers denied the human life and labor that made a table. Once the latter became a market commodity, it then "stood up," said Marx, and talked back to human beings, "evolv[ing] out of its wooden brain grotesque ideas."³¹ Such grotesque ideas, by which Marx meant buyers' and sellers' myths about the objective reality of the market and its laws of supply and demand, existed only in the minds of human beings. Enslaved people themselves were not wooden tables, and thus had their own ideas, quite different from the masters' ideas about what slaves represented and meant in their own market world. They could not only stand up and rebuke but could resist and even kill the creators of the conditions that made them commodities, as slaveowners and traders knew only too well. Thus when an 1834 traveler crossed John Armfield's path in the mountains of Virginia, as the latter marched two hundred slaves toward far-off Natchez, he noted that the trader had chained all the men together with stout precautionary iron shackles.³²

In fact, by the end of the eighteenth century, if not before, African-American culture had created families and individuals that rejected the despair that was one possible response to servitude, and instead raised up children imbued with a survivalist mentality. Men and women like twenty-one-year-old Henry Gant (cost, \$450) or seventeen-year-old Charlotte McKenny (cost \$300), both shipped from Richmond by R. C. Ballard on September 27, 1831, to New Orleans on the brig *Tribune*, were themselves the products of complex human social relations. Chesapeake communities supplied Gant, McKenny, and their peers with selfhood and enabled at least some masters to see slaves as more than the socially dead creatures postulated by the ideal state of bondage.³³ Yet, just as social relations of industrial production created commodities like Marx's table, often in the face of workers' resistance, the relations of reproduction enshrined in the slave South's law, custom, and political economy succeeded in selling human beings as goods on a market. Mothers, fathers, children, spouses, siblings, lovers, and friends could cajole, plead, and threaten in efforts to prevent the brutal division of human relationships. The

Composite Autobiography, Supplement, Series One (Westport, Conn., 1977), vol. 10, part 5, 2112; and Series 1.3, Ballard Papers.

³¹ I borrow Marx's famous imagery, see Marx, *Capital*, 1: 163–64.

³² Featherstonhaugh, *Excursion through the Slave States*, 1: 120–24. Compare Edward D. Jervy and C. Harold Huber, "The Creole Affair," *Journal of Negro History* 65 (Summer 1980): 196–211.

³³ For McKenny and Gant, see "Invoice Book," folder 417, Ballard Papers. Historiography on development of black community in the Chesapeake: Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1986), 335–80; Stevenson, *Life in Black and White*; Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill, 1998), 498–558, esp. 519–22; for the concept of "social death," see Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982).

history told by ex-slaves, however, contains many more separations than cases in which such pleading worked.³⁴ Resistance to sale was typically ineffective, especially after the expansion of new plantation regions permitted slaveowners to sell, at a profit, the children that law made chattel. The act of sale ruptured the old plantation districts' relationships of family, kinship, and community. The possibility of blacks manipulating whites narrowed radically, especially once original owners sold enslaved men, women, and children to traders. Neither Ballard and the Franklins nor the frontier planters to whom they sold slaves displayed much interest in enslaved African Americans' individual or family social histories and identities. Decisively violent resistance, another possible alternative, was rare. Shackles, guns, whips, threats, isolation, division, dogs, and guards all did their work. Despite a few celebrated revolts, most enslaved people sent south and west to New Orleans were sold there, and to new owners not of their own choosing. The growth of the domestic slave trade after 1790 or so thus plunged the enslaved into a new round of commodification, which they had to find a way to survive.³⁵

AS WHITE MEN, BOTH TRADERS AND MASTERS, moved enslaved people between and onto markets, they conceived of African Americans as commodities. A transmutation of words and meanings allowed sellers and buyers to endow actual human beings with the universal and abstract qualities characteristic of the commodity. Traders such as Rice Ballard and Isaac Franklin began by drawing brutally thick lines between themselves and the goods they sold. During a cholera epidemic in Natchez, Franklin noted that the problem was not so much that some slaves were dying but that their deaths, if not properly hidden, would impede further sales: "the way we send out dead negroes at night and keep dark is a sin." Of course, slave traders did not understand their own potential demise as mere impediment to further business or as the simple depreciation of trade goods. When Ballard heard that cholera had hit the river towns, he wrote to his partner, telling the latter to abandon his slaves to death should they become ill, rather than trying to care for them: "We had better loose [*sic*] all and begin again than loose ourselves."³⁶ In another case, Franklin worried about business, "not so much on his own account, as those he is concerned with," because he feared the loss of his partners' precious investments of time and money. Then he casually noted, "I sold Old Man Alsop's two scald headed boys for \$800. One of them Took the Cholera the day afterwards and died and the other was very near kicking the Bucket." The individual white trader, his time, and his hard-won resources were all irreplaceable. In contrast, the

³⁴ The WPA ex-slave narratives (Rawick, *American Slave*, series 1 and 2 and Supplements, series 1 and 2; plus Charles L. Perdue, Jr., Thomas E. Barden, and Robert K. Phillips, eds., *Weevils in the Wheat: Interviews with Virginia Ex-Slaves* [1976; Charlottesville, Va., 1992]) are filled with far more accounts of such separations than of successful negotiations.

³⁵ Few families remained intact in the domestic slave trade, despite protestations of proslavery paternalists and modern-day moderators to the contrary: contrast Robert W. Fogel and Stanley Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (New York, 1974), esp. 49, with Paul David, et al., *Reckoning with Slavery: A Critical Study in the Quantitative History of American Negro Slavery* (New York, 1976), 94–133, and Tadman, *Speculators and Slaves*, 163–78.

³⁶ "The way we send" from Isaac Franklin to Ballard, December 8, 1832; "We had better loose" from Ballard to Isaac Franklin, December 2, 1832, both folder 8, Ballard Papers.

Shipped on the Brig Tribune
January 28. 1833

21	Anna Doolittle	age 18	605	315	~
22	Lucy Anderson	18	315	~	
23	Martha Lewis	18	325	~	
24	Mary Mays	19	315	~	
25	Martha Paine	19	328	~	
26	Hiziah Starke	18	325	~	
27	Mahaly Ruffin	18	317	~	
28	Sally Banks	12	250	~	
29	Marion Morris	17	375	~	
30	Clara Johnson	18	325	~	
31	Mary Parkerson	16	350	~	
32	Fanny Hutson	16	350	~	
33	Easter Nelson	18		~	
34	Child. William Henry	12	375	~	
35	Silvy People	19	310	~	
36	Elizabeth Cosby, Sen.	17	600	~	
37	Mary Ann Doublet, S.	17	600	~	
38	Jackson Hutson	17	465	~	
			\$15050		

Page from Rice Ballard's account book of enslaved people shipped from Richmond to New Orleans between 1831 and 1834. Folder 420, R.C. Ballard Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

partners could easily replace the black folks who made up their capital investment, so long as they had the cash required.³⁷

The transformation of slaves to easily replaced, inhuman goods was part of a process one might call the deanimation of enslaved people: their reduction in traders' words to virtually inanimate articles. Whites held virtually every card in this game. In the letters exchanged by these traders, at least, this was no back-and-forth exchange between anxious traders and African Americans whose cooperation needed to be secured by coaxing. Those in the firm of Franklin, Armfield, and Ballard swung into the linguistic rhythms of deanimation with a coarse and practiced swagger. In March 1832, for instance, James Franklin wrote to Ballard from Natchez, eager for the next day of sales to begin: "I shall open my fancy stock of Wool and Ivory early in the morning." The younger Franklin's words evoked a peddler opening a case to display cloth and carved knickknacks, although he referred to enslaved African Americans. His "wool" suggested common racist descriptions of their hair, and his "ivory" evoked both African origins and the teeth that buyers inspected. Franklin described the enslaved as inanimate articles, stilled of life, and reduced to hair and teeth: "Wool and Ivory."³⁸

Slavemongers also referred incessantly to men, women, and children as "stock": James Franklin reported to Ballard after reaching Natchez in the fall of 1832 that "we arrived in this place . . . with all of our stock."³⁹ Other references to their human merchandise underlined the deanimation inflicted in the traders' own minds. James, always a reliable font of offensive expressions, also wrote to Ballard in 1834, saying, "I suppose you are not buying any Cuffys right now." Later, his uncle also used the term, reporting, "The price of Cuffy comes on whether they have fallen or not they are very high through all the country." The singular term "Cuffy" standardized the human produce shipped from the Chesapeake, using a partitive term to imply that selling slaves was no different from selling "soup" or "lumber." The product was uniform: the main difference between one and thirty was one of the quantity of packages.⁴⁰

To be sure, Franklin and Ballard sought a mix of types of slaves. In November 1833, Isaac Franklin complained to Richmond that "[I] Could have sold as many more if we had of had the right kind, men from 8 to 900 dollars, field women large and likely from 6 to 650 dollars." He also reported "a Great demand for fancy maid[s]" as well as artisans and other skilled workers. Franklin also complained to Ballard about a recent shipment that did not meet standard size and age requirements: "yours and Armfields was the leanest invoice I have ever received. In fact your little slim assed girls and boys are intirely out of the way and cannot be sold for a profit." Each variety was identical within itself, measured and assigned a

³⁷ Isaac Franklin to Ballard, June 11, 1833, folder 11, Ballard Papers.

³⁸ James P. Franklin to Messrs. R. C. Ballard & Co., March 4, 1832, folder 5, Ballard Papers.

³⁹ James Franklin to Ballard, October 5, 1832, folder 8; compare Isaac and James Franklin to Ballard, May 13, 1832, folder 6; October 25, 1833, folder 11, 1833, Ballard Papers. For this sort of language in the law and other forms of discourse, see Spillers, "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe," 79.

⁴⁰ "Cuffy" was a slang name for any black person. See J. E. Lightner, ed., *Random House Historical Dictionary of American Slang* (New York, 1994-), 1: 538; James Franklin to Ballard, March 7, 1834, folder 13; Isaac Franklin to Ballard, September 27, 1834, folder 15, Ballard Papers. For a similar use of the term, see J. W. Paup to E. B. Hicks, October 13, 1842, E. B. Hicks Papers, Box 1, folder 1830-1846, Perkins Library Special Collections, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

certain dollar value to correspond to the quantity of "Cuffy" that he or she contained.⁴¹

Enslaved human beings, in the minds of those who bought and sold them, became goods easily replaced, and thus valuable in proportion to their equivalency in money, the most easily transmuted commodity of all. Consider how one South Carolina planter wrote about disposing of a recalcitrant slave at a Charleston auction house: "Give Brass a new shirt and send to Robert Blacklock & Co. to be turn'd into money forthwith."⁴² Brass became gold or paper, and at some point might be turned (in whites' eyes) into Brass again, but the trader would hardly care. Franklin even complained in 1834 that Ballard had taken to extreme length the propensity to see slaves as uniform commodities, imagining that all goods were not only uniform within each particular category of product but that the categories themselves did not differ from each other in any way. Ballard had forgotten every peculiarity of human beings as retail goods, assuming that excess inventory could be purchased at low prices when demand was dull, stored without expense or risk, and sold when prices were high again. "He said," Franklin grumbled, "he had concluded to continue purchasing at prices that were more Justifyable or profitable notwithstanding that he had been advised that we were suffering Great Losses from cholera and Small Pox and notwithstanding he had been advised of the risque."⁴³

To whites in the slave market, blacks were deanimated commodities, and whites treated them as such. The humane practices of slave families and communities of the southeast and the inhumane structures of white planter law produced and reproduced enslaved African Americans ready, though hardly willing, for the slave trade. Then planters and traders colluded to market as standardized what could not be standardized, to deanimate those who thought, spoke, and acted. The slave traders' success in accomplishing this mental movement created horrible consequences for the human beings packed onto slavers' brigs like cordwood, imprisoned in cholera-infested Natchez pens like cattle, or displayed on the market like wool and ivory. To be told at such a point that one was in fact only a false and not a real commodity might have been cold comfort. And even as the words of Ballard and the Franklins deanimated their own idea of the slave, fixing her in white minds as the commodity "Cuffy," the traders simultaneously reanimated the "lifeless" commodity: now not as individuals but as market myths. As people faced the crowd of "negro speculators" from the block, workers employed by the traders sometimes forced the slaves to dance. The "liveliness" they thus demonstrated was another one of the commodity's standard package of imagined qualities. Ex-slave William Wells

⁴¹ Franklin to Ballard, November 1, 1833, folder 12; "In fact" from same to same, December 8, 1832, folder 8, Ballard Papers. While Walter Johnson argues that the "individuation" of slaves by slave traders and slave buyers—the process of describing and discovering the enslaved as unique as part of the effort to sell each particular one, or to recreate oneself as a master by skillfully buying the right one—was an important opportunity for the enslaved to "shape [their] sales," one must be careful not to place far more emancipatory hopes on a process of marketing than the evidence will bear. Johnson, *Soul by Soul*, 162–88.

⁴² J. H. Easterby, *The South Carolina Rice Plantation as Revealed in the Papers of Robert F. W. Allston* (Chicago, 1945); quote from 194, compare 426; compare Norrece T. Jones, *Born a Child of Freedom, Yet a Slave: Mechanisms of Control and Strategies of Resistance in Antebellum South Carolina* (Middletown, Conn., 1990), 41.

⁴³ "He said" from Isaac Franklin to Ballard, March 18, 1834, folder 13, Ballard Papers.

Brown recalled his service to a trader at a New Orleans slave pen: "Some were set to dancing, some to singing, and some to playing cards. This was done to make them appear cheerful and happy . . . I have often set them to dancing when their cheeks were wet with tears." Such demonstrations supposedly proved that those offered for sale were lively if not truly living—standard, acceptably happy, ready-made units of slave.⁴⁴

The Franklins did not record any anxiety that the actual enslaved people whom they auctioned would refuse to dance while the sale proceeded. What they did worry about was a far more abstracted dance echoed by the ideal "Cuffy" prancing on the block: that of the reanimated yet lifeless and generalized commodity. The dealers believed that the mystical spell of the market's abstract forces affected enslaved humans as they did cotton or interest rates, creating a *fetiço* "Cuffy": a made thing that capered up and down in price and quantity, dancing on strings held by the abstract forces of supply and demand, a particle cavorting on a price wave. Like Marx's table, slaves lived again in the minds of market-thinking whites like Ballard and the Franklins. In the twilight realm that was the grotesque half-life of the commodity, slaves rose and fell, they were "dull" or brisk, because of their relative relationship to other commodities, especially credit, money, and cotton. In early 1834, Isaac Franklin reported that "the [potential] rise of slaves had been lost by the fall of cotton." James Franklin concurred, noting that "Cotton is only 13¢ to 14¢ which makes Negroes dull." Even those slaves already held by frontier planters breathed air filtered through a matrix of supply and demand. In 1832, Ballard advised Franklin to slow sales until a feared cholera epidemic had run its course: "My opinion is that we had best hold on[:] the more negroes lost in that country the more will be wanting if they have the means of procuring them." The number that survived or died in planters' hands would determine the price and pressure for more on the next year's market.⁴⁵

The bourgeoisie critiqued by Marx invested the energy of belief in one linguistically mystical move. They saw products as having no relation to the expropriation of wage labor that erased goods' identities as the historical product of communal labor, clothing them instead in the abstract guise of commodities from nowhere and no-time. White men who watched and manipulated the slave market, however, invested in two such moves. First, they pretended that slaves were not alive—at least not in the sense of being living creatures with rights, social claims, and the ability to resist. Second, they reanimated the socially dead, but in a new fetish form that allegedly responded to market forces instead of to human ones. In fact, Isaac Franklin argued, one had to subscribe to the rules of such forces, whether illusory or not, in order to succeed in the "game" (as his nephew called it) that the beliefs of commodity fetishism had constructed. Franklin esteemed his partner Ballard, for instance, as "a Gent of his known capacity in financial arrangement" because Ballard understood the rules of their fetish-world. He grasped the complex links

⁴⁴ William Wells Brown, *Narrative of William W. Brown, a Fugitive Slave*, William Andrews, ed. (New York, 1993), 45.

⁴⁵ "My opinion" from Ballard to Isaac Franklin, December 2, 1832, folder 8; "The . . . rise" from Isaac Franklin to Ballard, March 18, 1834, folder 13; "Cotton is" from James Franklin to Ballard, November 13, 1833, folder 12; compare Isaac Franklin to Ballard, November 7, 1833, folder 12; September 27, 1834, folder 15; May 31, 1831, folder 1, Ballard Papers.

between slave supply in Virginia, credit availability from New York, cotton prices on the Liverpool market, and the prices and demand for slaves at New Orleans and Natchez. Ballard saw not enslaved people but goods that lived only in relationship to abstractions of cotton and credit. Power and skill enabled the fetishizer to make his vision shape the realities of lives inhabited by some human beings. He was, as another friend described him, "a smooth hand on Cuff."⁴⁶

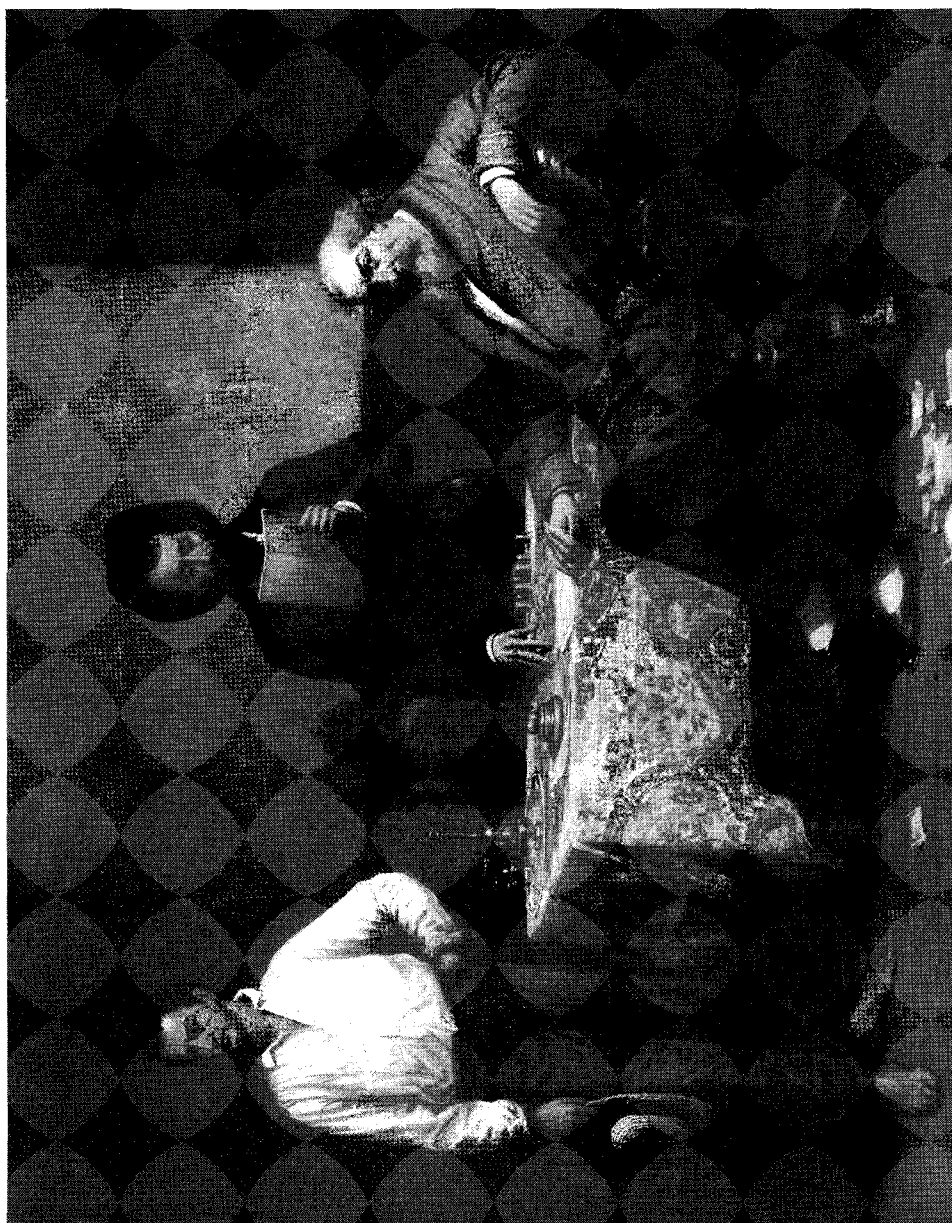
Forgetting undergirded the deanimation of the enslaved and their subsequent half-life in whites' minds as "Cuffy," but a sort of remembering added a spice of cruel power to the slavers' experience of manipulating commodities. Like sugar or tobacco, slaves started as luxuries and were transformed into necessities in the eyes of their users, as the latter bought, sold, and consumed the former in order to raise their own social and cultural status.⁴⁷ Far more obviously than the conspicuous consumption of sugar, the idea of the slave commodity carried a *frisson*, an implication, of the sadistic or sexual (or both) power and pleasure that created the precious commodity thus consumed. Those who could view and use human beings as mere objects of commerce could also exert immense power while displacing either burdens of guilt or the obligations enacted by social ties. The existence of a commercial market in human beings meant that some people could, at will, destroy the familial and social relationships that had raised an infant to a full-grown enslaved human being. While defenders of slavery claimed that the division of families was a rare but sometimes unavoidable necessity, the ability to separate families at will was at the heart of their economic and social power. Slave buyers and masters could pocket, or consume, the profit thus produced—an almost chemical energy released by the breaking of human bonds, whose fragility the law and custom of slavery enforced. Those who forgot still remembered the privilege and pleasure of destruction. More than that, some slave traders, at least, clearly enjoyed their ability to consume and digest old social worlds, forcing slaves into new, often frightening relationships. "The small fry," wrote James Franklin with relish, of the unsold children in his Natchez pen, "look at me as if they were alarmed and I suppose they will have some cause when F[ranklin] & A[rmfield]'s lot arrives as I am daily looking for them."⁴⁸ Small children would be caged with strange adults whom they had never seen before. Some would be kind, some would be indifferent, and a few might be brutal. But none would be the parents or relatives from whom market transactions had separated them. James seemed to enjoy imagining their terror.

THUS THE DESIRE FOR SLAVES rested in part on the remembering of the consumption of their human relationships and also, as we have seen, on the simultaneous

⁴⁶ "Game" from James Franklin to Ballard, January 18, 1832, folder 4; "Gent of his known capacity" from Isaac Franklin to Ballard, March 18, 1834, folder 13; "smooth hand on Cuff," Jesse Cage to William Cotton, August 27, 1839, folder 28, Ballard Papers.

⁴⁷ On the history of commodities, see Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*; and Jordan Goodman, Paul E. Lovejoy, and Andrew Sherratt, eds., *Consuming Habits: Drugs in History and Anthropology* (London, 1995).

⁴⁸ James Franklin to Messrs. R. C. Ballard & Co., March 4, 1832, folder 5, Ballard Papers; Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*, 101, xxix.



In an image shaped by abolitionist discourse, a planter-father sells his son-slave to a trader. Pieces of gold are stacked on the table, while a painting of Abraham preparing to sacrifice Isaac hangs on the wall. Thomas Satterwhite Noble (1835–1907), *The Price of Blood*, 1868. By permission of the Morris Museum of Art, Augusta, Georgia.

forgetting or denial that they were human beings created in the matrix of family and culture, rather than things in a market shadow-world. So the gents of Franklin and Ballard, with their known capacities in financial arrangement, moved easily in the world of commodities. They deanimated and reanimated the objects of their commercial dealings, broke the bonds between them, and experienced pleasure from the power thus exercised and created. Even as slave traders saw slaves as commodities, masters had no difficulty in accommodating themselves to the dealers. Staring up at us from the words scrawled by Franklin, Ballard, and company, we find evidence that their business represented an irruption of commodity fetishism—that supposed classic marker of capitalist cultural epistemology—within the heart of the allegedly anti-capitalist South. The southern men who supplied migrant planters with the laborers necessary to extend the plantation system to its height of antebellum power were, in their prejudices and perceptions, further astray in the mist of commodity fetishism than the most Yankeeified cotton mill magnate.⁴⁹

The trade signaled another irruption as well. Among themselves, the members of the firm Franklin, Ballard, and Armfield did not assume that participation in the slave trade made them only “pirates” or “robbers.” They were something else also. In a March 1832 letter to R. C. Ballard, James Franklin wrote of what he feared were grim economic prospects for himself and his partners: “We anticipate tolerably tough times this spring for *one-eyed men* [Franklin’s emphasis].”⁵⁰ The traders’ economic pessimism is misleading. They usually did well, so long as they could collect even a portion of their accounts payable. But who, or what, were “one-eyed men”? Both the older and the younger Franklin used the phrase to describe themselves, their associates, and indeed all white men who bought or sold on the slave markets of the South. Isaac Franklin told Ballard in 1833 that he had “met with the robbers but has bore up as well as a One Eyed Man could well do.”⁵¹ He, like his nephew, referred to himself by the phrase. In another case, James Franklin used it almost as a term of contempt. Worried about the slow state of the market in Natchez and the rampant cholera that was killing off his “stock,” he looked for a buyer with peculiar vision. Single-minded and single-visioned, he would overlook as peripheral the disease-ridden state of the slaves Franklin had to sell: “I am in hopes that all the fools are not dead yet and some one-eyed man will buy us out yet.” And in other cases, to call someone or oneself a one-eyed man was clearly to acknowledge participation in the slave market as either supplier or customer. “The way your Old one-eyed friend looked the pirate,” wrote Isaac Franklin, referring to himself, and showing little desire for absolution, “was a sin.”⁵²

One-eyed men, of course, are kings in the land of the blind. But there are other one-eyed men in the metaphorical world. The phrase appears in eighteenth-century

⁴⁹ Contrast the respective roles of the trade in southern society in the pictures painted by Fred Bateman and Thomas Weiss, *A Deplorable Scarcity: The Failure of Industrialization in the Slave Economy* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1981); Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household*, 37–99; Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*; or Young, *Domesticating Slavery*; with those of Tadman, *Speculators and Slaves*; Deyle, “Domestic Slave Trade”; or Johnson, *Soul by Soul*.

⁵⁰ James P. Franklin to Messrs. R. C. Ballard & Co., March 27, 1832, folder 5, Ballard Papers.

⁵¹ Isaac Franklin to Ballard, January 29, 1833, folder 10; compare same to same, December 25, 1833, folder 12; and Bacon Tait to Ballard, November 25, 1838, folder 25, Ballard Papers.

⁵² “I am in hopes” from James Franklin to Ballard, May 7, 1833, folder 11; “looked the pirate” from Isaac Franklin to Ballard, January 11, 1834, folder 13, Ballard Papers.

slang as a synonym for the penis.⁵³ Quite clearly, it survived in that incarnation into the nineteenth century (and remains current today), for these words from a letter written by James Franklin reveal his own phallic representation:

I have seen a handsome girl since I left V[irgini]a that would climb higher hills and go further to accomplish her designs than any girl to the North & she is not too apt to leave or loose *her gold*[.] The reason is because she carries her funds in her lovers purse or in Bank & to my certain knowledge she has been used & that smartly by a one-eyed man about my size and age, *excuse my foolishness*. In short I shall do the best with and for the fancy white maid and excellent cook that I can.⁵⁴

Franklin's extended metaphor tells a lyricized version of the rape of the light-skinned "fancy white maid" by a phallic "one-eyed man," and leads one into the complex of remembering and forgetting that structured these slave traders' understandings of sexuality and self. The first sentence leaves open the possibility that the "handsome girl" from Virginia might be free and white. Yet we find that she is "not too apt to leave or loose *her gold*" for she carries "her funds" in her "lovers purse or in Bank." We can interpret the last phrase in two non-contradictory ways. The lover's purse might mean that a woman's lover carries money to spend at her discretion, in an attempt to win her favor, or perhaps she (were she, in a hypothetical example, free) seeks to marry a lover with a purse full of funds. But in a world where men bought enslaved women for the purpose of sex, the funds in question were more likely the purchase price of the "handsome woman," and thus obviously rested in the purse or bank of her future owner and "lover." And this value was likely to be considerable, since Franklin's immediate reference to the enslaved "fancy white maid" reveals that she was in fact the "handsome girl" of the rest of the paragraph.

The second interpretation of the "lovers purse" notion reinforces the supposition that the woman at hand was enslaved: the lover's purse is a multilayered metaphor that draws on a common slang term for the vagina. The "handsome girl" carries her funds in her "lovers purse" because her high market value derives directly from her exploitable sexuality. Here, Franklin locates that specifically in her genitalia, but she is not apt to "leave or loose" that gold so long as she remains female, "fancy," and sexually available to white slave traders or purchasers. The absence of the possessive apostrophe in Franklin's formulation only adds to the complexity of the metaphor. Whether lover's purse (a purse belonging to a lover) or lovers' purse (a purse in which to place the penises of potentially multiple lovers), the handsome girl's sexual accessibility to himself and other white men was for James Franklin the key to her value.

In fact, as he goes on to brag, in no sense has the purse remained closed to him. In the sense of the literal purse or bank account of her future purchaser, Franklin would soon enough receive a payment from "her" funds. But he claimed that he had already enjoyed some of her sexual and economic value: "to my certain knowledge

⁵³ Lightner, *Random House Historical Dictionary of American Slang*, 2: 720, lists "one eyed" plus a noun as a way to refer to the penis, and cites a 1775 toast to "Adam's dagger . . . the one-eyed stag." See also Michael Moon, *Disseminating Whitman: Revision and Corporeality in "Leaves of Grass"* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), 26–30, for Whitman's use of similar imagery in a different context.

⁵⁴ James P. Franklin to Messrs. R. C. Ballard & Co., March 27, 1832, folder 5, Ballard Papers.

she has been used & that smartly by a one-eyed man about my size and age, *excuse my foolishness*." The symbol of the one-eyed man, which referred to the organ that entered her "lovers purse," was replete with simultaneous meanings. Franklin boasted of the accomplishments of his penis but also of his accomplishments as a penis. He knew that the handsome girl had been sexually "used," for he, himself the one-eyed man, had already had sex with her, and "that smartly," according to his own claim. Franklin had already "do[ne] the best with" the "fancy white maid" that he could, thus showing himself to be a "one-eyed man."⁵⁵

This key unlocks important additional implications buried in several of the cited occasions of the phrase. When James Franklin hoped that "all the fools are not dead and some one-eyed man will buy us out yet," he counted on sexual desire to overcome economic reasoning. He hoped that some white man would buy Franklin's remaining stock of slaves, especially the female ones. But Isaac Franklin also called himself a one-eyed man. His idea of his own character, his metaphor for himself as a participant in the buying, selling, and raping of enslaved people, was plainly phallic. He, his partners, and his buyers were all one-eyed men together. Like ideas about honor and manhood, independence, and whiteness, the collective sexual aggressiveness enabled and valorized by the slave trade helped form a group identity for slaveowning white men. Market participants were all greedy for male and female labor in the fields, and for reproductive labor in the slave quarters, but also for fancy maids. So greedy were they, in fact, that such men spoke of themselves as if they were animated, erect penises, one-eyed men watching for mulatto women to rape.⁵⁶

Thus at the heart of the trade's remembering and forgetting was another form of consumption, one that helped form traders' and planters' deepest concepts of themselves as sexually active men and as individual members of a class produced by and producing a history. A historically specific form of sexual fetishism worked together with commodity fetishism in an era of rapid plantation expansion,

⁵⁵ Franklin and his associates defined their essence as penile, although recent historians have argued that, before the 1890s, white men in the United States did not focus on definitions of masculinity based primarily on biology or even on private sexual behavior. Indeed, according to these and other scholars, one's ability to establish one's independence—in republican politics, artisanal or yeoman economic self-reliance, and in the cultural performances of male defiance of authority—was the all-important basis for proving one's manliness. The definition of masculinity as an innate force in all male bodies, usually exemplified by the performance of genital heterosexuality, became more prominent in the 1880s and 1890s. Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917* (Chicago, 1995); E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York, 1993), and Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York, 1996), have roughly agreed with her chronology.

⁵⁶ "All the fools are not dead" from James Franklin to Ballard, May 7, 1833, folder 11; "too hard for a one-eyed man" from Isaac Franklin to Ballard, December 25, 1833, folder 12, Ballard Papers. Rape or the threat of rape may have served to increase planter and slave trader power through terror; compare Antonia I. Castañeda, "Sexual Violence in the Politics and Policies of Conquest: Amerindian Women and the Spanish Conquest of Alta California," in *Building with Our Hands: New Directions in Chicana Studies*, Adela de la Torre and Beatriz M. Pesquera, eds. (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), 15–33; Richard D. Trexler, *Sex and Power: Gendered Virtue, Political Order, and the European Conquest of the Americas* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1995). Ideas about honor did help shape group identity among planters and other wealthy southern white men in this era. See Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York, 1981); Faust, *James Henry Hammond*; Kenneth Greenberg, *Honor and Slavery: Lies, Duels, Noses, Masks, Dressing as a Woman, Gifts, Strangers, Humanitarianism, Death, Slave Rebellions, the Proslavery Argument, Baseball, Hunting, and Gambling in the Old South* (Bloomington, Ind., 1996).

amplifying and accelerating each other's force, creating a powerfully charged set of meanings that reveal slavery's multiple attractions for its white participants. The trade and consumption of enslaved human beings promised powerful gratifications of the senses and the self, implying psychological and physical—including explicitly sexual—pleasures. For along with other whites throughout the Anglo-Atlantic world, the men of the firm of Franklin, Armfield, and Ballard remembered, consciously and unconsciously, the sexual coercion of black women when they spoke or thought about slavery and the slave trade.

THE WHITE WORLD'S OBSESSION with black female sexuality began, of course, long before the U.S. domestic slave trade, or even the United States itself. From the beginning of the European-African encounter, attempts to claim that black female bodies were disgusting because they did not obey European gender roles rang hollow.⁵⁷ During the seventeenth-century rise of the plantation complex, black women became by law the sexual prey of all white men. Later, would-be patriarchs of the eighteenth century, such as Virginia's William Byrd II, attempted to exert sexual control over black women as part of wider projects of household and self-dominion.⁵⁸ By the nineteenth century, the belief that black women were inherently sexually aggressive, in contrast to allegedly chaste white females, increased their attractiveness to white men, even as white men publicly proclaimed their disgust with African-American women and their love for the pure and passive belle. Many encounters, rather than a single Freudian trauma of infantile sexuality, shaped the complex obsession with black women. Then the rejected black female body returned in the fixation on the fancy maid.⁵⁹

The rise of the domestic slave trade after 1790, as new lands opened up in the South and new demands for plantation produce—namely, cotton—arose in the Atlantic world, created a particular commercialized category of enslaved women that focused white fixations. Within the trade, light-skinned or mulatto “fancy

⁵⁷ Jordan, *White over Black*; K. Brown, *Good Wives*; Morgan, “Some Could Suckle.”

⁵⁸ For the nonexistence of the legal category of the rape of enslaved women—in other words, the fact of its pure legality—see Thomas P. Morris, *Southern Slavery and the Law, 1619–1860* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996), 305 (“No white could ever rape a slave woman”); Melton McLaurin, *Celia: A Slave* (Athens, Ga., 1991), 89–121; Philip Schwartz, *Twice Condemned: Slaves and the Criminal Laws of Virginia, 1705–1865* (Baton Rouge, La., 1988), 159–61; Mark Tushnet, *The American Law of Slavery, 1810–1860* (Princeton, N.J., 1981), 85–86; Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, 33; U. B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery* (New York, 1918), 459; for the importance of sexual control over enslaved women to eighteenth-century patriarchs, see K. Brown, *Good Wives*, 319–73; Kenneth Lockridge, *On the Sources of Patriarchal Rage: The Commonplace Books of William Byrd and Thomas Jefferson and the Gendering of Power in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1992).

⁵⁹ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, esp. 184; Spillers, “Mama’s Baby, Papa’s Maybe,” 77, argues that “slavery in the United States [was] one of the richest displays of the psychoanalytic dimensions of culture before the science of European psychoanalysis began to take hold.” Here, she refers specifically to the tangles of interracial sexuality and genealogies. Compare Painter, “Soul Murder and Slavery”; and Nell Irvin Painter, “Of Lily, Linda Brent, and Freud: A Non-Exceptionalist Approach,” in *Half-Sisters of History: Southern Women and the American Past* (Durham, N.C., 1994), 93–109; Clinton, “Caught in the Web of the Big House,” 22; James Hugo Johnston, *Race Relations in Virginia and Miscegenation in the South* (Amherst, Mass., 1970); Harriet Martineau, *Retrospect of Western Travel* (London, 1838), 1: 267–68. For Francophone parallels to English-language discourses on black female sexuality, compare T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting, *Black Venus: Sexualized Savages, Primal Fears, and Primitive Narratives in French* (Durham, 1999).

maids" became to many white men the perfect symbols of slavery's history, while also ensuring that being "a smooth hand with Cuff" helped make one a "one-eyed man." To men such as the slave traders discussed here, women like the Charlottesville maid evoked a process of power and pleasure, remembered and forgotten in an ambiguous, simultaneous experience parallel to that which characterized the traders' commodity-fetish relationship to "Cuffy." Indeed, coercion, the trade, and the pairing of sexual imagery with women of mixed African and European ancestry were always close companions. Northern and British visitors to pre-Civil War New Orleans rarely failed to write about "yellow" women, "fancy maids," and nearly white octoroons sold as both house servants and sexual companions in the slave trade. Some observers claimed to have knowledge of special auctions at which young, attractive, usually light-skinned women were sold at rates four to five times the price of equivalent female field laborers. Travelers and other writers constantly returned to the simultaneously offensive and exciting sight of coerced interracial sex, especially between white men and light-skinned "fancy" women.⁶⁰

The oft-repeated term "fancy" united the themes of speculation in the boisterous markets of the new commercial economy and sexual pleasures bought and sold. In the slang of antebellum Wall Street, "fancy stocks" were those of purely commercial value, scandalous in their speculative nature, "wholly wrapped in mystery," as one 1841 commentator had it. Some were certainly the flimsy bank bonds of frontier states such as Louisiana and Mississippi, issued in the 1830s to raise capital that financed planters' purchases of slaves and land. The causal proximity of such stocks to the slave market is perhaps no mere accident. "Fancy" maids, like "fancy" stocks, were objects of speculation. Yet each was part of a category that a society, still groping through its transition to a state where the market would be all in all, half-believed should be priced by its intrinsic value. In fact, the mysterious and uncertain nature of both fancies showed the fiction of commodification. What—if anything—lay hidden behind the value attached to a fancy stock by the ups and downs of supply and demand on Wall Street? Its attractiveness lay in its brassy nature, the unconcealably arbitrary character of its value, assigned only by the magical thinking of the market. Like fancy stock, the value of a fancy maid was also arbitrary when compared to the monetary value of her productive labor. Yet the origin of her market-assigned price in the power to coerce sexuality was lewdly plain to all one-eyed men who cared to titillate themselves. She was neither precisely black nor white, and neither field labor nor cooking and cleaning, but rather the

⁶⁰ Bancroft, *Slave-Trading in the Old South*, 327–33; Collins, *Domestic Slave Trade*, 105–06; Andrews, *Slavery and the Domestic Slave-Trade*, 165–66; Monique Guillory, "Some Enchanted Evening on the Auction Block: The Cultural Legacy of the New Orleans Quadroon Balls" (PhD dissertation, New York University, 1999); Johnson, "Slave Trader, the White Slave, and the Politics of Racial Determination"; Karen Halttunen, "Humanitarianism and the Pornography of Pain in Anglo-American Culture," *AHR* 100 (April 1995): 303–34; Judith Wilson, "Optical Illusions: Images of Miscegenation in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century American Art," *American Art* 5 (Summer 1991): 88–107; Albert Boime, *The Art of Exclusion: Representing Blacks in the Nineteenth Century* (Washington, D.C., 1990), 82–84; Marcus Wood, *Blind Memory: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America, 1780–1865* (New York, 2000), 236–39. In defiance of evidence suggesting a white obsession with the mulatto, Eugene Genovese suggests that light-skinned women had no particular significance in the world of white meanings: "Typically, the mulatto, especially the mulatto slave, was 'just another nigger' to the whites"; *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, 429 (quote), 413–31.

"fancy" of the market for selling the right to rape a special category of women marked out as unusually desirable.⁶¹

Slave traders and other "one-eyed men" singled out these women in particular, and the Franklins and Ballard assumed that through their possession of such women, they were one-eyed men, because slave traders' violence represented and reenacted their own historically created identities. As historical practice, sexual violence was depressingly common: an inescapable itch for whites who discussed slavery, an everyday wound inflicted on people bought and sold as commodities. Abundant testimony by both ex-slaves and white participants confirms the ever-present sexual coercion of the traders' yards. For many, both slave and free, the act of rape signified the slave trade and even slavery itself.⁶² The correspondents of Franklin, Ballard, Armfield, and company revisited the topic incessantly. Isaac Franklin was of course eager to see Ballard's Charlottesville maid. Some months after the older Franklin twice requested that Ballard send the woman out to New Orleans, James Franklin told Ballard that Uncle Isaac had sent a slave on to Natchez for the younger man's use. Perhaps they spoke of the same woman: "the Old Man sent me your maid Martha. She is inclined to be compliant." Earlier, James had written about another light-skinned enslaved woman shipped by the partners to Natchez, "I shall do the best with and for the fancy white maid and excellent cook that I can." And, James reported, his uncle Isaac was staying out late every night, engaged in "very boyish" behavior with some women, probably from their "stock."⁶³

A caveat here should remind us of the possible wider stakes of the argument: while commentators displayed slave traders as the most dissolute members of white southern society, their eager desire to buy, use, and circulate enslaved women in sexual service hardly distinguished them from planters. Traders catered to the desires of planters when they selected and marketed "fancy maids." Women like "the fair maid Martha . . . and our white Caroline"—both for sale by Isaac Franklin at Natchez in May 1832—were so light-skinned that they were called "white" by the traders, although their legal blackness was clearly understood by all. They were typically young, attractive, and trained for servitude in the house. Even at high prices, reported Isaac Franklin in 1833, "There are great Demand for fancy maid." He told Ballard that he needed more such women to supply a growing market: "I

⁶¹ [Frederick Jackson], *A Week in Wall Street, By One Who Knows* (New York, 1841), 80, 82, 83 (quote); George G. Foster, *Fifteen Minutes around New York* (New York, 1854), 49–50; C. G. Parsons, *Inside View of Slavery: or, A Tour among the Planters* (New York, 1855), 182; Robert Everest, *A Journey through the United States and Part of Canada* (London, 1855), 104. Compare Brantlinger, *Fictions of State*.

⁶² John Brown remembered that in the New Orleans slave pens where he spent several months in the late 1840s, "the youngest and handsomest females were set apart as the concubines of the masters, who generally changed mistresses every week . . . the slave-pen is only another name for a brothel"; Brown, *Slave Life in Georgia*, 95. Compare Moses Roper, *A Narrative of the Adventures and Escape of Moses Roper from American Slavery* (London, 1840), 24, 63–66; Bethany Veney, *The Narrative of Bethany Veney, A Slave Woman* (Worcester, Mass., 1889), 29–30; McLaurin, *Celia*; Fredrika Bremer, *The Homes of the New World: Impressions of America*, Mary Howitt, trans. (New York, 1853), 1: 373, 2: 535.

⁶³ Charlottesville "fancy girl" from Isaac Franklin to Ballard, November 1, 1833, folder 12; and January 11, 1834, folder 13; "The Old Man sent" from James Franklin to Ballard, March 7, 1834, folder 13; "very boyish" from James Franklin to Messrs. R. C. Ballard & Co., March 27, 1832, folder 5, Ballard Papers. See Stephenson, *Isaac Franklin*, 19.

do believe that a Likely Girl and a good seamstress could be sold for \$1100," or twice the going rate for female field hands.⁶⁴

The focus by slave traders on particular women, like one called Lucindy, whom Isaac Franklin impregnated and then passed on to a Louisville friend when his own impending marriage rendered her presence inconvenient, might lead one to believe that the sharpness of desire made them distinct individuals in the minds of whites.⁶⁵ Certainly, both ex-slaves' memories and contemporary documents generated by whites reveal that planters selected some enslaved women for the specific purpose of sexual service.⁶⁶ Ballard sold a woman named Maria to a Mississippi planter named L. R. Starks in 1833. She was not happy with the arrangement that Starks had in mind, but soon something brought her around to his way of thinking: "M[a]ria seems much pleased with me and looks much better than when I made the purchase." Perhaps Maria discovered a way to leverage Starks's desires into something of supreme importance to her. Or perhaps Starks had discovered another sword to suspend above her head: "She is very desirous I should get her son. I therefore will take him if you will send him."⁶⁷ While some enslaved women sold on the market for sexual purposes maneuvered to turn white male desires to their own or others' protection, traders and masters maneuvered as well. The stark imbalance of power meant that women like Maria chose, at best, between negotiated surrender on the one hand and severe punishment and possible death on the other. So a different woman named Maria may have found in 1848, when Ballard's later business partner had her flogged repeatedly, until she was maimed and sterile—all, it seems, for refusing his advances. As one ex-slave remembered: "I can tell you that a white man laid a nigger gal whenever he wanted."⁶⁸

Such men were not interested in a particular "Maria," or a specific "Lucindy" but in their own "fancy." The category of "fancy" maid did not open a way for women to make white men see them as people whose opinions must be considered. Instead, white men were intent on forgetting any fears of weakness implied by sexual need

⁶⁴ "Fair maid Martha" from Isaac and James Franklin to Messrs. R. C. Ballard & Co., May 13, 1832, folder 6; Isaac Franklin to Messrs. R. C. Ballard & Co., June 8, 1832, folder 7; also see Isaac Franklin to Ballard, November 1, 1833, folder 12, Ballard Papers. Compare J. Brown, *Slave Life in Georgia*, 19.

⁶⁵ Jesse Cage to William Cotton, August 27, 1839, folder 28, Ballard Papers.

⁶⁶ Here are but a few examples of ex-slaves' memories of women bought specifically for sexual abuse: Rawick, *American Slave*, vol. 16, part 3 (Maryland), 54 (Richard Macks); Supplement series 2, vol. 7 (Texas), part 6, 2531 (Rosa and Jack Maddox); vol. 8 (Texas), part 7, 3292 (Mary Reynolds); vol. 16, part 4 (Ohio), 104 (Julia Williams); John W. Blassingame, ed., *Slave Testimony: Two Centuries of Letters, Speeches, Interviews, and Autobiographies* (Baton Rouge, La. 1977), 362, 400. Compare McLaurin, *Celia*.

⁶⁷ L. R. Starks to Ballard, February 5, 1833, folder 10; P. B. January to Ballard, October 28, 1854, folder 217; November 29, 1854, folder 219, Ballard Papers.

⁶⁸ J. M. Duffield to Ballard, May 29, 1848, folder 127; August 5, 1848, folder 131[?], Ballard Papers. For ex-slaves' comments on this topic, see J. Brown, *Slave Life in Georgia*, 104, 112–13; Rawick, *American Slave*, vol. 16, part 3 (Maryland), 53, 55 (Richard Macks) for a case of resistance that ended in death; vol. 16, part 4 (Ohio), 61 (Julia King); vol. 18, 2; vol. 18, 51; Supplement series 1, vol. 8 (Mississippi), part 3, 803 (Lucy Galloway); "I can tell you" from Supplement series 2, vol. 7 (Texas), part 6, 2531 (Rosa and Jack Maddox), but one might just as well cite the WPA narratives, *passim*, as the ex-slaves are generally in agreement that force and threat made these relationships inevitable. Further limiting the ability to defend oneself against sexual aggression was the fact that the slave trade had separated Maria and her sisters from black family, friends, and potential white allies. Such women were therefore more vulnerable to sexual predation—more easily seen and treated by whites as commodities—than ever.

and directing their desires toward particular women whose fates they controlled. They erased dependence in a blur of self-controlled pleasure. Their occasional miming of some of the conventions of romance may have enabled some to forget their own direction of the entire fancy maid scenario. More often, as the letters of the Franklins and Ballard show, they reveled in their power. And when women like Lucindy tried, as a tactic of self-defense, to create lasting emotional bonds from sexual encounters, they often found that white men readily discarded enslaved "concubines" and even their own children.⁶⁹ Nor did the manipulation of "fancy maids" recreate traders and planters as "one-eyed men" because white men were simply more attracted to light-skinned women than to dark-skinned women. The Franklins and Ballard, and others, could have talked about white prostitutes or waxed lyrical over the rapes of dark-skinned women. The latter were certainly a part of life in the slave pens. Indeed, despite the frequent efforts of white society to identify light-skinned women of mixed African and European descent as more attractive than their darker sisters, white men have constantly pursued the latter group as well. This, of course, helps explain how the United States became the home of so many light-skinned "blacks."⁷⁰ Instead, the affinity of "one-eyed men" for "fancy maids" arose from the ways in which the former attributed to the latter an identity that both forgot and remembered the long history of sexual violence and fetishism. The presence of light-skinned women for sale seemingly spurred white men to spill out a whole set of ideas about available and abusable sexuality. The metaphorical and actual uses that the white world sought, with a winking leer, to impose on such women, coyly revealed meanings that shot through the entire domestic trade.⁷¹

Within the remembering and forgetting that made such women impassioned objects, one can find at least three relationships that explain the disconcerting contiguity of one-eyed men to fancy maids in these particular traders' words. First, an anxiety caused by the specific cultural history of the early nineteenth century suggests something that sounds like the classically Freudian sense of sexual fetishism, although the castration anxiety Freud and many other interpreters of fetishism privileged cannot lift all of the weight of meaning that rested on images of fancy maids and one-eyed men.⁷² These slave traders referred to light-skinned and mulatto female slaves in terms that burlesqued the advancing ideal of female domesticity. The high price of one "Yellow Girl" Charlott, \$900 in 1834, came in part from a background that equipped her to mime the conventions of the polite and proper parlor, the centerpiece of a domestic sphere increasingly dominated by

⁶⁹ Cage to Cotton, August 27, 1839, folder 28; compare Virginia Boyd to Col. Ballard, May 6, 1853, folder 191; C. M. Rutherford to Ballard, August 8, 1853, folder 196, Ballard Papers. For masters selling their own children, see Rawick, *American Slave*, vol. 18, 3, 251–52, 298; Blassingame, *Slave Testimony*, 400 (interview with J. W. Lindsay), 702–04 (Sella Martin).

⁷⁰ Joel Williamson, *New People: Miscegenation and Mulattoes in the United States* (New York, 1980); F. James Davis, *Who Is Black? One Nation's Definition* (University Park, Pa., 1991).

⁷¹ Spillers, "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe," 67; compare Abdy, *Journal of a Residence and Tour*, 179; Everest, *Journey through the United States*, 104; Johnson, *Soul by Soul*, 113–15.

⁷² McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 181–85, criticizes the overemphasis on "the authority of the castration scene" (183). For readings of sexual fetishism that emphasize the centrality of castration anxiety, see Freud, "Fetishism"; Robert J. Stoller, *Observing the Erotic Imagination* (New Haven, Conn., 1985), 35–36.

female moral and cultural taste. Of Charlott, Isaac Franklin noted, "you mentioned that you purchased her from some *Branch* of the Barber [Barbour] family . . . the respectability of that family will have great effect."⁷³

The "Yellow Girl" would not carelessly break the china or embarrass one before a guest. Yet her high price revealed and also concealed, in true fetish fashion, that for many white men she probably represented not a serving maid but a "fancy." Her value to these particular men was her fetishized use: subject to their sexual assault, she represented for them a hostile satire of the parlor ideal, a rebuke of and a recourse against uppity white women. Traders' words described Charlott and others in ironic terms and phrases that mocked the language of polite, feminine, and white domesticity. Isaac and James Franklin underlined "*The fair maid Martha*" in a letter to Ballard, mocking proper literary-romantic descriptions of white heroines. Black women, however, were anti-heroines. Women like the "maid Martha," forwarded by Isaac Franklin to his nephew, were not allowed, despite their light skin, to remain "maids." Direct or implied force "inclined [them] to be compliant" and thus recast men as still in control of both economic household and cultural home. The existence of fancy maids saved the one-eyed man: preventing the loss of power threatened by even modest and largely symbolic increases in female moral and cultural authority.⁷⁴

Further, a conglomeration of then-current gendered ideas about independent manhood made it unlikely that Isaac and James Franklin, or R. C. Ballard, would have completely enjoyed the explicit negotiations necessary for access to heterosexual relationships with free women.⁷⁵ White men struggled to define their manhood through various avenues in the U.S. South in the early 1830s. Some were obsessed with honor and independence in a slavery-based society, others with the delusion of independent action, self-creation, and personal autonomy created by the market fictions of commodity fetishism, and still others with political republicanism. Often, the same man played several of these language games at once. We can see the independent man in the image of the duelist facing down a pistol or the candidate proclaiming his rejection of all outside influence on his political independence. But we can also see this ideal in the "land pirate" or the "robber," or in the obsession of Isaac Franklin with beating his competitors to the Natchez market. For such a man, the coercion of sex from the enslaved, at least at one level, obviously evaded the problem of explicit negotiation and its acknowledgement of

⁷³ Isaac Franklin to Ballard, September 27, 1834, folder 15, Ballard Papers. Compare Joseph Alsop to Ballard, February 5, 1834; Isaac Franklin to Ballard, January 11, 1834, both folder 13, Ballard Papers.

⁷⁴ "*The fair maid*" from Isaac and James Franklin to Messrs. R. C. Ballard & Co., May 13, 1832, folder 6; James Franklin to Ballard, March 7, 1834, folder 13, Ballard Papers. For an example of the tensions engendered in the antebellum United States by the rise of the domestic ideal, see Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Davy Crockett as Trickster: Pornography, Liminality, and Symbolic Inversion in Victorian America," in her *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York, 1985), 90–108. For southern accounts, see Painter, "Soul Murder and Slavery," esp. 136–37; and Marli Weiner, *Mistresses and Slaves: Plantation Women in South Carolina, 1830–1880* (Urbana, Ill., 1998), 53–56.

⁷⁵ It seems almost redundant to add here that while gender and sexuality are currently seen as different categories of historical and cultural analysis, one can obviously bear on another: Isaac Franklin was unlikely to have considered that his gendered identity had nothing to do with his sexual practices, and vice-versa.

incomplete independence. A purchase of a human being seen as a commodity with no entangling social ties, purely represented by price, could be imagined as the self-controlled consumption of sexual pleasure. The assertion of complete independence, which such rapes represented, denied or forgot dependence on women, and also on the enslaved.

Yet the specific white focus on “fancy” or obviously mixed-race women relentlessly returns us to the place of history, especially its memory and its understanding, as the remembering that was present in the traders’ sexual fetishes. The exploitation of enslaved women of African and mixed African-European backgrounds was a part of plantation society long before the ideology of sentimental feminine domesticity could have ever unleashed male anxieties. And the same exploitation undoubtedly contributed, in ways not yet sufficiently investigated by cultural historians, to the ideal of the independent master.⁷⁶ The traders’ own words remind us that “land pirates” believed that they became “one-eyed men” through the rape of women who symbolized the past, present, and future of slaveowning men. This becoming was a not-so-secret history that mixed anxiety and pleasure, attraction and control. Fancy maids, more than other enslaved women, embodied a history of rape in the pre-emancipation nineteenth-century South, one that reveals white anxieties about dependence on blacks but that allowed white men to assert and reassert their power and control.

People of mixed racial heritage, or “mulattoes,” symbolized the dependence of white men on black labor, both in the field and in the bed. Marked by their very skin color and other features as products of the white-black encounter in the South, mulatto women were obviously white and not-white, like “our white Caroline.” They were products of the long encounter between white exploiters of labor and black sources of labor, productive and reproductive. Their commodification reminded all that, in the South, every child of an enslaved mother was some form of slave laborer, an arrangement that enabled plantation slavery to function. Every enslaved man, woman, and child was a repository of reproductive capital and a source of production. The white political economy of the South would have collapsed without the legal and cultural fictions that assigned the “mulatto” and other children of African women to the created categories “black” and “enslaved.” Women like the “fair maid Martha,” and “the Yellow Girl Charlott” also, in their phenotypes, illustrated the long past of white sexual assault. “Mulatto” women thus embodied white dependency and white power, and offered men the chance to recapitulate and reexamine the past that had produced both white power and mixed-race individuals. Unwillingly, such women introduced a pornographic history, one obscene yet for that very reason more lusted-after, into the parlors, bedrooms, and above all, the markets of the elite white man’s world. They made flesh the years of white men desiring and depending on women (and men) who were supposedly less than civilized, Christian, or even human.

If the presence of “mulattoes” poorly concealed dependence, in both the past and present, on black labor, the presence of fancy maids allowed white men to remember and reassert a sort of control over both past and present. The history of

⁷⁶ See K. Brown, *Good Wives*, esp. 372, and 328–34.

rape, obvious to all, though openly spoken by few, was the remembered meaning of the fetish of the "fancy maid" in the white male mind. Assaults repeated and thus confirmed a history that had produced white men who bought and sold black women and men, and had made mulattoes as well. The historic penis, the one-eyed man, of earlier generations had in fact fathered the fancy maid—creating in the flesh a symbol of the history of coerced sexuality to which white men like the slave traders could return to at will. Like the Freudian fetishisms that do not produce neuroses, this symbolic relationship was the sexualized prose of the slave traders' world. It worked for them.⁷⁷

The acts of coercion affirmed and recreated the rampant one-eyed man. Thus white slaveowners pleased themselves with bodies marked by the past of their own power as a class; they had sex with their own histories. Their assaults repeated the originating acts of their own class and their own power, controlling past and future. Forgetting the human soul of the mulatto body, the Franklins, Armfield, and Ballard coupled instead with the history of rape. Their white male bodies also reenacted earlier acts in that history, with their penis as the symbol, the weapon, of white authority. And when these white men fathered mixed-race children, they readied a new generation for the market in commodity and sexual fetishes. As one formerly enslaved woman recalled: "They was glad of it . . . be glad to have them little bastards, brag on it."⁷⁸ They inflicted themselves on people seen as material representations of their own past and, in so doing, generated personal, collective, and economic futures.

Thus the obsession with fancy maids evolved out of histories both personal and social. Light-skinned and mulatto women symbolized for traders and planters the claimed right to coerce all women of African descent. Such men reveled in the acts of purchase and sale. To them, one act symbolized another, sliding together in a cloud of buying, selling, raping, and consuming. Midas-like, their possession of the lover's purse turned the contemplation of the slave as commodity into the one-eyed man's pawing over the gold of her value, and vice-versa. All forms of domination of enslaved women, and men as well, made the trader feel like a penis—the source of his own, self-controlled pleasure, the progenitor of his own history, in short, a veritable one-eyed man. At the same time that he remembered and reasserted his power, he forgot: the specter of castration or other forms of loss of masculine and masculinizing power, of course, but more important, the source of his power in past and present dependence on those human beings whom he would prefer to see as commodities.

The only distinction between commodity and sexual fetishization in this history of the slave trade comes from our own habit of intellectually separating economic desires from those of sexuality, our own kind of remembering and forgetting. The two sets of desires were remarkably compatible, and, indeed, the commodity and the sexual fetish were ultimately the same for such men. Slave women were so

⁷⁷ The motifs of incest and/or oedipal competition come to mind here. They are beyond the scope of this essay, but recall the admonition of 1850s proslavery theorist Henry Hughes that "Amalgamation is incest." Hughes, *Treatise on Sociology, Theoretical and Practical* (New York, 1854), 240. Compare Jennifer DeVere Brody, *Impossible Purities: Blackness, Femininity, and Victorian Culture* (Durham, N.C., 1998), 55.

⁷⁸ Rawick, *American Slave*, vol. 18, 251.

vulnerable to sexual assault—in the sense that they had no legal recourse and usually few other means of resistance—because they could be sold, and were such desirable purchases in part because they could be raped. Put another way, in the creation of the commodity fetish, the object becomes understood as its market-given value. If the slave market valued “fancy maids” for their sexual desirability and enforced availability, what was the meaning, to white men, the value of “her gold,” to quote James Franklin again? The commodification of black bodies meant that, for white men, sexuality of a particular sort—the promise and the pleasure of rape—irradiated the enslaved human commodity, especially women, in the eyes of one-eyed men. White men repeated the acts of a history of rape and found them pleasurable and powerful. Despite the resistance of many enslaved African and African-American women, these acts reasserted slaveowners’ authority over women like Charlott, Martha, and Caroline, and also over all enslaved African-Americans, whether male or female. Yet neither dependence nor control was absolute. One could even argue that the physical and symbolic or psychological pleasures of coerced sexuality were addictive, creating a psychological dependence on being able to assert sexual power over such women. Neither could have been present without the other. Such is the ambiguity of the fetish relationship.⁷⁹

I HAVE TRIED TO LIMIT my discussion to a few men and to a few years. But the intersection between racial slavery, the commodification of human bodies, and the fetishization of raped women of African descent in the Atlantic world was, by the 1830s, an old story being played out in new ways. The long and inarguably linked histories of white-on-black rape and the various slave trades lead me to raise a few final, frankly speculative, questions, which must be tested elsewhere. First, one might hypothesize that, over the long centuries of the Atlantic slave plantation complex, the association of coerced sexuality with enslaved woman added significantly to whites’ experience of excitement and power in the trade in all things related to slaves and slavery. The image of sexual power without restraint was everywhere: one-eyed men stalked the landscape of slavery in the white mind of the Atlantic world, and in some ways still do. The message that African women were commodities, often raped by white men, added a taste of secondhand sexual power without restraint, a glimpse of the pure consumption of human beings, to the unconscious and conscious minds of many consumers. From sugar, to investment in planter-dominated banks, to, of course, the trade in slaves itself, the whole plantation complex stank of the arousal of rape. Even the abolitionist movement leaned on the prurient imagery of sexual coercion to generate opponents of slavery both repelled and fascinated by the institution’s sexual abuses.

The plantation complex’s sexual relationships, which ultimately produced white male masters, were hidden but not hidden. Franklin and Ballard were, perhaps,

⁷⁹ James Baldwin recognized the still-potent historical detritus of these white ideas in his own time in his short story “Going to Meet the Man” (1965). For a view of fetishization that examines consequences and responses among African Americans in the nineteenth century, see Robert Reid-Pharr, “Violent Ambiguity: Martin Delany, Bourgeois Sadomasochism, and the Production of a Black National Masculinity,” in *Representing Black Men*, Marcellus Blount and George Cunningham, eds. (London, 1996), 73–94.

unusual and exceptional only because they actually spoke the unspoken messages that so pervaded everything having to do with slavery and the massively profitable plantation sector. But what does that pervasiveness signify? Mintz implies that the evolution of sugar into a highly fetishized commodity not only influenced the tandem developments of industrialization and imperialism (including plantation slavery) but also shaped the growth of the modern concept of the commodity itself. Could the complex fetishization of enslaved Africans have played a similar, simultaneous role? We have plenty of books on the Atlantic slave trade—experiences, numbers, and social results. But what of the meaning of the slave trade for the whites who participated in, directed, and profited from it? What of those who supported it, opposed it, or simply heard of it? Slaves, along with sugar, may have been the first modern commodities. They were people converted into symbols and objects of economic power, social status, and psychosexual fulfillment. Violent eroticism fetishized commodity fetishism, making all commodities taste a bit of the social and sexual relationships of slavery and the slave trade. After turning humans into Cuffy, wool and ivory, and fancy maids, and for some, experiencing the transformation of self into one-eyed men, perhaps additional commodifications have been easy: credit, labor power, labor product, salvation, government services, hope, justice, information.

In the end, even the potential for “fetishizing” the term “fetish” may serve a useful rhetorical purpose. How else can we evoke the terrible alchemy that allowed so many people to enjoy and deny, simultaneously, the exploitation of human sexuality that glowed like an aura from each plantation commodity? So the history of commodities begins with a slave trader or master’s imagined or retold rape of an enslaved woman; the history of slavery is the history of humans commodified and fetishized, charged by their buyers and sellers with a number of passionate meanings. The history of freedom, which must be told elsewhere, is in no small part the history of blacks’ resistance to the attempt to make them the fetish objects of white desires.

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Stalin, Man of the Borderlands

ALFRED J. RIEBER

We know what Heaven and Hell may bring,
But no man knoweth the mind of the King.

Rudyard Kipling, "The Ballad of the King's Jest."

IN HIS MEMOIRS, the Georgian Menshevik émigré Grigorii Uratadze described Joseph Stalin, whom he had known in the days of their revolutionary activity in the Caucasus, as "a man without a biography."¹ The assertion was not without foundation, and little has changed in the intervening years to alter Uratadze's judgment. Up to the moment when Stalin emerged as a leading figure in the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet government in 1917, the details of his personal and political life remain skimpy and much disputed.² But there is more to the mystery of Stalin than the absence of reliable documentary evidence on his early life. The information about himself that he allowed to be made public in his own lifetime

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¹ Grigorii Uratadze, *Vospominaniia gruzinskogo sotsial-demokrata* (Stanford, Calif., 1968), 66. The manuscript is undated but was deposited at the Russian (now Bakhmeteff) Archive at Columbia University in 1959 shortly before his death in Paris. See the introduction by Leopold Haimson, v.

² In recent years, researchers on Stalin have not even benefited very much from the opening of the Russian archives. There have certainly not been any startling revelations. Dmitrii Volkogonov, who had access to the Presidential Archive, which at the time of his writing housed Stalin's personal archive, virtually ignored Stalin's early years, noting that "the future 'leader' did not like to recall in public" his pre-October period. Dmitrii Volkogonov, *Triumf i tragediia: Politicheskii portret I. V. Stalina*, 2 vols., 4 pts. (Moscow, 1989), 1, 1: 33–36. Richard Pipes, who had similar access, noted in his preface to a new edition of *The Formation of the Soviet Union* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997) that he found only snippets of information that did not change his earlier views of Stalin's nationality policy. The situation may now change due to the transfer of two large fonds from the Presidential Archive to the Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Sotsial'no-Politicheskoi Istorii (hereafter, RGASPI), formerly the Russkii Tsentral'nyi Khrameniia i Izucheniia Dokumentov Noveishei Istorii (RTsKhIDNI). They are fond (f.) 71, "Sektor proizvedeniia I. V. Stalina, 1936–1956," which currently has 47 inventories (opisi) and 41,843 files (dela) dealing with the period 1921–1982, and f.558, op.11, "Stalin," which had already in 1993 10 inventories and 16,174 files dealing with the period 1866–1986 but which has received additional material since then. Most of this material deals with the period after 1917. A preliminary sounding of documents dealing with the earlier period generally confirms the findings of Volkogonov and Pipes, but there are matters of detail that are revealing.

contains an unresolved paradox. On three occasions—in 1937, when a large exhibition of Georgian art in Moscow portrayed Stalin's early career in Transcaucasia—in 1939, when the documents on his early life appeared—and in 1946, when the early volumes of his collected works containing the Georgian writings were published—the propaganda apparatus widely publicized Stalin's Georgian identity at the very time it was beating the drums of Great Russian nationalism. At the height of the election campaign to the Supreme Soviet under the new Soviet constitution, a large exhibition of Georgian paintings opened at the Tretyakov Gallery, featuring as one of its main themes the history of the Bolshevik organization, with paintings of high points in Stalin's Transcaucasian career.³ Two years later, the leading journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, *Molodaia Gvardiia*, published an eighty-page compilation of sources entitled "Childhood and Youth of the Leader: Documents, Memoirs, Stories," which dealt exclusively with Stalin's Georgian roots.⁴ In 1946, the first volumes of Stalin's *Collected Works* began to appear, consisting mainly of handouts and brief programmatic statements that hardly seem worth mentioning, let alone immortalizing. To be sure, they established Stalin's early revolutionary credentials. But this trivia also reminded the party and the public that up to the age of twenty-eight Stalin had written and published exclusively in Georgian.⁵

Stalin could not escape his ethnic origins. His heavily accented Russian betrayed him as a man of the borderlands. Self-consciousness about his pronunciation affected the way in which he dropped his voice in conversation. There were jokes about his accent even among Georgians, albeit his enemies. Leon Trotsky inflated Stalin's shaky Russian into something more sinister. In later days, his faithful

³ *Vystavki sovetskogo izobrazitel'nogo iskusstva: Spravochnik* (Moscow, 1967), 2: 179; *Izvestiia*, November 17, 1937.

⁴ Vladimir Kaminskii and I. Vereshchagin, "Detstvo i iunost' vozhdia: Dokumenty, zapiski, rasskazy," *Molodaia Gvardiia* 12 (1939): 22–101. As the subtitle suggests, the collection was made up of brief excerpts, sometimes only a few sentences, from prerevolutionary histories, almanacs, periodicals, published and unpublished reminiscences, and oral testimony from archives in Moscow, Tbilisi, and Gori. The self-effacing editors restricted themselves to identifying the sources and supplying a few explanatory notes but did not provide any commentary. Kaminskii devoted the next ten years to collecting additional material for a work of some 412 pages entitled, "Stalin, His Life and Activity in the Transcaucasus, 1879–1903." But according to the reviewers for the Institute of Marx-Engels-Lenin, it contained little that was new and did not shed further light on "which factors or specific incidents played a fundamental role in the formation of the personality of the great leader." RGASPI, f.71, op.10, d.273, list (l.) 1. Although the review was generally favorable, the work was never published.

⁵ I. V. Stalin, *Sochineniia*, 13 vols. (Moscow, 1946–52), vols. 1 and 2. The preparation and publication of Stalin's *Collected Works* was an enormous administrative undertaking organized by a special Sector of the Works of Stalin of the Central Committee established in 1936. A year earlier, Stalin's first private secretary, Ivan V. Tovstukha, a Ukrainian who had served under him in the Commissariat of Nationalities, had already begun to collect Stalin's speeches and articles. He also supervised the translations from Georgian. The prospectus for Vol. 1 was ready in 1940. RGASPI, f.71, op.10, dela (d.) 6, ll.364, 365, 372. Through correspondence and the dispatch of expert commissions, masses of documents were collected from regional organizations. For example, over 400 pages of documents were provided by the Vologda State Archive on Stalin's years of exile there from 1908 to 1911. RGASPI, f.71, op.10, d.277. Experts in the Institute of Marx-Engels-Lenin reviewed and commented on the drafts of each volume. RGASPI, f.71, op.10, d.374–80. Stalin was closely consulted on the selection of material, and great efforts were expended in verifying the authors of unsigned documents. Following consultation with Stalin, a substantial number of proclamations, letters, and articles attributed to him in the period from 1901 to 1917 were not included in the first two volumes. RGASPI, f.71, op.10, d.20, ll.917–23. This material still requires close analysis.

translator, Oleg Troyanovskii, found it anachronistic to give a literal rendering of Stalin's words, "we Russians," and substituted "we Soviets."⁶ Stalin could not deny his Georgian identity, but why advertise it?

Although the material in *Molodaia Gvardiia* and the *Collected Works* may not be entirely accurate, reliable, or complete, it is not without value as a historical source. It was, after all, assembled under Stalin's personal guidance.⁷ As such, it may serve to illuminate two processes at work. Stalin is here engaged in shaping, indeed, controlling the presentation of his own image to the world at large, of reinventing himself in such a way as to endow his life with a powerful political symbolism. At the same time, his selective texts offer clues to the ways in which he sought to reconcile his self-presentation with his political aspirations.⁸ In order to resolve the paradox, then, it becomes necessary to take a new approach to Stalin's biography.

THE AIM OF THIS ESSAY is to explore how the politics of personal identity became the foundations of a Stalinist ideology and a homologue for the Soviet state system. Most previous treatments of Stalin fall roughly into three, often overlapping, categories: Stalin as a "great man," as a pathological criminal, and as a bureaucratic despot.⁹ Common to all is the interpretation that Stalin desired to become Russian

⁶ For puns at Stalin's expense, see W. H. Roobol, *Tsereteli: A Democrat in the Russian Revolution* (The Hague, 1976), 13, n. 52; Trotsky plunged the knife deeper: "Russian always remained for him not only a language half-foreign and makeshift, but far worse for his consciousness, conventional and strained." Leon Trotsky, *Stalin, the Man and His Influence* (New York, 1941), 20. Personal communication from Oleg Troyanovskii, Washington, 1993. The publication of Stalin's *Collected Works* beginning in 1946 required some editorial work on the early articles written in Russian in order to eliminate "the poor usage and construction" of the originals. Robert H. McNeal, ed., *Stalin's Works: An Annotated Bibliography* (Stanford, Calif., 1967), 15. Anecdotes by critics and admirers testify to his sensitivity to language snubs. M. E. Rasuladze, "Vospominaniia o I. V. Stalina," *Vostochnyi Ekspres* 1 (1993): 42; Kaminskii and Vereshchagin, "Detstvo," 40.

⁷ Aside from deciding what to include and exclude from his *Collected Works*, Stalin characteristically eliminated his enemies from the text or else denigrated them. For example, in reviewing the proof sheets for his second volume, Stalin crossed out all references to L. B. Kamenev, G. E. Zinoviev, and the names of a whole series of individuals who were later repressed. The term "comrade" was removed from Trotsky's name. The director of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute insisted that "the inclusion of facts [drawn from the unsupported memoirs of an old Bolshevik worker] in the biographical chronicle is possible only after the approval of Comrade Stalin." RGASPI, f.558, op.11, d.932, ll.5-7.

⁸ My use of the biographical material that Stalin allowed to be published differs from all of his biographers, who take them at face value. See, for example, Robert C. Tucker, *Stalin as Revolutionary, 1879-1929* (New York, 1973), esp. chap. 3. Whenever possible, Tucker compares the *Molodaia Gvardiia* documents with the reminiscences of Stalin's boyhood acquaintance written in emigration, Joseph Iremaschwili, *Stalin und die Tragödie Georgians* (Berlin, 1932). He treats the latter very critically and refers on several occasions to "Soviet confirmation" of Iremaschwili rather than the reverse. See also Edward Ellis Smith, *The Young Stalin: The Early Years of an Elusive Revolutionary* (New York, 1967), particularly the first three chapters. Smith is if anything even more skeptical about all other Soviet sources except for the *Molodaia Gvardiia* material.

⁹ Representative works in the first category are Isaac Deutscher, *Stalin: A Political Biography* (New York, 1949), which compares him to Oliver Cromwell and Napoleon; E. H. Carr, *Socialism in One Country, 1924-1926*, 2 vols. (New York, 1958), 1: 174-86, which describes Stalin as a man shaped by his time in contrast to Lenin, who shaped his time; and Bertram Wolfe, *Three Who Made a Revolution: A Biographical History* (New York, 1948). Adam Ulam, who recognized both the tragic and heroic elements of Stalin's reign, was also moved to call it "preposterous." *Stalin: The Man and His Era* (New York, 1973), 14, 741. In the second category, numerous works emphasize Stalin's pathological personality. The most extreme and fanciful of these is Daniel Rancour-Laferriere, *The Mind of Stalin: A Psychoanalytic Survey* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1988). Tucker, *Stalin as Revolutionary*, and *Stalin in Power:*

and that he carried out a policy of unremitting russification. No full-scale biography of Stalin can neglect any one of these elements. My approach follows a different trajectory. It takes as its point of departure the literature on identity formation in order to explore the relationship between Stalin's struggle to transform and present his self and his solution to the central problem of the Bolshevik revolution: how to construct a centralized polyethnic state on a proletarian class base.¹⁰

This approach requires a tripartite strategy: to examine Stalin's representation of self not only from the perspective of 1939 but throughout the entire process of his identity formation during his years as a rebellious youth and putative revolutionary; to explore the ways the social and cultural matrix of the Caucasus may have shaped his beliefs, attitudes, and politics in his formative years; and to undertake a rereading of his political writings as a function of the transformation of his persona within the revolutionary movement in order to gain insights into his subsequent policies as the leader of the Soviet Union. The unifying theme that I use to link all three approaches is the concept of Stalin as "a man of the borderlands."

In this sense, Stalin represents a new type of political leader that emerged from the wreck of empires and the discrediting of the traditional elites following the wars and revolutions of the early twentieth century. In the old regimes, the primary ethnic and regional identities of these future leaders were peripheral to the traditional power centers. Their political goals were to build or rebuild the state in order to legitimize their role as leaders of a new type. The nature of their origins also disposed them to suspect conventional forms of nationalism. In a period of

The Revolution from Above, 1928–1941 (New York, 1990), fits the profile of a psychobiography, defined by William McKinley Runyan as "the use of systematic or formal psychology in biography." See "Alternatives to Psychoanalytic Psycho-biography," in Runyan, ed., *Psychology and Historical Interpretation* (Oxford, 1988), 221. Tucker's model was Karen Horney's "neurotic character structure." Robert C. Tucker, "A Stalin Biography's Memoir," in Runyan, *Psychology*, 63–81. Philip Pomper, *Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin: The Intelligentsia in Power* (New York, 1990), is more eclectic. Critical of such approaches is Ronald Grigor Suny, "Beyond Psychohistory: The Young Stalin in Georgia," *Slavic Review* 50 (Spring 1991): 48–58, a sketch for a forthcoming full-scale biography. Suny seeks to place Stalin in the socio-cultural matrix of Georgia, which he interprets as an "honor and shame" society, while maintaining that Stalin later "abandoned his public identification with Georgia in favor of Russia." A third approach, which identifies Stalin as a bureaucratic despot, owes much of its inspiration to Trotsky's brilliant and venomous biography, *Stalin*. This view has been much elaborated and expanded in the work of Moshe Lewin, who includes Stalin's pathological character in his many-sided treatment of the dictator. See among others "Grappling with Stalinism," in Lewin, *The Making of the Soviet System: Essays in the Social History of Interwar Russia* (New York, 1985); and most recently, "Bureaucracy and the Stalinist State," and "Stalin in the Mirror of the Other," in Ian Kershaw and Moshe Lewin, *Stalinism and Nazism: Dictatorship in Comparison* (Cambridge, 1997), 53–74 and 107–34.

¹⁰ My approach to the problem of identity formation follows from Peter Weinreich's explanation of the absence of any grand theory in the field: value systems evolve and change both in relation to the individual biography and the major developments within the socio-historical context. Weinreich, "Variations in Ethnic Identity: Identity Structure Analysis," in Karmela Liebkind, ed., *New Identities in Europe: Immigrant Ancestry and the Ethnic Identity of Youth* (Aldershot, 1989), 45, 67. In each case, and Stalin is no exception, the historian is free to construct his or her own model by drawing selectively on theoretical insights provided by social anthropologists, sociologists, and psychologists. I have been guided by the need to bridge the gap between studies of personality and the individual favored by psychologists and philosophers and the studies of ethnic group identity conducted by cultural anthropologists and social psychologists. The sources I have relied on most heavily are Erik Erikson, *Identity, Youth and Crisis* (New York, 1968); D. Bannister and F. Fransella, *Inquiring Man: The Theory of Personal Constructs* (London, 1971); A. Jacobson-Widding, ed., *Identity: Personal and Socio-Cultural* (Stockholm, 1983); G. Breakwell, ed., *Threatened Identities* (Chichester, 1983); Anthony P. Cohen, *Self Consciousness: An Alternative Anthropology of Identity* (London, 1994).

political and social uncertainty, they sought to reconstruct in radical ways both state and society in order to locate themselves at the symbolic and real centers of power. Their individual prescriptions varied according to local circumstances and historical precedents, ranging from Adolf Hitler's racial state, to Josef Pilsudski's revival of the Jagellonian federation, Gyula Gömbös's identification with Greater Hungary and repression of his own Swabian minority, and Corneliu Zelea Codreanu's supra-national Christian fascism.¹¹ Stalin's aims were just as complex and perhaps even more difficult to achieve. Surely he had a longer distance to travel from his borderland to the center of power.

In tracing the individual contours of Stalin's identity formation, this essay utilizes both a metaphor and an analytic category. The metaphor derives from the work of the Polish émigré sociologist Zygmunt Bauman, who uses it in a different context to suggest journeys across space and time that involve more than physical movement. The analytic category stems from the work of the American sociologist-anthropologist Erving Goffman, who developed the concept of "frame analysis" as a way of organizing experience that involved "two basic replicating processes." One is a systematic form of transforming reality into a copy, or interpretive scheme. The other fabricates this process, in part or in totality, for improper ends. In this essay, framing serves a dual function: it enables us to analyze Stalin in terms of what he makes of himself and what we can make of him.

The trajectory of Stalin's political career from youthful rebel to revolutionary, state-builder, and imperialist followed an irregular course that transported him from the periphery to the center of the Russian Empire. It was a rough and tumble journey across a "space without contours," where "the trails are blazed by the destination of the pilgrim and there are few other tracks to reckon with."¹² There were no forerunners to emulate and few guidelines to follow. Along the way, the

¹¹ For specialized studies that pay more than casual attention to the effect of the borderland factor on identity and policy formation, see Ian Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936: Hubris* (London, 1998); M. K. Dziewanowski, *Joseph Pilsudski: A European Federalist, 1918–1922* (Stanford, Calif., 1969); Thomas Spira, *German-Hungarian Relations and the Swabian Problem: From Károlyi to Gömbös, 1919–1936* (Boulder, Colo., 1977); and Eugen Weber, "Romania," in Hans Rogger and Eugen Weber, *The European Right: A Historical Profile* (Berkeley, Calif., 1966), esp. 516–72. A preliminary effort to compare Stalin and Hitler on this basis is Alfred J. Rieber, "The Marginality of Totalitarianism," in Lord Dahrendorf, et al., *The Paradoxes of Unintended Consequences* (Budapest, 2000), 265–84. The original man of the borderlands was Napoleon Bonaparte, but he had no imitators in the relatively stable conditions of nineteenth-century Europe. After World War II, Tito's ambition to revive Yugoslavism in the form of a great South Slav federation imitated Stalin. For insights into Tito's "foreignness" in his own country, see especially Milovan Djilas, *Tito: The Story from Inside* (London, 1981), 61–62. In Asia, the phenomenon also appears in postcolonial revolutionary struggles of the nationalist and communist varieties. Jawaharlal Nehru's insistence on retaining predominantly Muslim Kashmir is not unrelated to his ancestral ties and psychological identification with the province. References are scattered throughout Nehru, *An Autobiography* (Oxford, 1980). See also Sarvepalli Gopal, *Jawaharlal Nehru: A Biography* (Cambridge, 1980), esp. vol. 3. More tenuous but worth exploring further is Mao Zedong's attachment to Hunan Province, with its strongly defined regional traditions, including social banditry. For suggestive insights, see Stuart Schram, *Mao Tse-tung* (New York, 1966), 17–25, 283; and Jonathan Spence, *Mao Zedong* (New York, 1999).

¹² Zygmunt Bauman, "From Pilgrim to Tourist—or A Short History of Identity," in Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay, eds., *Questions of Cultural Identity* (London, 1996), 21. Behind Bauman's key metaphor lies a large literature first defined by the French novelist Michel Butor as "iterology," the science of journeys, in "Le voyage et l'écriture," *Romantisme* 4 (1972). For a recent summary, see Nigel Rapport and Andrew Dawson, eds., *Migrants of Identity: Perceptions of Home in a World of Movement* (Oxford, 1998), esp. Rapport, "Home and Movement: A Polemic," 19–38.

young Iosif (Soso) Djugashvili traversed immense distances in the process of identity formation. It has been argued that "the 'people' themselves play the part of theoreticians in this field."¹³ But it should be added, not always in the end the way they want. Stalin's case was not exceptional. Despite his greatest efforts, carried to the monstrous extreme of physically eliminating those who could contest the veracity of his acquired identities, he was unable to complete the metamorphosis, to shed entirely the mental habits, cultural outlook, and even the literary evidence of his formative years. His attempt to cross the wide frontier between two competing ethnic identities—the Georgian and the Russian—left him suspended, politically triumphant but personally isolated.

Few travelers across the terrain of ethnic transformation have escaped the confusions of cultural ambivalence. As a general rule, ethnic identities are complex and shifting phenomena, which may be experienced differently by different members of what is assumed to be an ethnic group and may be shaped by socioeconomic structures. So, too, are they perceived differently by those observing the process from different vantage points.¹⁴ But Stalin's self-presentation also involved his reconciling and integrating the conflictual components of the geography, community, and class that shaped his existence from the day of his birth.

In Stalin's case, it is possible to utilize frame analysis to illuminate how he constructed a social identity that would achieve particular political ends, and as a mode of analysis to uncover the sources of his multiple identities. In other words, for the purposes of scholarship, framing can serve as a critical mode of analyzing "the master builder" at work.¹⁵ Applied to the material in *Molodaia Gvardiia*, it explains how Stalin's life experiences may be organized in three interpretive frames: the cultural (traditional Georgian), the social (proletarian), and the political (hegemonic Russian). It is important for my argument to stress that these frames are social constructs and do not signify essentialist values or attitudes. As in most cases of multiple identities, each one contains its own set of ambiguities; all compete and at times conflict with one another.

There is no denying that the inner part of each frame, what Goffman calls "untransformed reality," was constructed out of documentary evidence, however selective. But the outer rim was fashioned by an elaborate "layering of fabrications"

¹³ Edwin Ardener, *The Voice of Prophecy and Other Essays* (Oxford, 1989), 67.

¹⁴ See, for example, Oonagh O'Brien, "Good to Be French? Conflicts of Identity in North Catalonia," in Sharon Macdonald, ed., *Inside European Identities: Ethnography in Western Europe* (Providence, R.I., 1993), 113–14, and other essays in this collection.

¹⁵ The analysis here draws mainly on Erving Goffman's work but also on George Kelly's theory of personal constructs as interpreted by several of his disciples, for example, Bannister and Fransella, *Inquiring Man*, 31–43. Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (New York, 1959), explores the role of actors whose use of rules, norms, and roles is largely manipulative and instrumental, masking their real motives, which are the pursuit of perceived private advantage. In *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience* (1974; rpt. edn., Boston, 1986), Goffman refines the analysis by introducing the concept of keying or transforming materials drawn from actual experiences in accord with a schema of interpretation; the result is a layering between the inner part of the frame, which is "something that does or could have status as untransformed reality," and the outer rim, which produces a copy, or in Stalin's case a fabrication, a "front for improper action." Neither he nor anyone else has yet succeeded in solving the theoretical problem posed initially by David Hume and Thomas Hobbes on locating the "man behind the mask." For this and other insights into the limits of such analysis, see M. Hollis, "Of Masks and Men," in Michael Carrithers, Stephen Collins, and Steven Lukes, eds., *The Category of the Person: Anthropology, Philosophy, History* (Cambridge, 1985), 217–33.

composed of arbitrary slices of real and fictive actions. They constituted a set of puzzles for those who had to re-transform the stream of activity into official biographies.¹⁶ Once in power, Stalin consciously manipulated the same technique of "heavy layering" by constructing ideological pronouncements in such a way as to suggest the possibility of multiple interpretations. The "correct" one was never clear, and it could change over time. For example, Stalin could arrange ritualistic intra-party *diskussia* on any issue, including his own writing. This enabled him to give the appearance of open debate, while reserving for himself the right to intervene at a critical moment as the master interpreter and thus reaffirm his supreme authority.¹⁷

THE MATERIAL IN *Molodaia Gvardiia* SUPPLIES ABUNDANT REFERENCES to Stalin's embeddedness in Georgian traditional culture. Lengthy excerpts from contemporary ethnographic material describe in great detail the types of Georgian rattles, baubles, and toys that amused infants at the time of Soso Djugashvili's birth. His mother was reputed to possess a musical voice and to be a "great master at reciting folk tales and legends of the oral tradition." Examples are given of the nursery rhymes of Akakii Tsereteli and the poetry of Rapiela Eristavi, classical Georgian poets, which presumably filled young Soso's ears. Later, he was allegedly renowned for his own recitations of *shairi*, the sixteen-syllable poetic form used after the time of the great Georgian poet Shota Rustaveli for presenting epics of old Georgian literature.¹⁸

Only recently has the significance of the oral tradition been appreciated by historians as a source of creating myths to live by in societies which are still in the transition to a written culture, such as Georgia in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.¹⁹ In legendary accounts, according to Albert Bates Lord, "the birth of a

¹⁶ Nowhere is this more evident than in the problems faced by the staff of the Sector of the Works of I. V. Stalin. Two examples suffice. First, in May 1936, the Institute of Marx-Engels-Lenin received a bulky package of documents by Lenin and Stalin from Stalin's secretariat commemorating the fifteenth anniversary of the creation of the Azerbaijani Soviet Socialist Republic. The director, V. V. Adoratskii, replied that "it was impossible to publish the documents in their present form." After two months of verifying and collating, Adoratskii returned the documents with a large number of questions and notes indicating that the originals of some were not in the institute. He vigorously opposed publication in the organ of the institute, *Krasnyi Arkhiv*, insisting that they appear in *Pravda* or *Bol'shevik*, having been first approved by the Central Committee. The collection organized into four volumes was never published. RGASPI, f.558, op.11, d.1198, ll.2-3; d.1199-1202, the four volumes containing respectively 149, 108, 112, and 110 pages. Second, in June 1956, the head of the KGB reported to Nikita Khrushchev the results of an investigation into the allegations in *Life* magazine that Stalin had been an agent of the tsarist secret police. He was able to discredit the documents published in *Life*, but stated that, according to employees of the Krasnoarsk Archive Department, "over the past fifteen years workers [*rabotniki*] from Moscow had frequently visited and collected numbers of documents concerning Stalin the contents of which they were unaware." Moreover, testimony from a local woman established that Stalin had fathered two illegitimate children, one of whom died, while the other became a major in the Soviet army and lived, unacknowledged by Stalin, until 1967. RGASPI, f.558, op.11, d.1288, ll.14-16.

¹⁷ See Alexei Kojevnikov, "Rituals of Stalinist Culture at Work: Science and Intraparty Democracy circa 1948," *Russian Review* 57 (January 1998): 25-52, for suggestive insights into this process.

¹⁸ Kaminskii and Vereshchagin, "Detstvo," 26-34.

¹⁹ E. B. Virsiladze, "Nartskii epos i okhotnich'i skazaniia v Gruzii," in *Skazaniia o nartakh—epos narodov Kavkaza* (Moscow, 1969), 245-54; M. Ia. Chikovani, "Nartski siuzhety v Gruzii," in *Skazaniia*, 226-44. For an analysis of the slow rate of transformation to modernity in the material culture of

god or hero was important because it explained his special powers and characteristics. Narratives of his childhood deeds gave early evidence of his extraordinary personality and strength, proving his divine, or at least 'different' origin." Was not Stalin in 1939 not only rehearsing his own debt to this tradition but in fact also creating a new legend in the same spirit? Lord continues: "In some cultures in many parts of the world the biographical scheme in oral-traditional literature plays a very large role, second only to creation myths and sometimes intertwined with them. The miraculously born and magically equipped god or hero creates order from chaos, thus establishing the cosmos and he also overcomes monsters that would destroy the universe and return humanity to chaos and death."²⁰

According to the documents in *Molodaia Gvardiia*, the young Djughashvili did not discard the Georgian culture of his childhood when he began to learn Russian and to attend school, where he led the choir in performances of Russian folk songs and the works of D. S. Bortnianskii, P. I. Turchaninov, and Tchaikovsky, or even after he entered the Tbilisi Seminary, the Caucasian cradle of revolutionaries.²¹ As they portray him acquiring the rudiments of a Russian identity, they emphasize nonetheless his deep immersion in the great works of Georgian national literature.

During his school years, according to the selected reminiscences of his contemporaries, Soso Djughashvili devoured the writings of the Georgian critical realists, Ilia Chavchavadze and Akakii Tsereteli. Their form of social protest was influenced by the Russian radicals of the 1860s, but they also vigorously promoted Georgian language and culture in the face of the Russian government's efforts to denigrate it.²² He is also credited with reading Georgian neo-Romantics such as Aleksandr Qazbegi (Kazbek), whose idealized tale of resistance to the Russian conquest, *The Patricide*, made such an impression that Soso much later adopted the name of the avenging bandit hero, Koba, as a revolutionary pseudonym.²³

The tradition of social bandits in Georgia was a recent invention of the mid-nineteenth century. In Qazbegi's stories, it took the form of the independent mountaineer fighting to defend his craggy land.²⁴ But there were many other examples. Chavchavadze's famous poem "The Bandit Kako," in which the hero took blood revenge for his father's death by killing the guilty landowner, was, according to one of the sources in *Molodaia Gvardiia*, the most beloved poem of the schoolboys in Stalin's hometown. Another tale related by a different source in the same collection places young Soso at the scene of the execution of two well-known

Georgian villages, see N. G. Volkov and G. N. Dzhavakhishvili, *Bytovaia kul'tura Gruzii XIX-XX vekov: Traditsii i inovatsii* (Tbilisi, 1982), 174-222.

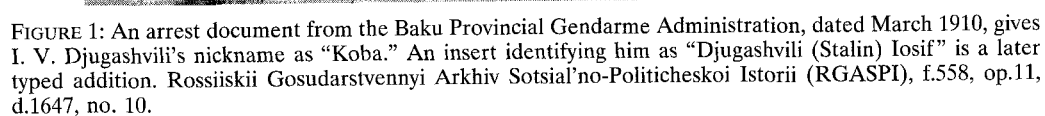
²⁰ Albert Bates Lord, *Epic Singers and Oral Tradition* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1991), 36.

²¹ Kaminskii and Vereshchagin, "Detstvo," 31, 36.

²² For a lucid survey of Georgian literary and cultural trends of this period, see Ronald Grigor Suny, *The Making of the Georgian Nation*, 2d edn. (Bloomington, Ind., 1994), 124-36.

²³ Iremashevili, *Stalin*, 18; Kaminskii and Vereshchagin, "Detstvo," 53. The best discussion of the psychological significance of Koba for Stalin is now Pomper, *Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin*, 158-63. See also Tucker, *Stalin as Revolutionary*, 79-82.

²⁴ A. Khakhanov, "Iz istorii sovremennoi gruzinskoi literatury: A. Kazbek," *Russkaia Mysl'* 12 (1893): 19-32. The author was a leading Georgian journalist and publicist. The legends of resistance bear all the hallmarks of social banditry enumerated in E. J. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (1959; rpt. edn., New York, 1965), chap. 2.



social bandits, peasants who had escaped from the exploitation of their landlord into the forests and mountains, robbing only landowners and helping the poor.²⁵ The tales of social bandits built on the medieval epic tradition in Georgian literature exemplified by the poetry of Shota Rustaveli. Emblematic of this tradition was a code of courage, loyalty, and patriotism.²⁶ Illustrative examples in the form of twelve aphorisms from Rustaveli's work were reprinted by the editors of *Molodaia Gvardiia*. One can only assume that these were among Stalin's favorites. The dominant trope of dichotomies, favored by Stalin, is of friends and enemies, trust and disloyalty, which can be interpreted in two ways: as proofs applied to one's own conduct or to that of others. Consider, for example, what a temperamentally suspicious man might make of the salutary warning: "the kinsman of a foe is dangerous and proves to be an enemy."²⁷

In the nineteenth century, Georgians prided themselves on their warrior culture and enjoyed a reputation among Russians as excellent horsemen and brave soldiers.²⁸ In Georgia, Ossetia, and throughout the North Caucasus, the custom of blood revenge, a particular characteristic of warrior societies, survived well into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries despite the best efforts of the Russian and later Soviet authorities to suppress it.²⁹ Fieldwork among the peoples of the North Caucasus, Montenegro, and other traditional societies suggests commonalities with respect to a variety of types of blood revenge. In certain areas, for example, vengeance was symbolic, replacing the blood that had been lost rather than punishing the specific killer. It was also considered a psychological means of compensating for a strongly felt personal loss. Warrior "brothers" were "prone to retaliate homicidally when any one of their group was killed."³⁰ It will become clear how this tradition provided Stalin with the psychological response he needed when S. M. Kirov, one of his "warrior brothers," was assassinated.

There were in the Georgian culture two alternatives open to an individual who

²⁵ Kaminskii and Vereshchagin, "Detstvo," 48–49, 53. Gorkii's original report was published in the newspaper *Nizhegorodskii Listok* 327 (November 26, 1896). Following the Revolution of 1905, the Bolsheviks engaged in a form of social banditry through expropriations or robberies to fill the party's coffers. Stalin's role in these activities remains obscure, and he carefully avoided assuming responsibility for them. But as one of the local leaders of the Baku organization, his involvement although indirect and supervisory cannot be denied. Trotsky, *Stalin*, 99–101, reviews the evidence most thoroughly.

²⁶ Rustaveli's most famous work, "Vepkhistqaosani," has been translated into many European languages under various titles, for example, Marjory Scott Wardrop, *The Man in the Panther's Skin* (London, 1912). The British scholar of Georgia, David Marshall Lang, *The Georgians* (New York, 1966), 172–76, uses the term "knight" in his excellent summary of the work, and this has become standard even for translations published in Georgia, for example, by Venera Urushadze (Tbilisi, 1983).

²⁷ Kaminskii and Vereshchagin, "Detstvo," 54.

²⁸ S. V. Maksimov, *Krai kreshchanago sveta* (St. Petersburg, 1866), 47–49; Lang, *Georgians*, 28.

²⁹ Volkov and Dzhavakhishvili, *Bytovaia kultura*, 215; *Sovetskoe pravo, traditsii, obychai i ikh rol' v formirovanii novogo cheloveka* (Nal'chik, 1972), especially the articles by P. T. Nekipelov, "Prestyle-niia, sostavliaiushchie perezhitki mestnykh obuchaev," and K. Ia. Dzhabrailov, "Krovnaia mest': Nekotorye voprosy genezisa i ugodovno-pravovoi bor'by s neiu na sovremennom etape"; F. D. Edieva, "Sotsial'nyi dualizm obychaia krovnoi mesti karachaevtsev v XIX v.," *Iz istoriia gorskikh i kochevnykh narodnov Severnogo Kavkaza*, part 1 (Stavropol, 1975); I. L. Babich, *Pravovaia kul'tura Adygov (Istoriia i sovremennost')* (Moscow, 2000), esp. chap. 2; I. L. Babich, *Mekhanizm formirovaniia pravovogo pluralizma na Severnom Kavkaze* (Moscow, 2000), 9, 11, 15.

³⁰ Christopher Boehm, *Blood Revenge: The Enactment and Management of Conflict in Montenegro and Other Tribal Societies* (Lawrence, Kans., 1984), 60–62. See also Mary E. Durham, *Some Tribal Origins, Laws and Customs of the Balkans* (London, 1928), 160–65.

found himself outside the protective cover offered by traditional society. Exploited, mistreated, or betrayed, the social bandit can become a rebellious loner who like Koba at the end of Qazbegi's novel wreaks revenge on his enemies but then fades into the forests.³¹ In a different social situation, the individual can undergo a dual socialization inside and outside the village community. As in other traditional societies undergoing modernization, the tension between the two increases as the outside world changes more rapidly. The strong sense of localness, of belonging to the village, can create defensiveness, even helplessness, outside it, a tension that has been described by anthropologists as greater in Georgia than among other peasant societies. Beyond the protection of the village, the child must learn how to survive in the no man's land where there is neither kin nor friend. What he seeks then is a substitute for the actual family (which in Soso's case was dysfunctional in any case) through spiritual kinship, a kind of brotherhood of warrior companions.³²

When Soso was forced to leave his local enclave, his first attempt to create a family of his own ended in tragedy. His first wife, Ekaterina (Kato) Svanidze, a Georgian girl from a traditional religious background, died in 1908 shortly after the birth of their child, Iakov (Iasha). As a substitute, he painfully assembled a band of brothers from among his closest collaborators in a foreign land (Baku) bringing them with him as he rose to power: men such as Kirov, K. E. Voroshilov, Sergo Ordzhonikidze, Anastas Mikoian, and Avel Enukidze. But Stalin did not give up on the idea of reconstituting a natural kinship system. His second attempt at the age of forty, when he married seventeen-year-old Nadezhda Allilueva in 1919, can be interpreted as a psychological imperative to mediate the contradictions of his multiple identities: proletarian, Georgian, Russian. She was the daughter of a veteran Marxist railroad worker who, though Russian, found work and a second home in the Caucasus. Later, during Stalin's years of exile, the Alliluev family was a source of constant support and refuge. Nadezhda's mother, who was part Georgian and spoke Russian with a strong accent, ran a Caucasian household. In 1917, Stalin lived from time to time in their apartment and appeared to regain some of the high spirits of his youth.³³ For him, they had already become a family before he married young Nadezhda.

In his early years of power, Stalin surrounded himself with an enlarged family, combining his natural kinship, the relatives of both wives, and his spiritual kinship, the band of brothers. Throughout the 1920s and early 1930s at Zubalovo, the estate of a former Caucasian industrialist, Stalin acted out the role of the traditional Georgian pater familia and host with both groups. He found his relatives and "brothers" places in the Soviet bureaucracy; at parties and banquets for the family

³¹ Pomper, *Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin*, 160–61, provides a perceptive analysis of the implications for Stalin's personal development.

³² Tamara Dragadze, *Rural Families in Soviet Georgia: A Case Study in Ratcha Province* (London, 1988), 120, 133, 199. Dragadze also links this tradition to Rustaveli's epic poetry, 158–59.

³³ S. Ia. Alliluev, "Moi vospominaniia," *Krasnaia letopis'* 5 (1923); Alliluev, "Vstrechi s tovarishchem Stalinom," *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia* 8 (1937); Alliluev, *Proidennyi put'* (Moscow, 1946); the memoirs of Sergei Alliluev's daughter and Nadezhda's sister, Anna Sergeevna Allilueva, were published in two editions, both in the same year, 1946, as *Iz vospominanii*, published by *Pravda* and *Vospominaniia*, published by *Sovetskii pisatel'*. Stalin was angered by revelations of his personal life and ordered both editions withdrawn from circulation shortly after they appeared. Svetlana Allilueva, *Dvadtsat' pisem k drugu* (New York, 1967), 56–57.



FIGURE 2: From the Alliluev family album. Stalin's mother-in-law, Ol'ga Evgen'eva Allilueva (1905), and his father-in-law, Sergei Iakovlevich Alliluev (1914), who first met Stalin in Tbilisi in 1904. RGASPI, f.558, op.11, d.1651, nos. 16 and 15.

and intimate friends, he was genial and entertaining, vastly enjoying the games of his own children and their friends, at least until disaster struck with the death of Nadezhda.³⁴

Stalin's emotional attachment to his Georgian past surfaced again in his selection of names for his children. His first born, Iakov (Jacob), was named for the son of the biblical Joseph, it would appear, as a concession to his religious first wife. But the name of his daughter, Svetlana, recalled the mother of the heroic Ossetian folk epos, Soslan, who was called "svetozarnaia Satana" (Bright Satana). Significantly, Stalin persistently referred to Svetlana as Satanka in letters to his wife.³⁵ To be sure, he despised the concepts of "feudal honor," the practice of gift giving, and other survivals of an outmoded class structure.³⁶ But Stalin was always selective in identifying with things Georgian.

What must have been for him a personal idyll was smashed by two tragic events, the suicide of his second wife Nadezhda and the murder of Kirov. He mourned the

³⁴ Stalin also converted the surrounding grounds into a Georgian garden. Allilueva, *Dvadsat' pisem*, 28–33; "Dnevnik Marii Anisimovny Svanidze," in Iu. G. Murin, ed., *Iosif Stalin v ob"iatiakh sem'i: Iz lichnogo arkhiva* (Moscow, 1993), 155–59.

³⁵ Mikhail Vaiskopf, *Pisatel' Stalin* (Moscow, 2001), 196; Murin, *Iosif Stalin v ob"iatiakh sem'i*, 31, 35, 37. After Nadezhda's death, Stalin preferred to call her Setanka in order to avoid the obvious bad connotation of Satanka in Russian. For Stalin's identification with Soslan, see below, n. 110.

³⁶ Stalin's later disavowal *en famille* of his Georgian roots expressed his ambivalent feelings about himself as a man of the borderlands once he had become the leader of the state. Compare Tucker, *Stalin as Revolutionary*, 432–33, who interprets the evidence as proof of his complete russification.



FIGURE 3: From the family album of the Alliluevs. Stalin in 1915 during his Siberian exile and his future wife, Nadezhda Allilueva, taken in 1912, about a year after he met her. RGASPI, f.558, op.11, d.1651, nos. 18 and 22.

loss of Nadezhda but also blamed her in bursts of self-pity: "The children will forget her in a few days, but me she has crippled for life."³⁷ The death of his wife deprived him of a real and symbolic center to his kinship group. He virtually abandoned Zubalovo and became a wanderer again, shifting his residence from place to place.³⁸ Within two years, Kirov was dead. According to the eyewitness account of Stalin's sister-in-law, Maria Svanidze, who saw Stalin almost daily, the assassination devastated him: "I am orphaned completely," he lamented.³⁹ After the assassination, his daughter Svetlana reflected, "He ceased to believe in people; perhaps he never much believed in them."⁴⁰ The kinship structure was coming apart, and Stalin in his perverse way was helping to destroy it. Stalin perceived himself as the victim; the question was, who was the enemy?

Stalin's impulsive initial reaction to Kirov's death took a peculiar form of vengeance in the code of blood revenge. He retaliated against whoever was close at

³⁷ "Dnevnik . . . Svanidze," 177. Characteristically, Stalin's reaction was to rage at the world exactly as he had done when his first wife died. Iremaschwili, *Stalin*, 40–41. His ritualistic mourning of Nadezhda was filled with emotional ambivalence. Allilueva, *Dvadtsat' pisem*, 99–109.

³⁸ Allilueva, *Dvadtsat' pisem*, 23, 45.

³⁹ "Dnevnik . . . Svanidze," 168. Shortly after Kirov's death, at Stalin's birthday party Stalin joined with his Caucasian band of brothers in singing "mournful, multi-voiced Georgian songs in his high tenor"; 169–70. Folk music may serve as "a kind of totemic emblem" that reinforces ethnic self-identity but also transcends the self by expressing deep commitment to a wider association. J. Blacking, "Concepts of Identity and Folk Concepts of Self," in Jacobson-Widding, *Identity*, 52.

⁴⁰ Allilueva, *Dvadtsat' pisem*, 74.

hand, in this case, a group of "white guardists," officers and officials of the old regime who had been imprisoned for years in Leningrad, hence "innocent" in any modern juridical sense. Yet they represented the most extreme expression of counter-revolution and as such served as symbolic objects for Stalin in avenging the death of Leningrad's foremost representative of Soviet power. Only after this spontaneous, emotional outburst did he begin to exploit Kirov's death more systematically by widening the circle of enemies to encompass the "Leningrad terrorist center" of Zinovievites.⁴¹

Stalin's campaign against the Old Bolshevik oppositionists cleared the way for L. P. Beria, who had already prepared his deep infiltration into the band of brothers, to play the Georgian card. Since the 1920s, Beria had worked tirelessly to ingratiate himself with Stalin. By the early 1930s, he had clawed his way up the ladder of power in Georgia, becoming chairman of the Georgian State Political Directorate (GPU) and then first secretary of the Georgian party. He had gained the confidence of Stalin and Grigory Ordzhonikidze through intrigue and denunciation in the complex world of Georgian Bolshevism. But he had higher ambitions.⁴² Since early 1933, he had been reworking the history of the Bolshevik organization in Transcaucasia in order to magnify Stalin's role in the revolutionary struggle in the Caucasus. He had established a Stalin Institute in Tbilisi to collect and where necessary to repress all the relevant materials and to organize the writing of a book, *On the History of the Bolshevik Organization in the Transcaucasus*, for which he took full credit.⁴³ Highly tendentious, it transformed Stalin from a modest,

⁴¹ Iu. N. Zhukov, "Sledstvie i sudebnye protsessy po delu ob ubiistve Kirova," *Voprosy istorii* 1, no. 1 (2000): 46–59, based on classified archival material from the Ezhov fond. Zhukov also exonerates Stalin from participation in the murder. In this, he agrees with another Russian scholar who had access to files not open to Westerners: Alla Alekseevna Kirilina, *L'assassinat de Kirov: Destin d'un stalinien, 1888–1934*, adapted from the Russian by Pierre Forgues and Nicolas Werth (Paris, 1995), an expanded and rewritten version of the original Russian, *Rikoshet, ili Skol'ko chelovek bylo ubito vystrelom v Smol'nom* (St. Petersburg, 1993). Western scholars remain divided over the question of Stalin's responsibility. Robert Conquest, *Stalin and the Kirov Murders* (New York, 1989), reviews the "four stories" that were invented with Stalin's connivance to implicate ever larger numbers of oppositionists and others he wished to destroy. Conquest also attempts to prove Stalin's guilt in organizing the killing of Kirov. J. Arch Getty, "The Politics of Repression Revisited," in Getty and Roberta T. Manning, eds., *Stalinist Terror: New Perspectives* (Cambridge, 1993), casts doubt on some of Conquest's sources. Amy Knight, *Who Killed Kirov? The Kremlin's Greatest Mystery* (New York, 1999), using fresh archival material from the Kirov and Ordzhonikidze files, favors a verdict of Stalin's complicity, but her case also rests on circumstantial evidence. It is still difficult to get around Ulam's objection: "it is unlikely that Stalin would have wanted to establish the precedent of a successful assassination attempt against a high Soviet official." Ulam, *Stalin*, 385.

⁴² Beria was adept at using "rumor mongering," which appealed to Stalin, as a means of discrediting his superiors in Georgia and then replacing them. Amy Knight, *Beria: Stalin's First Lieutenant* (Princeton, N.J., 1993). Beria appears to have used this technique against his one-time mentor and another of Stalin's Georgian entourage, Sergo Ordzhonikidze. Knight, *Beria*, 74. Stalin's heirs, including Anastas Mikoian and Klim Voroshilov, blamed Beria for having poisoned Stalin's mind against Sergo. *Izvestiia TsK KPSS*, no. 2 (1991): 150, 175, 183. The Russian historian Oleg V. Khlevniuk, *In Stalin's Shadow: The Career of "Sergo" Ordzhonikidze* (Armonk, N.Y., 1995), 107, considered these accusations politically motivated, but his evidence requires that we accept at face value Beria's protestations of good will toward Ordzhonikidze. It is not necessary in such matters to assign sole blame to either Beria or Stalin. They seemed to have fed on one another's differently motivated but equally murderous impulses.

⁴³ Lavrenti P. Beria, *K istorii bol'shevistskikh organizatsii na Zakavkazii* (Moscow, 1934). The work had originally been serialized in *Pravda* in eight installments. In 1939, the 4th edition appeared.

even peripheral figure into the dominant Bolshevik revolutionary leader of the region.⁴⁴

In order to rewrite history and demonstrate his loyalty to Stalin, Beria had to discredit the memoirs of A. S. Enukidze, among others.⁴⁵ An old friend of Stalin and veteran Bolshevik, Enukidze was secretary of the Central Executive Committee and thus responsible for security in the Kremlin. He was also the godfather to Stalin's wife Nadezhda, a relationship that was taken very seriously in Georgian culture. In light of Beria's "revelations," Stalin set one of his trusted assistants, Lev Mekhlis, at work to expose Enukidze's errors.⁴⁶ Shortly after Kirov's assassination, Enukidze was obliged to respond to the attacks on his work in a half-page of self-criticism in *Pravda*. Within a few months, Beria had launched a purge of the Transcaucasian party organizations and published his book. Simultaneously, Enukidze was publicly accused at the June 1935 Party Plenum of moral laxness and protecting "enemies" within the service personnel of the Kremlin. A series of speakers including Beria succeeded in gaining approval for Enukidze's expulsion from the Central Executive Committee and also the party. Stalin's proposal for a more moderate solution may have been no more than play acting. Enukidze was arrested and shot in 1937.⁴⁷

Enukidze was the first Old Bolshevik without an oppositionist past to be expelled from the party; perhaps even more important, he was the first of Stalin's inner circle to be condemned. It was the opening of Beria's campaign to replace Stalin's natural and spiritual kinship systems with one of his own. For two decades, Stalin had engaged in the brutal repression of his enemies in his struggle for power. He now began to test the loyalty of his warrior brothers. Some, like Ordzhonikidze, could not take the strain and committed suicide. For Stalin, this was more evidence of betrayal. At the same time, Beria began something new. Once he became head of

⁴⁴ Tucker, *Stalin in Power*, 334. For the most complete exposure of Beria's fabrications, see Knight, *Beria*, 57–64. In several waves of de-Stalinization since the Twentieth Party Congress, Soviet historians have endeavored to correct the record on the basis of the skimpy surviving evidence in the archives. In addition, a major effort was launched, mainly by historians in the Caucasian republics, to restore to their proper place in the revolutionary movement a number of figures whose importance in the region was at least equal if not superior to that of Stalin in the prerevolutionary period. G. S. Akopian, *Stepan Shaumian, Zhizn' i deiatel'nost' (1878–1918)* (Moscow, 1973), with a laudatory preface by Anastas Mikoian; Stepan Shaumian, *Izbrannye proizvedeniia v dvukh tomakh* (Moscow, 1978); C. S. Spendarian, *Stat'i, pis'ma, dokumenty* (Moscow, 1958); P. A. Dzhaparidze, *Izbrannye stat'i, rechi i pis'ma (1905–1918)* (Moscow, 1958); Z. G. Ordzhonikidze, *Puti bol'shevika: Strannitsy iz zhizni G. K. Ordzhonikidze* (Moscow, 1956); V. S. Kirilov and A. Ia. Sverdlov, *Grigorii Konstantinovich Ordzhonikidze: Biografiia* (Moscow, 1986); T. Akhmedov, *Nariman Narimanov* (Baku, 1988).

⁴⁵ A. S. Enukidze, *Nashi podpolnye tipografii na Kavkaze* (Moscow, 1925), appeared in a 3d edition under the title *Bol'shevistskie nelegal'nye tipografii* in 1934, poor timing on Enukidze's part. Beria's "revisionist" history claimed that it was Stalin, not Enukidze, who had founded the illegal printing press in Baku in 1901. This was clearly at odds with the memories not only of Enukidze but other participants such as Vako Sturua, "Podpol'naia tipografiia 'Iskra' v Baku," *Iz proshlogo: Stat'i i vospominaniia iz istorii Bakinskoi organizatsii i rabocheho dvizheniia v Baku* (Baku, 1923), 137–38, who did not even mention Stalin's participation. Clearly, Enukidze stood in the way of Stalin's new Georgian pedigree. For the most complete account of Beria's campaign, see Knight, *Beria*, 56–64.

⁴⁶ RGASPI, f.558, op.11, d.728, ll.67, 70–74, 78, 108–13. It is clear from marginal comments that Mekhlis's analysis had aroused Stalin's anger. Enukidze's attempt to defend himself in personal correspondence with Stalin did not save him. RGASPI, f.558, op.11, d.728, ll.114–24.

⁴⁷ Getty, "Politics of Repression," 51–52, based on the Russian archives, accepts the view that Stalin was exercising moderation. But it is hardly likely at this point that Stalin could not have imposed his will. For Stalin's diabolical charades, see Lewin, "Stalin in the Mirror of the Other," 123–24.

the NKVD, he systematically wiped out Stalin's Georgian relatives, whose hatred for Beria was universal.⁴⁸ But there was no attempt to touch the Alliluevs. Stalin allowed most of the Svanidzes to be arrested and destroyed and gradually abandoned his Georgian lifestyle. At the same time, he represented himself to the outer world, in the materials of *Molodaia Gvardiia*, as a true son of the Georgian people.⁴⁹ For Stalin, the Koba image of a solitary and vengeful hero triumphed over the natural and spiritual kinship system he had constructed to protect himself against the no man's land of the outer world that then engulfed him.

In defining his Georgian identity, the one element that remained absolutely constant was language. Until he was twenty-eight years of age, he wrote and published exclusively in Georgian. This includes not only his early political writings but also his youthful poetry. That the great leader, the *vozhd'*, was sufficiently proud of his sentimental and romantic adolescent effusions to have them mentioned prominently in the materials for his biography is surprising enough. What is truly astonishing is that there was no attempt to conceal the original conditions of publication. The dedication reads "to Prince R. D. Eristov." Famous in his day as a poet, dramatist, ethnographer, and Georgian patriot, Eristov had been an early critic of serfdom and was known as "the people's poet" for his celebration of the peasant way of life (*byt'*). But in his later years, he turned more and more to nationalist themes, particularly the Georgian resistance to the Muslims of Turkey and Persia.⁵⁰ At first glance, young Soso's choice of the newspaper *Iveriia* as the vehicle for his poetic debut appeared to be another anachronism. Edited by another prince, Ilia Chavchavadze, *Iveriia* was a "progressive" organ of the critical Georgian intelligentsia, but it was also highly nationalist and subsequently one of the main targets of the early social-democratic press in Georgia.⁵¹ Moreover, the poems were published at a time—from June to December 1895—when, according to reminiscences in *Molodaia Gvardiia*, Soso Djugashvili had first read Karl Marx's *Capital*. The sixth and last poem was published the following year, 1896, in *Kvali* (The Furrow) a legal, left-wing reformist newspaper identified in the first volume of

⁴⁸ The brother of Stalin's first wife, Alexander Svanidze, and his wife Maria were arrested in 1937 and shot in 1941 and 1942 respectively; Alexander's sister, Mariko, was arrested, sentenced to ten years, and then shot in 1942; Anna Sergeevna (Allilueva) Redens, the sister of Stalin's second wife, was arrested in 1948 and sentenced to ten years; her husband, Stanislav Redens, a former associate of Beria in the Caucasus, had already been arrested and shot in 1938. Pavel Alliluev, the brother of Stalin's second wife, was demoted in 1937 and died of apparently natural causes in 1938, but his wife was arrested and executed for having poisoned him. Murin, *Iosif Stalin v ob"iatiakh sem'i*, 193–94; Volkogonov, *Triumf i tragediia*, 1: 2, 581; Allilueva, *Dvadsat' pisem*, 54–55.

⁴⁹ On the timing of the publication of the *Molodaia Gvardiia* material, Oleg Kharkhordin provides a complementary line of analysis to my own. While I stress the ethnic factor, he unearths another dimension of Stalin's cultural roots. He argues that by the end of the 1930s the ritual of "self-revelation," rooted in the Orthodox tradition, was widely used by Stalin as a means of exercising social control. See Kharkhordin, *The Collective and the Individual in Russia: A Study in Practice* (Berkeley, Calif., 1999), esp. chap. 5 and 270–78. I would suggest taking his argument one step further. By revealing his own "self" in 1939, Stalin provided a model for individuation that became an essential part of the reigning dogma. At the same time, Stalin was also engaged at a less conscious level in practicing "dissimulation," a divergent tradition embedded in peasant culture that concealed discordant aspects of an ideal, in his case, Bolshevik, self.

⁵⁰ A. Khakhanov, "Iz istorii sovremennoi gruzinskoi literatury," *Russkaia mysl'* 4 (1898): 45–63.

⁵¹ In his memoirs, Noi (Noah) Zhordaniia refers contemptuously to *Iveriia* in 1897 as an organ concerned "only with cultural tasks, the rest—social, political and national questions—were of no interest"; *Moia zhizn'* (Stanford, Calif., 1968), 24.

Stalin's *Collected Works* as "an organ of a liberal-nationalist orientation."⁵² Yet the memoirists cited in *Molodaia Gvardiia* testified that at this very time Stalin had already formed the first illegal, Marxist circle at the Tbilisi Seminary and become "a propagandist of Marxism."⁵³ Given the discrepancy between the dreamy poet writing for Georgian nationalist organs and the Marxist novitiate organizing illegal reading circles, there have been some who have doubted that the verse was really Stalin's.⁵⁴ Whatever the truth of the matter, the important point is that Stalin claimed authorship and thereby a place, however modest, in the Georgian national literary tradition.

For Stalin, the defense of the right of nationalities to use their own languages was the glue with which he could join ethnicity and class, Georgian and proletarian, in a sturdy double frame. There can be no mystery about his lifelong consistency on this issue, notwithstanding the twists and turns taken by other aspects of his nationality policy. He never forgot, as he put it in 1904, that "language was the instrument of development and struggle."⁵⁵ Once in power, he continued to insist on the importance of recognizing local languages. For example, in 1925, he wrote to the Presidium of the Central Committee demanding "complete freedom" for the submission of documents and applications to it in any language of any national group of the Russian Republic without exception.⁵⁶ Despite the 1938 language decree on the compulsory teaching of Russian, the *Molodaia Gvardiia* materials stressed how the evils of linguistic russification under tsarism had sparked a political backlash among disaffected Georgian youth, Soso Djughashvili among them.⁵⁷ Stalin's awareness of the political implications of "linguicide" went beyond his concern as a ruler over its potential to generate resistance to any established authority, including the Soviet. His experience as a man of the borderlands had taught him that defending the right of a nationality to employ its own language was necessary to offset the centrifugal nationalist forces in Caucasian political life; later, its purpose was to defend the territorial integrity of the Soviet Union against right-wing nationalist deviations, which, combined with foreign intervention, could lead to the disintegration of the state. To be sure, Stalin reserved for himself the right to determine how many national languages existed in the Soviet Union, and he

⁵² Stalin, *Sochineniia*, 1: 398. Less than a decade after the appearance of his poems, Stalin performed one of his surgical operations on history by cutting out any mention of the aristocratic, left-wing liberal nationalists from his brief survey of the growth of Georgian nationalism, leaving only the feudal monarchist, the aristocratic-clerical nationalist, and the bourgeois nationalist. Stalin, *Sochineniia*, 1: 34–35. But by 1939, such old, fine distinctions were no longer necessary.

⁵³ Kaminskii and Vereshchagin, "Detstvo," 72–73; Beria, *K istorii*, 14.

⁵⁴ Smith, *Young Stalin*, 38–42. On the basis of the photocopies and the original handwritten texts of the poems preserved in the Stalin archive, it seems reasonably certain that they were in fact written by the young Soso. RGASPI, f.71, op.10, d.190.

⁵⁵ Stalin, *Sochineniia*, 1: 44. In this article, Stalin defends the nationality planks in the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party platform, including the right of nationalities "to organize their national affairs according to their wishes" up to and including "the right to separate [*otdelitsia*]." Written as a rebuttal to the Georgian federalist-social democrats who sought to justify the separation of workers into separate parties, it refuted the idea of "a national spirit." But it cannot be construed as constituting a departure from the central Bolshevik tenets at that time. Compare Erik van Ree, "Stalin and the National Question," *Revolutionary Russia* 7 (December 1994): 218–19.

⁵⁶ RGASPI, f.558, op.11, d.728, ll.16–17.

⁵⁷ Kaminskii and Vereshchagin, "Detstvo," 62–66, including an excerpt from a memoir published in 1907 on the systematic exclusion of Georgian students from the Tbilisi Seminary, until in 1905 there were only four left in a graduating class of forty.

counted differently at different times.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, even after he called a halt to political *korenizatsiia* (the Soviet version of affirmative action) in the mid to late 1930s, he retained important elements of its cultural dimensions.⁵⁹ Until the end of his life, he remained committed to the defense of national languages as he defined them, a reminder that there were limits to russification if not to centralization.⁶⁰ For Stalin, then, his Georgianness was emblematic of the multi-cultural state over which he ruled.

CRUCIAL TO STALIN'S REVOLUTIONARY CAREER was his presentation of self in the second frame as a symbolic proletarian. Here, too, he sought to transform the stigma of his class origins into a badge of honor. Born into a poor but not impoverished family of ex-serfs, his passport identified him as a peasant until 1917. His father, Vissarion, wandered between the traditional world of the peasant and the modern urban life of a proletarian, pausing from time to time at the way station of independent craftsman. The story presented by the material in *Molodaia Gvardiia* is that Vissarion opposed his son's further education and took him off to work in a leather factory in Tbilisi. Interviews with old factory veterans and ethnographic documentation give a vivid and horrifying picture of working conditions. There is no indication how long young Soso was exposed to this dangerous and unhealthy atmosphere before his mother, "after some time," rescued him and returned him to school. But other excerpts taken from contemporary sources paint just as grim a picture of life in the villages like those surrounding Stalin's

⁵⁸ In 1922, Stalin counted thirty nationalities in the formation of the USSR; three years later, he raised the number to fifty, and in 1936 he established a "final" figure of "sixty nations, national groups and peoples." Yet the census of 1926 identified a minimum of 185 linguistic groups. A. I. Vdovin, "Natsional'naia politika 30-kh godov (ob istoricheskikh korniakh krizisa mezhnatsionalnykh otnoshenii v SSSR)," *Vestnik moskovskogo universiteta*, series 8, *Istoriia* 4 (1992): 21. It is possible that Stalin was referring only to nationalities that had been granted a form of territorial autonomy. But the discrepancy is still hard to explain.

⁵⁹ Yuri Slezkine, "The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism," *Slavic Review* 53 (Summer 1994): 414–52; Robert J. Kaiser, *The Geography of Nationalism in Russia and the USSR* (Princeton, N.J., 1994), 124–35; Bernard V. Olivier, "Korenizatsiia," *Central Asian Survey* 9, no. 3 (1990): 77–98. The spread of Russian has been attributed more to sovietization than russification. Roman Szporluk, "History and Ethnocentrism," in Edward Allworth, ed., *Ethnic Russia in the USSR* (New York, 1980), 41–54. Recently, Terry Martin has demonstrated that it had become clear to Stalin by the end of the 1920s that his own policy of *korenizatsiia*, when pushed to extremes, intensified rather than decreased ethnic rivalries, and had to be checked. Martin, "Borders and Ethnic Conflict: The Soviet Experiment in Ethno-Territorial Proliferation," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 47 (1999), 4: 538–55.

⁶⁰ His 1950 treatise, "Concerning Marxism in Linguistics," stated unequivocally that, contrary to the reigning theory in Soviet linguistics of N. Ia. Marr, language was not a class phenomenon but belonged to whole societies. The interbreeding (*skreshchivanie*) of the national languages in the USSR (presumably into Russian) would be "a process taking hundreds of years." *I. V. Stalin, Works*, Robert H. McNeal, ed., 3 vols. (Stanford, Calif., 1967), XVI, 3: 142. It is significant that from the beginning of his campaign to discredit Marr's theories he recruited a leading member of the Georgian Academy of Sciences, who later recalled: "Stalin hated ambiguities: He was interested in problems of language actually in connection with the national question." Arn. Chikobava, "When and How It Happened," *Ezhegodnik Iberiisko-kavkazskogo iazykoznaniiia* 12 (Tbilisi, 1985): 41. To be sure, the linguistics controversy was part of a larger campaign of Stalin's to discredit "ultra-leftists" who had sought, like Marr, who was dead, and like T. D. Lysenko, who was very much alive, to monopolize a field of theory, a privilege Stalin reserved for himself. For the best general discussion, see Yuri Slezkine, "N. Ia. Marr and the National Origins of Soviet Ethnogenetics," *Slavic Review* 55 (Winter 1996): 26–62.

hometown.⁶¹ The impression is left that Stalin experienced class exploitation firsthand and not as so many other Marxist intellectuals only by reading books.

Identifying himself as a proletarian was not only a retrospective tactic. In his earliest polemics with the Georgian Menshevik leader Noi Zhordaniia, Stalin took great pains to defend V. I. Lenin's concept of the relationship between the party and the working class in terms that appeared to dispel the image of subordination of the latter to the former. His exegesis of Lenin drew the distinction between the ease with which the workers could "assimilate" (*usvaivat*) socialism and their inability to "work out" (*vyrabotat*) scientific socialism on their own. Similarly, he refuted Zhordaniia's claim that Lenin had denigrated the worker as someone who was "by virtue of his condition more of a bourgeois than a socialist." The point is, Stalin insisted, "I can be a proletarian and not a bourgeois by virtue of my condition and not be aware of my condition and therefore subject myself to bourgeois ideology." By adopting a hard line on matters of party organization and discipline, Stalin associated himself symbolically with the tendency of "proletarian steadfastness" (Bolshevik) as opposed to the tendency of "the intelligentsia to vacillate" (Menshevism).⁶²

Framing himself as a proletarian was for Stalin a complex process that involved a redefinition of the word itself. The descriptive elements he most frequently employed were "hard" or "firm" as opposed to "soft" or "wavering," the underground conspirator as opposed to the "liquidator," and the man of practice (*praktik*) as opposed to the man of theory (*teoretik*). His appearance, whether consciously or not, reinforced the impression. With the exception of those few months when his father had dragged him off to a Tbilisi leather factory, Stalin was never a manual worker. But he took on all the trappings of one: his dress, speech, mannerisms, and public demeanor all suggested a man of humble origins, at least before World War II. When he was reproached for his coarse and vicious language in his Caucasus days, "he would excuse himself by claiming to speak the language of a proletarian and that proletarians did not engage in delicate manners."⁶³ There are many witnesses to his spartan style of living, his indifference to amassing wealth even after he rose to a position of unchallenged power.⁶⁴

Throughout his early career, Stalin continued to associate himself symbolically, whenever possible, with workers, as if to erase the stigma of his peasant origins and passport identity. On March 25, 1907, in the village cemetery of Chagani, Kutais Province, he gave a funeral oration in which he identified himself with the life of a young worker and social-democratic activist, G. P. Teliia. He set the tone from the beginning: "Comrade Teliia did not belong to the category of 'scholars.'" He was

⁶¹ Kaminskii and Vereshchagin, "Detstvo," 44–45. In his subsequent and unpublished research, Kaminskii uncovered further details about the incident. RGASPI, f.71, op.10, d.273, l.4, citing pp. 75–79 of the manuscript.

⁶² Stalin, *Sochineniia*, 1: 109, 130. He repeated his attack and his characterization of the intelligentsia's vacillation in another polemic with Zhordaniia in August 1905. Stalin, *Sochineniia*, 1: 160–72.

⁶³ R. Arsenidze, "Iz vospominanii o Staline," *Novyi Zhurnal* 72 (June 1963): 220. See also A. S. Alliluev, *Iz vospominanii*, 60. On return from Siberian exile to Georgia, Stalin showed up in a military tunic, which became his preferred mode of dress until he assumed the rank of generalissimo during the Fatherland War. It was emblematic of his pose as a simple soldier of the revolution.

⁶⁴ "Dnevnik . . . Svanidze," 163, 178; Volkogonov, *Triumf i tragediia*, 1: 1.

self-educated, taught himself Russian, worked first as a servant, which did not suit him, then as a worker in a railroad lathe shop. He became a propagandist, threw himself into the Tbilisi demonstrations of 1901, gave all his time to socialist self-education, was relentlessly pursued by the police, went underground, moved from city to city, established an illegal press in Batum, was sent to prison, which became his second school. He begins to write and publish, but consumption, the curse of his imprisonment, carries him off. "Only in the ranks of the proletariat," Stalin intones, "do we meet such people as Teliia, only the proletariat gives birth to such heroes as Teliia, and that same proletariat will strive to revenge itself on the cursed order which claimed our comrade as a victim, *the worker G. Teliia*."⁶⁵

Stalin's identification with the proletariat did not mean that he accepted workers as his equal. For example, in 1901, Stalin opposed worker participation in the Tbilisi Committee. The Tbilisi workers, by origin Georgian or related groups such as Ossetians and Mingrelians, had close ties to their villages and the mountains and retained much of the independent and militant spirit of resistance to Russian rule. It was not surprising, then, that they did not take kindly to any signs of superiority among political agitators like Stalin. Nor were the workers averse to carrying out acts of individual terror against government spies and provocateurs, of whom, it was estimated, there were about 500 in Tbilisi alone. The attempts of some of the social-democratic propagandists to control these "excesses" were also a source of friction.⁶⁶

An incident involving Stalin reveals how his presentation of self as a proletarian was vulnerable to exposure as a deception. One member of the committee, subsequently a Bolshevik, without referring to Stalin by name, described a "young, uncouth [*nerazborchivyi*] intelligentsia comrade [*sic*], 'energetic' in all things, [who] invoking conspiratorial considerations, lack of preparedness, and lack of consciousness of the workers, came out against admitting workers to the committee." Shortly afterward, this "young comrade" left Tbilisi for Batum, where the local comrades reported back on "his unbecoming attitude, hostile and disruptive agitation against the Tbilisi organization and its activists." In Tbilisi, this was attributed to individual shortcomings and not to principled stands of a type who was given to "personal capriciousness and a tendency to despotic behavior."⁶⁷ But the reports came from hostile sources. In Batum, Stalin was careful to live and work in the midst of the working class as if to underline the difference between himself and the "drawing-room revolutionaries" such as the future Mensheviks Nikolai Chkheidze and Isidor Ramashvili, who lived far from the workers' district.⁶⁸

In 1907, Stalin was more successful at enforcing his claim to be a proletarian in Baku, where he found a new and receptive audience, the Russian worker. Twenty-three different nationalities were represented in the city, but the Russians,

⁶⁵ Stalin, *Sochineniia*, 2: 27–31, emphasis in original. Teliia and Djughashvili were the two Caucasian delegates to the Tammerfors Conference in December 1905, where they first met Lenin.

⁶⁶ S. T. Arkomed, *Rabochee dvizhenie i sotsial'no-demokratiia na Kavkaze*, 2d edn. (Moscow, 1926), 43–63, 74–76. There were no changes from the first edition, including a preface by Georgi Plekhanov published in 1910. All Stalin's non-Soviet biographers accept this as a description of him.

⁶⁷ Arkomed, *Rabochee*, 81–84. In 1904, Stalin also attempted to circumvent the local Batumi committee by directly approaching workers' groups but had no success and left the city. Arsenidze, "Iz vospominanii," 218–19.

⁶⁸ RGASPI, f.71, op.10, d.273, l.1.



FIGURE 4: Painting by N. Shtenberg, "The First Elected Tbilisi Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party Organized in 1901 on the Initiative of Comrade Stalin and under His Leadership." Shown at the Exhibition of Georgian Art, Tretiakov Gallery, Moscow, November 1937. An example of Stalin's fabrication of his biography. In fact, the Tbilisi Committee had been in existence since 1898, and Stalin was only elected to it in November 1901. *Izvestiia* 267 (November 17, 1937).

who constituted one-quarter of the proletariat, were the most literate, skilled, and ripe for organization.⁶⁹ Stalin found it easier to battle the moderate Russian Mensheviks for the allegiance of Russian workers in Baku than to compete with the more militant Georgian Mensheviks on his and their home ground. By shifting the locus of his activities to Baku, he could also identify himself with a real proletarian center, which he then compared favorably to the place that had rejected him: in Baku, "the sharp class position of the Bolsheviks finds a lively resonance among the workers," as opposed to the "stagnation" in Tbilisi, where the absence of sharp class conflict has turned the city into "something like a swamp awaiting an external impulse."⁷⁰

In his battle with the Mensheviks, Stalin was shrewd enough to realize that competing for the loyalties of the skilled Russian workers alone would not enable him to gain the advantage. Stalin soon turned to a source that offered no interest to the Mensheviks and for which they had only contempt—the unskilled, largely illiterate, and unorganized Muslim oil field laborers, who constituted nearly half the working-class population of the city. Many of them were seasonal Azeri immigrants, both legal and illegal, from the northern provinces of Iran.⁷¹ But in order to penetrate the unfamiliar world of the Muslim workers, he needed allies. He found them among a small group of young Azeri radicals who began at the end of 1904 to form conspiratorial circles and to spread nationalist and social-democratic propaganda among the youth and urban poor. They called themselves Himmat, or Gummet in Russian (variously translated as Endeavor, Energy, or Mutual Aid) from their hectographed newspaper of that name. The leading Bolsheviks in Baku, A. M. Stopani, Alesha Dzhaparidze, Stepan Shaumian, and Stalin, gave them advice and supported their efforts.⁷² In return, Himmet generally threw its weight on the side of the Bolshevik-dominated Union of Oil Workers against the Menshevik-dominated Union of Mechanical Workers. Once outside of Georgia, Stalin could outmaneuver the Mensheviks by forging a proletarian alliance between Russians and Muslims, and it was of little concern to him that the opening to the latter was through an organization, Himmet, that had weaker credentials as a social-democratic party than his hated rivals the Georgian Mensheviks.⁷³

Stalin's contempt for "the scholars" was equal to that of Lenin's, but only Stalin

⁶⁹ Ronald Grigor Suny, "A Journeyman for the Revolution: Stalin and the Labor Movement in Baku, June 1907–May 1908," *Soviet Studies* 3 (1971): 373–94.

⁷⁰ Stalin, *Sochineniia*, 2: 188–89. In Baku itself, Stalin claimed that the Bolshevik-inclined Oil Workers Union had 900 workers, while the Menshevik-inclined Mechanical Workers Union had only 300. *Sochineniia*, 2: 184–85. At Stockholm, he boasted that Baku was the only industrial center in the Caucasus that broke ranks with the Georgian Mensheviks to support a boycott of elections to the State Duma. *Chetvertyi (ob"edinitel'nyi) s"ezd RSDRP: April'–mai, 1906 goda; Protokoly* (Moscow, 1959), 311, 322.

⁷¹ Audrey Alstadt, "Muslim Workers and the Labor Movement in Pre-War Baku," in S. M. Akural, *Turkic Culture: Continuity and Change* (Bloomington, Ind., 1987), 83–91; and Cosroe Chaquëri, *The Soviet Socialist Republic of Iran, 1920–1921: Birth of the Trauma* (Pittsburgh, 1995), 24–25, who estimates that from 20 to 50 percent of males in northern Iran between the ages of twenty and forty ended up working for some period of time across the border, mainly in Transcaucasia.

⁷² Bala Efendiev, "Istoriia revoliutsionogo dvizheniia tiurkskogo proletariata," in *Iz proshlogo: Stat'i i vospominaniia iz istorii Bakinskoi organizatsii i rabochego dvizheniia v Baku* (Baku, 1923), 39–40; A. M. Stopani, "Iz proshlogo nashei partii, 1904–1908 g.," in *Iz proshlogo*, 16.

⁷³ Akhmedov, Nariman Narimanov, and Aidin Balaev, "Plennik idei ili politicheskii slepets," *Azerbaizhan* (June 20, 1991).

among the very top party leaders liked to boast of a proletarian pedigree. During the struggle for power, he repeatedly invoked his worker identity. At the height of his great duel with Trotsky, when he was scrambling to defend his doctrine of "socialism in one country," Stalin found himself outclassed at the theoretical level. But he could and did appeal to a party cadre no longer dominated by intellectuals by offering a different set of revolutionary credentials through his personal identification with the social foundations of the "workers and peasants' state" he proposed to construct in the Soviet Union.

In a speech delivered in Tbilisi at a welcoming ceremony during a visit to Georgia in June 1926, Stalin constructed a proletarian biography in three stages by weaving together proletarian and religious imagery.⁷⁴ As in Bauman's metaphor of the pilgrim, Stalin represented his journey from Georgia to Russia as a transformation that combined a quantitative leap in class consciousness with the ritual washing away at each stage of the original sin of ignorance. He declared that "my first teachers were the Tbilisi workers." They had given him his lessons in practical work: "Compared to them I was a greenhorn." He modestly admitted that he may have read a bit more than they, but, "as a practical worker, I was then without a doubt just an apprentice." "Here in this circle of comrades I then [1898] received my fighting, revolutionary baptism." In 1905–1907, he discovered from the workers of Baku what it was "to lead large masses of workers." It was here that he received "his second fighting revolutionary baptism. Here I became a journeyman of the revolution." This was followed by a period of "wanderings [*skitanii*] in prisons and exile." In Petrograd (Stalin wrote Leningrad), "in the circle of Russian workers—the liberators of subjugated peoples and the skirmishers of the proletarian struggle of all nations and peoples—I received my third fighting revolutionary baptism." Only then was Lenin readmitted to the script: "There in Russia under the guidance of Lenin I became a master of the revolution." In his rhetorical flights, Stalin forged a link between his self-image as a proletarian and the development of the state by invoking the image of Russia as "the metallic country." This theme, too, was taken up and embellished by his sycophants and the official folklore.⁷⁵

The extent to which Stalin's efforts to present himself as a symbolic proletarian affected the outcome of the struggle for power in the party may be glimpsed in N. I. Bukharin's fearful exchange with the Menshevik émigré Fedor Dan in Paris in 1933. When asked how he and other members of the party could have entrusted such a "devil" with their fate, its fate, and the fate of the country, Bukharin replied: "You do not understand, it was quite different; he was not trusted, but he was the man whom the party trusted; this is how it happened: he is like the symbol of the party, the lower strata [*nizy*], the workers, the people trust him; perhaps it is our

⁷⁴ Originally published in the Tbilisi newspaper *Zaria Vostoka*, the speech was republished in Kaminskii and Vereshchagin, "Detstvo"; and in Stalin, *Sochineniia*, 8: 173–75, which gives a good idea of its centrality in Stalin's presentation of self. The peculiar mix of images suggests the deep layering within the proletarian frame. It illustrates once again what Trotsky called Stalin's "Tbilisi homiletics" or "seminarist rhetoric." Trotsky, *Stalin*, 140, 259. But, at another level, it was as if Stalin were probing a subterranean emotional stratum linking himself to the Caucasian worker who had only half-forgotten his peasant origins. Beyond his invocation of a triple baptism and repeated verbal formulas, his unusual use of the word *skitanii* (wandering) evokes the secret underground and illegal monasteries of the Old Believers that sheltered religious wanderers.

⁷⁵ Vaiskopf, *Pisatel' Stalin*, 346–48.

fault, but that's the way it happened, that is why we all walked into his jaws . . . knowing probably that he would devour us."⁷⁶

THE THREE MOST PROMINENT ELEMENTS in composing Stalin's Russian frame gradually emerged in his adaptation of Russian as his preferred political language, his location of the primary base of world revolution in the Great Russian core territory, and his self-identification with Russian national heroes such as Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great. He acquired these dimensions of his identity in bitter struggles with his political opponents, first in the local party organizations of the Caucasus and then on the all-Russian level. Whatever his larger ambitions may have been to play on a national scene, his more modest efforts to achieve local successes were frustrated by opponents he came to resent with a bitterness that was only slaked by his conquest of the Caucasus in 1923.

Stalin's clash with the leaders of Georgian Menshevism illustrates the complex, even contradictory relationships between his Georgian and Russian identities. His dealings with them provided much of the momentum that propelled him from the periphery to the core of empire, from the Caucasian borderlands to the Great Russian center. To begin with, there were striking differences between him and them on the basis of social origins, level of formal education, and their experience of Europe and its languages compared with his provincialism. Most of them belonged to a European-educated, *déclassé* nobility. They fashioned a revolutionary ideology that combined national resistance and socioeconomic discontent in a very different fashion from their Russian counterparts and the small number of Georgian Marxists including Stalin who were excluded from their tightly knit group. With their assistance, the peasant disturbances that had begun in 1901 reached a climax during the Revolution of 1905 in the establishment of a virtual peasant socialist republic in their home district of Kutais Province, formerly the kingdom of Guriiia.⁷⁷

Stalin's first public clash with the Georgian social democrats came over the implications of these events for the party's stand on the agrarian question. As early as the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party (RSDRP) in 1903, the Georgian delegates portrayed the peasantry as a genuine revolutionary force and demanded that the special economic conditions of the Georgian peasants be recognized in the party program.⁷⁸ The Revolution of 1905 convinced the Georgian Mensheviks more than ever that unless they met the practical needs of their peasant constituency, there could be no successful revolutionary outcome in Georgia. At the Fourth (Stockholm) Unity Congress in 1906, they agitated for a new two-pronged agrarian platform that would redistribute confiscated state, church, and landlord land between the peasants and locally elected municipalities.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Lydia Dan, "Bukharin o Staline," *Novyi Zhurnal* 75 (March 1964): 182 (ellipsis in original).

⁷⁷ S. F. Jones, "Marxism and Peasant Revolt in the Russian Empire: The Case of the Gurian Republic," *Slavonic and East European Review* 67 (July 1989): 403-34.

⁷⁸ *Vtoroi s"ezd RSDRP: Iiul'-avgust, 1903 goda; Protokoly* (Moscow, 1959), 216, 223, 226, 228-29, 233, 240, 423. They pointed out, for example, that Lenin's position on redistributing the land made no sense under Georgian conditions. See also Uratadze, *Vospominaniia*, 89, 153.

⁷⁹ *Chetvertyi s"ezd*, 110. The Georgian Mensheviks also sharply condemned the Bolshevik proposals

Stalin's reaction to these debates was a misguided attempt to carve out his own position on the agrarian question. He opposed the views of the Bolshevik majority on nationalization, knowing that endorsement was tantamount to political suicide in Georgia. But he also rejected municipalization because it would have meant acknowledging the leadership of the Georgian Mensheviks in the countryside. He contemptuously dismissed the importance of the Guriiian rising as a purely local phenomenon. "In general a lot of legends have been spread about Guriiia, and it would be entirely unjust for comrades from the rest of the country to take them for the truth."⁸⁰ While the Bolsheviks ignored his defection from their ranks, the Georgian Mensheviks ridiculed him on the floor of the congress.⁸¹

To untangle the differences between Stalin and the Georgian Mensheviks on the national question is more difficult, because in the early debates within the RSDRP there was no disagreement in principle between the Bolsheviks and Georgian Mensheviks on this issue.⁸² Yet Stalin managed to introduce differences in tone and emphasis that set him apart from his rivals. Where Stalin went beyond the Georgian Mensheviks and even Lenin in shaping a different concept of the national question in Georgia was in what might be called his "borderland thesis." He sought to identify the condition of underdeveloped class consciousness with the territorial periphery of the empire. On occasion, Lenin was willing to acknowledge the special position of the Georgian Mensheviks in return for political favors.⁸³ But Stalin denounced the Mensheviks, making no exceptions for the Georgians as representatives of regions that were, with the exception of southern Russia, "centers of small-scale production": the Caucasus, Transcaucasian region, and the towns of the western provinces under the influence of the Bund and the peasant organizations of the "Spilka" (Ukrainian Social Democratic Union). Thus Menshevik tactics were "the tactics of backward towns," while the Bolsheviks represented the "advanced towns, the industrial centers" where revolution and class consciousness were primary. Stalin offered further evidence for his conclusion by claiming that the

for nationalization as a measure opposed to the peasant interests. At the same time, it was clear that their concept of municipalization differed from that of the Russian Mensheviks to the extent that they demanded partial redistribution and insisted on working with the peasants rather than simply imposing solutions on them. *Chetvertyi s"ezd*, 83–84 (speech of Beriev [Ramishvili]); 107–09 (Kartvelov [Chichinadze]); 115–16 (Vorob'ev [Lomtadize]).

⁸⁰ Stalin, *Sochineniia*, 1: 237–38.

⁸¹ *Chetvertyi s"ezd*, 116. Stalin's contemptuous dismissal of the revolution in Guriiia ran counter to the ringing endorsement of the uprising at the Third Congress, composed entirely of Bolsheviks, at which he had been absent. *Tret'yi s"ezd RSDRP, april'-mai 1905 goda: Protokoly* (Moscow, 1959), 440–42.

⁸² *Vtoroi s"ezd*, 61–62, 77–78; *Chetvertyi s"ezd*, 435–36, 442–43, where Zhordaniia outflanked the Bolsheviks to the left by opposing Lenin's endorsement of the proposal to readmit the Bund to the party, in which case "the Caucasus organization will be destroyed since with this agreement we will accept the introduction of the national principle into our ranks."

⁸³ In 1907, Lenin told Zhordaniia: "take your autonomy and do what you want in Georgia; we will not interfere, and you don't interfere in Russian affairs." Zhordaniia, *Moia zhizn'*, 53. Irakli Tsereteli independently confirmed the offer. Zhordaniia, *Moia zhizn'*, 54, editor's note 41. It is inconceivable that Stalin could ever have subscribed to this statement. Even after the Soviet conquest of Georgia that overthrew Zhordaniia's Menshevik government in 1921, Lenin wrote to Ordzhonikidze: "It is highly important to seek an acceptable compromise for a bloc with Zhordaniia or Georgian Mensheviks like him, who even before the uprising were not absolutely hostile to the introduction of the Soviet power in Georgia under certain conditions." V. I. Lenin, *Polnoe Sobranie Sochineniia*, 3d edn. (Moscow, 1937), 40: 367. By contrast, Stalin even opposed a compromise with the Georgian Bolsheviks!

Bolsheviks counted more workers among their delegates, thus refuting the Menshevik claim that it was a party of intellectuals, and more Russians, whereas the majority of Mensheviks were Jews and Georgians.⁸⁴ Subsequently, Stalin would make his "borderland thesis" the foundation on which he built his theory of Soviet statehood.

Aside from theoretical considerations, the hard school of practical politics brought Stalin to the realization that he could not challenge the Georgian Mensheviks either in his own country or in Transcaucasia as a whole. They blocked him at every turn in his quest to become a revolutionary leader.⁸⁵ In 1901, he had been obliged to leave the Tbilisi Committee dominated by supporters of Zhordaniia under humiliating circumstances. As a result of the growing Menshevik strength in Georgia, Stalin failed to get elected as a delegate to the Fourth "Unity" Congress in Stockholm or the Fifth Congress in London. When he showed up with spurious documents, the Georgian Mensheviks challenged his credentials both times, humiliating him on the floor of the congresses.⁸⁶ Nor was Stalin's attempt to create a legal Bolshevik press in Georgia any more successful than his other organizing efforts in the region.⁸⁷

For Stalin, then, all roads seemed to lead out of Georgia. Returning from London to Baku in May 1907, Stalin submitted his first signed article in Russian on the congress to the illegal Bolshevik newspaper *Bakinskii proletarii*; he never again published anything in Georgian.⁸⁸ The Bolshevik press of Baku, though Russian, was still provincial and attracted little attention in the political and intellectual core areas of the empire. But Stalin had taken a decisive step in his quest for his self-identity, changing his linguistic signposts as he followed the way of the pilgrim.

Stalin's first publication outside Transcaucasia came in February 1910, when his "Letter from the Caucasus" appeared in the organ of the Bolshevik Central Committee, *Sotsial Demokrat*. In journalism as elsewhere in his activities, the pilgrim's progress was slow. Two years elapsed before he authored another piece for an all-Russian audience, this time in the form of a leaflet "For the Party," which bore the signature of the Central Committee of the RSDRP throughout Russia.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Stalin, *Sochineniia*, 2: 32–33, 49–51. When in 1913, Zhordaniia's position had evolved toward the Austro-Marxist position of national cultural autonomy, Stalin was finally able to attack the Georgian Mensheviks frontally. *Sochineniia*, 2: 291–92, 351.

⁸⁵ Very early in his revolutionary career, Soso Djughashvili had conceived a deep resentment toward Zhordaniia, and in his discussions with workers he launched "unusually fierce attacks" against the well-known Georgian social democrat when no one else dared speak out. Alliluev, *Proidennyi put'*, 31.

⁸⁶ A formal written protest was signed by twenty-six Caucasian delegates with a full and three with a consultative vote. *Piatyi (Londonskii) s'ezd RSDRP, aprel'-mai 1907 goda: Protokoly* (Moscow, 1963), 226–32, 241, 540–42. Uratadze also notes that delegates in the Caucasus were elected on the principle of one for every 300 members, but the Bolsheviks could not muster the necessary number in either Tbilisi or Baku. *Vospominaniia*, 159, 181.

⁸⁷ Uratadze, *Vospominaniia*, 198; Stalin, *Sochineniia*, 1: 409, n. 66; 411, n. 79; 413, n. 84.

⁸⁸ The first volume of Stalin's *Collected Works* dating from 1901 to 1907 includes twenty items in Georgian and only six in Russian, but four of these are unsigned collective editorials in Russian language periodicals, and the other two are his speeches at Stockholm, which were not published in Georgia at the time. The second volume contains eight articles in Georgian before the report on the London conference.

⁸⁹ Stalin, *Sochineniia*, 2: 188–96, 213–18. The evidence that Stalin wrote the latter piece is not, however, conclusive. Compare *Sochineniia*, 2: 395–96, n. 99, which cites a two-line, unpublished letter of appreciation on behalf of Lenin from his wife, Krupskaiia. There are two articles of doubtful authorship published within this period. See McNeal, *Stalin's Works*, 39.

Shortly afterward, he began to write regularly for the central Bolshevik organs in St. Petersburg.⁹⁰ This marked the end of his participation in the provincial press of Transcaucasia. Thereafter, his attitude toward Georgia was marked by a deep ambivalence.

For Stalin, the pilgrim, Baku was the halfway house to what became his final destination. It was there that for the first time he had lived through revolutionary events, immersed himself in mass politics, and played the role of a *Kulturträger* of Marxism in its Russian form to the Muslim world. There, too, he had escaped the stifling atmosphere of Georgian Menshevism, which represented for him all he despised, opposed, and sought to destroy. The key to his growing success as a professional revolutionary was his closer association with things Russian. From this time forward, he displayed an increasing tendency to frame his activities and his symbolic gestures in ways best suited to reinforce his Russian identity, but always with a Georgian accent, style, and proletarian gruffness. Following the London Congress, Stalin spent a total of only two years or less in his native region. Once in power, he paid three short visits to his mother, in 1921, 1927, and 1935, although he continued to correspond with her in Georgian until the month of her death in 1937.⁹¹

This did not mean that Stalin had come to a decision to abandon his Georgian identity in favor of adopting a Russian one. Rather, he was shifting from his primary aim of being a Bolshevik in Georgia to becoming a Georgian in Russian Bolshevism. Nor was this the result of a sudden decision, although the London Congress appears to have been a crucial turning point. It was, instead, the outcome of a long and uncertain struggle. For reasons that can only be guessed at, Stalin himself left behind the evidence with which this struggle can be traced if not fully plumbed. It lies in his search for the most appropriate name.⁹²

Choosing a nickname or a pseudonym can be one of the most purposeful and decisive acts of presenting oneself to the external world. The adoption of a new public identity that also becomes a very private one is, to borrow an illuminating phrase of Ludwig von Wittgenstein's, "an occult process." It acquires the status of a magical formula, a cultural totem.⁹³ The individual receives a baptismal name from his parents without prior knowledge, discussion, or consent. The adoption of a pseudonym is an act of will, a "speech act" that creates an alternative identity and,

⁹⁰ Stalin, *Sochineniia*, 2: 416–20.

⁹¹ Murin, *Iosif Stalin v ob"iatiakh sem'i*, 1–19. The eighteen brief notes that have survived are a mixture of conventional Georgian expressions of health and long life, reports on his own health, news of the children, and apologies for not writing often. He signed himself, "Your Soso." Only once does he sound a more somber note in a letter of March 24, 1934. "After the death of Nadia, of course, my personal life is hard. But, never mind, a courageous [*muzhestvennyi*] man should always remain courageous." Murin, 17.

⁹² The anthropology of naming is very large, but little of it deals with pseudonyms. See the brief but useful summary in Cohen, *Self Consciousness*, 71–79.

⁹³ Ludwig von Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, G. E. M. Anscombe, trans. (Oxford, 1953), paragraphs 2, 7, 27, 38. According to Charles Peirce, "in contrast to concepts which aim to be wholly transparent, signs require incorporation of human culture." Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind* (New York, 1990), 20. Stalin's choice of the appropriate "signification of his significant being" was within the context of his multiple identities.

since others are obliged to use it, legitimizes the descriptive characteristics associated with it.⁹⁴

Pseudonyms used in the context of revolutionary activity or underground resistance are emblems of political and social engagement in the form of self-begetting. Different from authorial pseudonyms, they are associated with a collective, a "shadow army" taking its value from the dual process of initiation and ordination similar to entering a priesthood. They are a means to reveal or conceal, to instruct or deceive, depending on different audiences, whether comrades or police. Their primary practical purpose is to serve as protection; clandestine circumstances require that they be changed frequently in order to avoid detection.⁹⁵ The plurality of revolutionary pseudonyms was a characteristic feature of the Russian revolutionaries, employed more often when traveling with passports under an assumed name than when publishing, when the established ideological identity of the author counted for a great deal. Stalin used many aliases and party cover names to elude the police, but in almost every case he immediately discarded them. Some are variations of his given name or patronymic; others appear to have been selected at random without any deep symbolic significance.⁹⁶

The decision to turn the fantasy nickname of boyhood, Koba, into a revolutionary pseudonym was not taken quickly, a sign of its seriousness. In Volume 1 of Stalin's *Collected Works*, the signature "Koba" first appears only on item twenty-three of the published pieces. The rest are either anonymous or signed by a collective underground group, such as the Tbilisi Committee, with three exceptions: they bear the signature "I. Besoshvili." "Beso" is the diminutive for Vissarion, his father's name, and "shvili" a Georgian suffix meaning son of, so that his name change was transparent to the few who knew him, and it bore such a close resemblance to his real name that it could hardly have signified a bold assertion of a new self-image, to say nothing of an attempt to disguise his ethnic identity.⁹⁷ It was only later that year, following his first appearance at an international meeting of social democrats at the Stockholm Conference in April 1906, that he signed himself Koba. Over the following decade, it was his preferred pseudonym as an author and in his underground activities. Even after he became Stalin in public, his former identity remained intact for much longer in the private sphere. As Pierre Bourdieu suggests, the preservation of a name from the past "assures continuity across time and unity

⁹⁴ According to John Searle, "if both the speaker and the hearer associate some identifying description with the name, then the utterance of the name is sufficient to satisfy the principle of identification, for both the speaker and the hearer are able to substitute an identifying description." He then adds, "But the essential fact to keep in mind when dealing with these problems is that we have the institution of proper names to perform the speech act of identifying reference." *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language* (Cambridge, 1969), 171, 174.

⁹⁵ Nicole Lapiere, *Changer de nom* (Paris, 1995), 243–45. I am grateful to Victor Karady for bringing this source to my attention.

⁹⁶ A list of all Stalin's pseudonyms, aliases, and cover names can be found in Smith, *Young Stalin*, 453–54.

⁹⁷ Stalin, *Sochineniia*, 1: 213, 229, 235. But the contents of the articles—a riposte to the Menshevik position opposing the boycott of Duma elections and the two articles on the agrarian question—taken together with the first use of an individualized pseudonym suggest that the author had gained sufficient self-confidence to speak out in his own voice.

of personality across space which are the manifestations of this individuality in different fields.”⁹⁸

Well into the 1930s, he was still affectionately known as Koba among some of his oldest Bolshevik comrades, including Bukharin, whose last poignant note from prison read: “Koba, why do you want me to die?”⁹⁹ After the great purge trials, there was virtually no one left to call Stalin Koba. But long before it became impossible to address the *vozhd'* informally, Koba had accumulated new layers of meaning. It preserved the moment of a new birth and also the sense of the fraternity of struggle, which by the early 1930s was already imbued with a terrible irony. It also metamorphosed into a term of familiarity, even intimacy, although in Trotsky's hands it acquired the sharp edge of contempt.¹⁰⁰ The question that has remained up to now is how “Koba” became “Stalin.”¹⁰¹

The pseudonym Koba or various abbreviations of it such as “Ko...” remained Djughashvili's signature from July 13, 1906, to July 13, 1909, with one significant modification and two important exceptions. The modification came in 1907, when he signed himself Koba Ivanovich in publishing his report on the London Congress in *Bakinskii proletarii*, the illegal Bolshevik organ in Baku.¹⁰² By combining his Georgian nom de guerre with a Russian patronymic, he presented himself for the first time to revolutionary organizations in Transcaucasia and in Russia as a man who bridged two cultural worlds.

The two important exceptions were his use of the pseudonym “K. Kato” in March and June 1908 in what may have been a private reference to the most painful episode in his personal life in the Caucasus. In Georgian, Kato is an affectionate diminutive for Ekaterina, which was the name of his first wife, Ekaterina Svanidze. It was also the name of his mother, but the diminutive used for her in all the sources is “Keko.” Kato, on the other hand, is reserved for his wife. Almost nothing is known about the marriage; even the date is in question.¹⁰³ But there is evidence that in March 1908 Kato gave birth to their first and only child, a son, Iakov.¹⁰⁴ On the

⁹⁸ Pierre Bourdieu, “L'illusion biographique,” in *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 62/63 (1986): 70. For the importance of consistency in maintaining identity, see also Glynis M. Breakwell, “Formulations and Searches,” in Breakwell, *Threatened Identities*, 9–18.

⁹⁹ Tucker, *Stalin in Power*, 500.

¹⁰⁰ Trotsky, *Stalin*, 16.

¹⁰¹ Compare Robert Himmer, “On the Origin and Significance of the Name Stalin,” *Russian Review* 45 (1986): 269–86, who argues that the choice of the pseudonym Stalin was a conscious effort on Stalin's part to distinguish himself from Lenin (rather than emulate him) and lay claim to being a true proletarian and successor to the mantle of leadership.

¹⁰² Stalin, *Sochineniia*, 2: 77. Of the twenty-nine pieces included in volumes 1 and 2, covering the period July 1906 to July 1909, fourteen are unsigned, four of the remaining fifteen are signed “Koba,” six “Ko...,” one “Comrade K.,” one “K. Ko...,” and one “Koba Ivanovich.” Clearly, the letter K has become a form of narcissistic fetishism. If the name stands for the person, then a part of the name ought to stand symbolically for the whole name. Bernard Vernier, “Fétichisme du nom, échanges affectifs intra-familiaux et affinités électives,” *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 78 (1989): 3–6.

¹⁰³ Iremaschwili, *Stalin*, 30, remembers the marriage as taking place in 1903, but his memory for dates has been shown to be unreliable, and this date in particular conflicts with Djughashvili's arrest and exile. Tucker, *Stalin as Revolutionary*, proposes either 1902 or 1904, and other biographers generally accept 1904. Stalin's later reluctance to clear up the point is one of many indications that the fate of the marriage was extremely painful for him.

¹⁰⁴ The only specific reference to the birth date of Iakov Djughashvili appeared in a German source after he was captured during World War II. On July 24, 1941, Goebbels' newspaper, *Völkischer Beobachter*, printed personal information obtained from the prisoner, who claimed to have been born on March 16, 1908. Smith, *Young Stalin*, 392, n. 262a, was the first to discover this reference.

eve of his son's birthday, Koba published an article in the revolutionary press signed K. Kato. Can this be anything other than his own way of celebrating a joyous occasion? By linking his wife's name with his own in the form of his symbolic initial, he was able to create an emotionally powerful aleatory effect.¹⁰⁵ Sometime later, the young mother died, devastating Djughashvili, but until now the date and causes have been unknown.¹⁰⁶ The second time Koba used K. Kato may explain both. This signature appeared under three articles published in late April and early May 1908 while he was in prison. Was this not another commemoration, a terrible one, of his wife's death? If so, then it appears likely that Kato died from complications resulting from childbirth shortly after Iakov was born on March 16 and before Koba was arrested on March 25. Such a deduction would also explain why the stricken Koba rejected his son, blaming him for his wife's early death. He turned the infant over to his sister-in-law to be raised in Georgian schools until the 1920s, when the boy's uncle, Aleksandr Svanidze, insisted that he join the family in Moscow. According to Stalin's daughter, Svetlana, Stalin opposed Iakov's coming and ridiculed him at every opportunity, even when the young man bungled a suicide attempt. When the Germans took Iakov prisoner during World War II, Stalin refused to accept a German offer to exchange him for some German officers.¹⁰⁷ The episode suggests how Koba used pseudonyms to mark important emotional stages in his inner life.

His search took another turn in the first article that he published in an all-Russian organ of the Bolshevik fraction, *Sotsial Demokrat*, in January 1910. Here, the initials "K.S." appear for the first time, leading to speculation that Koba was already thinking of himself as Stalin. But this was not the case, for the signature on the original manuscript of December 1909 was K. Stefin.¹⁰⁸ It is therefore safe to conclude that the signature K. St. under the following article in the *Collected Works* refers to Stefin and not Stalin. To be sure, Stefin may be considered a Russian name, although an odd one.

From 1910 to 1913, there is evidence of hesitation. Now writing for all-Russian

¹⁰⁵ Jozef M. Nuttin, "Affective Consequences of Mere Ownership: The Name Letter Affect in Twelve European Languages," *European Journal of Social Psychology* 17 (1987): 383. The article is dated March 2, 1908. Stalin, *Sochineniia*, 2: 101. The date of birth given by Iakov to the Germans when he was captured was March 16. The discrepancy in the two dates represents the difference in the Julian and Gregorian calendars, which was thirteen days in the twentieth century. According to *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, there were two additional articles signed K. Kato published in March. McNeal, *Stalin's Works*, 36. Significantly, Stalin omitted these from his *Sochineniia*, leaving only the two commemorative dates.

¹⁰⁶ Iremaschwili, *Stalin*, 40, gives a dramatic eyewitness account of Koba's despair at the gravesite. But as Tucker points out, Iremaschwili is no more reliable when referring to the date of Kato's death than of her marriage. Tucker, *Stalin as Revolutionary*, 107–08. Pomper doubts the entire account as "unconvincing" and "mystical" because Stalin did not show any more tenderness between 1905 and 1907 [*sic*] than he had before or after this time." *Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin*, 171. For all that Stalin was a moral monster and a mass killer, to deny him any personal human feelings at all seems to me extreme.

¹⁰⁷ Allilueva, *Dvadsat' pisem*, 97, 150–54; Svetlana Alliluyeva, *Only One Year* (New York, 1969), 370. Tucker attributes Stalin's hostility to the fact that Iakov, who was thoroughly Georgian in manners and speech when he arrived in Moscow, was a vivid reminder of the native roots that Stalin was eager to forget and efface. *Stalin as Revolutionary*, 433. But at the time, Stalin was still surrounded by his Georgian kinship system.

¹⁰⁸ Stalin, *Sochineniia*, 2: 187. This is the only time this pseudonym appears, but it is the beginning of a series of experiments with the combination of letters S-in, which appears to have had some affective significance for him. See Nuttin, "Affective Consequences," 384.

publications, Djughashvili appears loath to give up K. as the emblem of his mythic Georgian past. But he cannot yet find the appropriate Russian name to go with it until 1913 when for the first time he appends the name "K. Stalin" to his major theoretical work "Marxism and the National and Colonial Question." Even after that in January 1917, he reverts to the initials K.St.¹⁰⁹ In the interim, the frequent changes in pseudonyms hint at a psychodrama that is otherwise hidden from view. After its first use, K.St. does not show up again for two years. Instead, there is a return twice to K.S. and then simply S., when he writes for the first time for the St. Petersburg paper *Zvezda*. In quick succession, S yields to S—n; is he getting closer? No, for the next signatures to appear are K. Salin and K. Solin. Then there is a return to K.S. and to K. Solin twice more. It is clear by this time that Koba is fascinated with the acoustical combination of K and S or St. Does Georgian-Ossetian folklore once again provide a clue? The most popular hero of Ossetian tales is Soslan Stal'noi (Soslan the Iron Man), with variations in other North Caucasian epics. The cult of iron or steel was very widely, possibly uniquely, prevalent in the Caucasian oral tradition, and Soslan the Iron Man was portrayed as both a defender and occasionally the ruthless destroyer of his kinsmen.¹¹⁰ But the suffix "an" is not Russian, while "in" is and has the added attraction of identifying its bearer with Lenin.

By the time Koba is writing for *Pravda* in October 1912, he falls back on the more ambiguous K.St. three times until the New Year reveals him as K. Stalin. The new pseudonym referred to all three frames of his identity: the Georgian hero Koba and thus the heroic attributes of Georgian heroes, the hard proletarian symbolized by the root word steel, and the Russian form of the name with its "in" suffix.

Signaling his emergence as the man of steel, his authorship of his 1913 work on the national question performed three additional functions in his efforts to define and assert his complex persona. It staked his claim to pronounce on issues that were essential in his deadly conflict with the Georgian Mensheviks, it applied a uniform finish to all three frames of experience and myth constructed over the previous decade and a half, and it announced the end to his pilgrimage from periphery to center. His essay may not impress by its theoretical originality or stylistic bravura, but as a statement of his personal and ideological integration it may serve as a useful guide to Stalin's subsequent actions as a state-builder and imperial statesman.

Stalin composed his essay on the national question in response to urgent prompting by Lenin, who was alarmed by the meeting in August 1912 in Vienna at Trotsky's invitation of anti-Bolshevik social democrats to discuss a decentralized structure of the party that would meet the demands for national cultural autonomy of such groups as the Georgian Mensheviks, Bund, and Latvians. For Lenin (and

¹⁰⁹ McNeal, *Stalin's Works*, 42, item 134, notes that the first use of "Stalin" was in *Pravda* on December 1, 1912, but this article was not included in the *Sochineniia*, suggesting that in retrospect Stalin wished to have his last and most lasting pseudonym emblematic of a major contribution to Marxism, rather than an occasional piece, thus endowing it with totemic significance.

¹¹⁰ Vaiskopf, *Pisatel' Stalin*, 183–96. Soslan also bore an eerie physical resemblance to Koba: "short in stature, dark complexioned, with steely eyes, lame or 'splayed-toed' recalling the attached toes on Stalin's foot." Vaiskopf, *Pisatel' Stalin*, 197. David Soslan, the husband of the famous Georgian Queen Tamara, provides another heroic point of reference. Iosif Megreldze, *Rustaveli i fol'klor* (Tbilisi, 1960), 21, 104, 105, 123, 270.

Pseudonym	Date First Used	Number in Collected Works	Number in All Verified Published Works	Language of Original Article
I. Besoshvili	Mar. 10, 1906	3	6	Georgian
Koba	June 21, 1906	4	10	Georgian
Comrade K.	Aug. 7, 1906	1	1	Georgian
Ko. . .	Sept. 14, 1906	8	10	Georgian
Koba Ivanovich	June 20, 1907	1	1	Russian
K. Kato	Mar. 2, 1908	2	4	Russian
K.Ko	Aug. 27, 1909	1	1	Russian
K.S.	Feb. 13, 1910	4	4	Russian
S.	Apr. 15, 1912	1	1	Russian
K. S. . . n	Apr. 15, 1912	1	1	Russian
K. Salin	Apr. 15, 1912	1	1	Russian
K. Solin	Apr. 17, 1912	3	3	Russian
K.St (Stefin)	Oct. 19, 1912	6	6	Russian
K. Stalin	Dec. 1, 1912	25	26	Russian
K.	Sept. 12, 1917	1	1	Russian
I. or Iosif Djugashvili-Stalin	Sept. 2, 1917	3	9	Russian

FIGURE 5: Pseudonyms used by Stalin in his published works, 1906–1917.

Stalin as well), there was a real danger that the RSDRP would disintegrate into a set of loosely grouped national-socialist parties as in Austria-Hungary.¹¹¹ With characteristic single-mindedness, therefore, Lenin immersed himself in the national question, furiously writing articles and rounding up allies for a verbal onslaught against his opponents. By one count, he wrote no fewer than thirty articles on the subject between 1912 and 1914. Simultaneously, he was busily urging some of his closest associates to help him recruit comrades of varied ethnic origin or else to volunteer themselves to write specialized studies. Stalin was only one of several Bolsheviks who responded to the call.¹¹² Lenin greeted all their contributions with enthusiasm, although he was not entirely satisfied with any one of them.¹¹³

Stalin's work on the national question brought into alignment the three frames of his personal identity that he had struggled to harmonize. The class interests of the proletariat determined the right to exercise national self-determination, regional

¹¹¹ By contrast, the Bolshevik rump meeting in Prague the same year geographically represented little beyond Russia. Robert Service, *Lenin: A Political Life* (Bloomington, Ind., 1991), 2: 29. Lenin's effort to disguise the fact by constituting a Central Committee that looked all-Russian—G. K. Ordzhonikidze, S. S. Spandarian, F. I. Goloshchekin, G. E. Zinoviev, R. V. Malinovskii, and D. Shvartzman—was reinforced by the cooptation of I. S. Belostotskii and Koba despite the fact that there were doubts about the latter's full adherence to the Prague program. M. A. Moskaev, *Biuro Tsentral'nogo Komiteta RSDRP v Rossii (avgust 1903–mart 1917)* (Moscow, 1964), 195, 197.

¹¹² Iu. I. Semenov, "Iz istorii teoreticheskoi razrabotki V. I. Leninyim natsional'nogo voprosa," *Narody Azii i Afriki* 4 (1966): 107, 114–17. It would be more accurate to describe most of these articles as touching on the national question, but this does not diminish Lenin's intense interest in the matter.

¹¹³ After Stalin had written his essay, Lenin still found it necessary to write to Stepan Shaumian: "Do not forget also to seek out Caucasian comrades who can write articles on the national question in the Caucasus . . . A popular brochure on the national question is very necessary." Lenin, *Sochineniia*, 17: 91. (It is hard to imagine what Stalin's piece was if not a "popular brochure.") Even more telling was the absence of any reference to Stalin or his work in Lenin's own theoretical treatise, "O prave natsii na samoopredeleniia," which appeared a year after Stalin had completed writing on the national question. Lenin, *Sochineniia*, 17: 427–74. It is clear that what Lenin admired about Stalin's writing in general and about the nationality question in particular was his savage attacks on the Georgian "liquidators" and the Bund. Lenin, *Sochineniia*, 14: 317, 15: 317, 17: 116.

autonomy guarded the rights to use indigenous languages, and the Russian state provided the “general framework” for political organization of the whole. Stalin’s work both summarized his earlier concepts and foreshadowed the concept of the state he would propose, defend against Lenin, and finally impose on the party in the postrevolutionary era.

IN POLITICS, STALIN has been most often portrayed as either a pragmatist or an ideologue. By contrast, the previous analysis has argued that his approach to both practice and theory was embedded in his experience as a man of the borderlands who sought to play a major role at center of power. On the way to becoming a self-proclaimed “master of the revolution,” Stalin had pieced together a complex identity that embodied the rudiments of a tripartite state-building program. His self-presentation as a symbolic proletarian served to mediate between his Georgian and Russian identities, firmly linking periphery to core. As the following pages will demonstrate, once in power, he sought to combine these three elements in his shaping of the Soviet state as he had endeavored to integrate them into his own persona.

Stalin emerged from the cauldron of revolution, civil war, and intervention more than ever convinced that the relationship between center and periphery embodied in what I have called his “borderland thesis” held the key to the construction of the new Soviet state. As early as the debates preceding Brest-Litovsk in the winter of 1917–1918, Stalin had been skeptical of the possibility of revolution in the West.¹¹⁴ If war were to come with the Austro-German imperialists, it would come over resistance to the Central Powers’ occupation of the borderlands. In an unusual non-Marxist formulation that he would repeat in 1941, it would not be a revolutionary war but “a fatherland war [*otechestvennaia voina*] begun in Ukraine that will have every chance of all-out support from Soviet Russia as a whole.”¹¹⁵

Stalin’s solution for the dilemma of revolution confined to the borders of the old empire was the fusion of the class and national principles in the form of regional autonomy. The fusion would not be the result of a spontaneous joining together but of action by the center. At the Third Congress of Soviets in January 1918, five years before the constitutional debate that brought him into conflict with Lenin, he made it clear that “the roots of all conflicts between the periphery and central Russia lie in the question of power.”¹¹⁶ Expanding on earlier themes, he claimed that the socialist revolution in the Russian Empire had produced a situation in which a more advanced center, that is, a territorial core possessing a highly developed proletarian class, was bound to dominate a backward periphery. For Stalin, the periphery was backward not only in the economic but also in the cultural meaning of the term. In particular, “the people of the East,” as he called them, lacked the homogeneity of the central provinces. They were barely emerging from the Middle Ages or else had

¹¹⁴ “There is no revolutionary movement in the West, nothing existed only a potential,” he stated. *The Bolsheviks and the October Revolution: Minutes of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (Bolsheviks), August 1917–February 1918* (London, 1974), 177–78.

¹¹⁵ Stalin, *Sochineniia*, 4: 47. Stalin first used the formulation of a “fatherland war” in his memo to the secretariat of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic on February 24, 1918. *Sochineniia*, 4: 42–43.

¹¹⁶ Stalin, *Sochineniia*, 4: 31.

just entered the state of capitalism.¹¹⁷ At the constitutional debates during the Twelfth Congress in 1923, when Stalin was hard pressed by his critics, he was even more bluntly specific: the center was a proletarian, the periphery a peasant region.¹¹⁸ This crude image enabled him to make explicit the link between the new Soviet state structure and the outside world.

Throughout the Russian civil war, Stalin hammered at the theme of the socioeconomic backwardness of the periphery posing a mortal threat to the security and stability of the Soviet state. The lack of a strong local proletariat had given the local bourgeois nationalists—such as the Georgian Mensheviks—their opportunity to demand separation from the center, thus weakening the class-based Soviet power. This in turn had created “a zone of foreign intervention and occupation” that endangered its very existence.¹¹⁹ In order to defeat these machinations, Stalin came to the conclusion that the center could not count solely on physical coercion. He groped his way uncertainly toward a solution that would reconcile the conflicting identities of class, ethnicity, and region within a strong state system. He sought to convince both the unitarists and the autonomists within the party that they could not survive without one another. As the periphery crumbled away from the center, he claimed that only his federal solution would protect the separate republics from foreign domination and the loss of their autonomous rights. He reassured the nationalities that “there would be no state language.” And he insisted the Soviet power must create local schools, courts, and administrative organs staffed and run by “local cadres,” even if this meant cooperating with the non-Communist intelligentsia.¹²⁰

This latter policy, dubbed *korenizatsiia* from the stem word *koren'*, was another example of the politics of identity that Stalin employed and manipulated to further his own ends. In 1925, during his struggle with Trotsky, he rehabilitated the slogan of “national culture” that he had previously identified only with nationalism as a right-wing deviation.¹²¹ Up to the early 1930s, he pursued *korenizatsiia* most consistently in the more underdeveloped republics. When, in his eyes, the policy threatened to go too far, as in Ukraine, he denounced it, first in 1926 and then more

¹¹⁷ Stalin, *Sochineniia*, 4: 74–75, 236–37.

¹¹⁸ *Dvenadtsati s"ezd RKP (b) 17–23 aprelia 1923 goda: Stenograficheskii otchet* (Moscow, 1963), 479, 650.

¹¹⁹ Stalin, *Sochineniia*, 4: 162, 237, 372. Stalin's concern over intervention took a characteristically distorted form, perceived as both a real threat and as a blunt instrument with which to beat his victims. See, for example, his letter in 1930 to V. R. Menzhinskii, head of the Combined State Political Directorate (OGPU) on preparations for the show trial of the Industrial Party. “I. V. Stalin: Pis'ma,” in V. S. Le'chuk, ed., *Sovetskoe obshchestvo: Vozniknovenie, razvitie, istoricheskii final* (Moscow 1997), 1: 426–27.

¹²⁰ Stalin, *Sochineniia*, 4: 70, 74, 226–27, 237, 356, 358. The necessity of forming a bloc in the national republics with indigenous “revolutionary democrats” was recognized by the other members of the Politburo. But betraying their Western orientation, some such as Zinoviev argued that such arrangements could only work if they were supervised by the Russian Communist Party and the Comintern. Stalin would have nothing to do with the Comintern interfering in this process. *Tainy natsional'noi politiki TsK RKP: “Chetvertoe soveshchanie TsK RKP s otvetsvennymi rabotnikami natsional'nykh respublik i oblastei v g. Moskve 9–12 iunია 1923”*; *Stenograficheskii otchet* (Moscow, 1992), 227–28 (Zinoviev). This was the meeting at which Stalin was obliged to defend himself against accusations that he had originally taken a soft line toward Muslim national communists such as Sultan Galiev and a hard line against the Ukrainians. *Tainy*, 80–81 (Stalin); 268 (Frunze); 269 (Rakovskii).

¹²¹ Stalin, *Sochineniia*, 12: 369; Vdovin, “National'naia politika,” 22.



FIGURE 6: From the Alliluev family album. Stalin in the early 1930s dressed in a Kirghiz national costume. RGASPI, f.558, op.11, d.1651, no. 51.

ferociously after 1928.¹²² Once Stalin had eliminated his major rivals in the party and launched collectivization and the first Five Year Plan, he brutally reshuffled the tripartite components of the state structure. Many if not all aspects of *korenizatsiia* and their supporters fell victim to the new policy. After 1933, ethnic deportations from the borderlands were stepped up to ensure greater security from external attack. Yet, at the same time, a policy of ethnic consolidation was undertaken in order to minimize ethnic conflict within the republics.¹²³ In building socialism, ethnic identity, so often equated with the peasantry, yielded primacy of place to proletarian identity. Stalin decreed that the distance between them would be closed not by a pilgrimage but by a forced march.

In the early years of the Soviet state, however, Stalin's main concern was to substitute the mutual interdependence of Russia and the borderlands for the idea held by many Bolsheviks on the mutual interdependence of Russia and the world revolution. In 1920, he wrote, "Central Russia, the hearth of world revolution, cannot hold out long without the assistance of the border regions, which abound in raw materials, fuel, and foodstuffs. The border regions of Russia, in their turn, are inevitably doomed to imperialist bondage without the political, military, or

¹²² James E. Mace, *Communism and the Dilemma of National Liberation: Nationalism in Soviet Ukraine, 1918–1933* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983); Suny, *Making of the Georgian Nation*, 257–58; Olivier, "Korenizatsiia," 94–95.

¹²³ Terry Martin, "The Origins of Soviet Ethnic Cleansing," *Journal of Modern History* 70 (December 1998): 813–61; as Slezkine points out, "What did change [after 1928] was the amount of room allowed for 'national form.' The ethnic identity of the Great Transformation was the ethnic identity of NEP minus 'backwardness' as represented and defended by the exploiting classes." "USSR as a Communal Apartment," 441.

organizational support of the more developed Central Russia."¹²⁴ Foreshadowing his doctrine of socialism in one country, he argued that the unity of center and periphery provided the two "constant conditions" that guaranteed the success and future development of the revolution, that is, Russia's "vast and boundless land" and its autarkic resource base.¹²⁵ Therefore, he trumped the nationalists by offering a form of association that he dubbed "socialist federalism," nationalist in form and socialist in content. Before 1917, Stalin had opposed the concept of federalism as divisive of working-class unity. Once the Bolsheviks were in power, he came to view it as a formula for unity within a polyethnic state.¹²⁶

Stalin's position on federation had shifted in response to the experience of the civil war, the intra-party debates on the future of the Soviet state, and his disagreements with Lenin. By 1922, Stalin envisaged three types of federalist ties: within the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, between the Russian republic (RSFSR) and the other Soviet republics such as Ukraine that had been part of the Russian Empire, and a "confederation" between the Soviet Union and other soviet republics such as Hungary and Germany that had not been part of Russia.¹²⁷ Stalin's tripartite formula sought to address real problems that had surfaced during the civil war between the center and periphery. In a letter to Lenin dated September 22, 1922, but only recently published, he argued that his federal plan would eliminate the chaos of conflicting jurisdictions, which created constant conflict between the center and the borderlands. The alternatives were either to grant the republics real independence, which would shatter the economic unity of the state (and split the proletariat), or to grant them real autonomy, that is, non-interference "in the areas of language, culture, justice, internal affairs, agriculture, etc.," which would maintain both the diversity of ethnic identities and the unity of the proletariat.¹²⁸

What has gone unnoticed in the abundant literature on this question is how Stalin's formula foreshadowed the establishment of a ring of dependent states, subsequently called "popular democracies," outside the borders of the old Russian Empire. While Lenin's state structure was designed to accommodate the future voluntary adhesion of independent revolutionary states in the advanced capitalist countries to a socialist federation, Stalin took a more limited view based on the old imperial, territorial principle. In Stalin's eyes, the Russian Revolution and the building of a socialist state catapulted the Soviet Union into the most advanced stage of development. Subsequent adherents to the system, particularly those countries adjacent to the Soviet Union, would have to earn their passage. In 1928,

¹²⁴ Stalin, *Sochineniia*, 4: 351.

¹²⁵ Stalin, *Sochineniia*, 4: 375–81.

¹²⁶ "Federalism in Russia," he wrote in April 1918, "is destined, as in America and Switzerland, to serve as a transition to a future, socialist, unitary state." *Sochineniia*, 4: 73. Compare Robert H. McNeal, "Stalin's Conception of Soviet Federalism (1918–1923)," *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.* 9, nos. 1–2 (1961): 12–25, which traces the evolution of Stalin's thinking but concludes that his definition of federalism was "an empty formula."

¹²⁷ Lenin, *Sochineniia*, 25: 624. Lenin's concept of federalism operated on two levels, one within the RSFSR between Russia and nations such as the Bashkirs that had never enjoyed either statehood or autonomy and between the RSFSR and all other Soviet republics including those that had and those that had never been part of the Russian Empire.

¹²⁸ "Iz istorii obrazovaniia SSSR," *Izvestiia TsK KPSS* 9 (1989): 198–200.

he made this explicit in his first major speech to the Comintern. He argued that, in countries with weak capitalism and feudal remnants, such as "Poland, Romania, etc.," where the peasantry would play a large role in a revolution, "the victory of the revolution in order that it can lead to a proletarian dictatorship can and probably will demand some intermediate stages in the form, let us say, of a dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry."¹²⁹

Later, Stalin changed the terminology of transitional stages but not the concept. In early 1945, he harshly reminded Tito that "your government is not Soviet—you have something between de Gaulle's France and the Soviet Union." In May 1946, he repeated the same message to the Polish communists. "The democracy that has been established in Poland, in Yugoslavia and partly in Czechoslovakia is a democracy that draws you close to socialism without the necessity of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet system."¹³⁰ Twenty years earlier, Stalin had constructed the state system on the basis of the what he perceived to be a special relationship between Russia and its borderlands that could never be duplicated.

In defending his state-building program against Lenin's critique, Stalin sought to apply the lessons learned from the experience of framing the triptych of his personal identity to shaping new Soviet institutions. Only the compelling force of this deeply rooted conviction could explain his willingness to confront Lenin during the intra-party debates in the fall and winter of 1922–1923 over the constitutional question. There was, first of all, the question of the relationship between the borderlands and the center. Lenin disagreed with Stalin by insisting on recognizing the formal independence of the constituent Soviet republics, a position that had little support among the Bolsheviks except for the Georgians. L. B. Kamenev told Stalin that "Ilich was preparing for war in defense of independence" and had asked him to meet with the Georgians. Stalin's response revealed the deep source of his conflict with Lenin. In Stalin's eyes, the Georgian Bolsheviks had never traversed the route of his pilgrimage. They remained rooted in their native soil and were thus exposed to the most pernicious influences of local nationalism. "It's necessary to be firm with Ilich," Stalin told Kamenev. "If a couple of Georgian Mensheviks exercise an influence on the Georgian communists and consequently on Ilich, then one should ask—what does that have to do with independence?"¹³¹

His opposition to Georgian independence was matched by his concern over the

¹²⁹ Stalin, *Sochineniia*, 11: 155–56. Lest there be any doubt in the minds of his audience, Stalin repeated his prediction on the future course of revolution in Poland and Romania three times in the one speech. Stalin here revised the formula of "the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry," which Lenin had devised for the Russian Revolution of 1905 and then discarded, by dropping the word democratic.

¹³⁰ Milovan Djilas, *Wartime* (New York, 1977), 436; G. P. Murashko, et al., *Vostochnaia Evropa v dokumentakh rossiiskikh arkhivov, 1944–1953* (Moscow-Novosibirsk, 1997), 1: 457–58. To be sure, Stalin reversed himself a few years later but only in response to his perception that external pressure in the form of the Marshall Plan and uncertainty about the loyalty or stability of the popular democracies confronted the Soviet Union with the prospect of losing its western security belt.

¹³¹ "Iz istorii," 208–09. Compare Jeremy Smith, *The Bolsheviks and the National Question, 1917–1923* (London, 1999), who demonstrates that the intra-party debates over the nationality question were more complex than previously assumed. But he goes on to argue less convincingly that the differences between Lenin and Stalin on the national question and the constitutional debates have been exaggerated and that at certain points such as 1920 "Lenin was the centralizer, Stalin the separatist." Smith, 179.

effect of Lenin's formula on the structure of the Russian republic. Initially, Stalin feared that Lenin's proposal for a bicameral legislature (one Russian and one federal) would lead to the removal from the RSFSR of eight autonomous republics, their declaration of independence together with the Ukrainian and other independent republics, and a radical reconstruction of the entire state that was neither timely nor necessary.¹³² Not only would this encourage the Georgians, but it would move the Russian republic toward a more purely ethnic unit within a federation of ethnically defined states. In a note to his colleagues in the Politburo in February 1923, Stalin warned of the dangers. By separating the Russian population from that of the autonomous republics, such republics as the Bashkir, Kirgiz, and Tatar would be deprived of their capitals, which were Russian towns, and would require a serious redrawing of their boundaries.¹³³ Moreover, Stalin added in his speech to the Twelfth Party Congress in 1923, the creation of a pure Russian republic would strengthen the position of Great Russians in the state as a whole and weaken "the struggle with Great Russian chauvinism [that] is our fundamental task." Finally, in much the same way, he argued against the dissolution of the Transcaucasian Federation (Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaizhan), because that would play into the hands of Georgian nationalists.¹³⁴

At the same time, Stalin was obliged to reverse his position on a bicameral legislature. Responding to Lenin's pressure, the Politburo endorsed the concept of bicameralism and then appointed Stalin to present the proposal as part of his Theses to the Twelfth Congress. This obviously caused Stalin great embarrassment. He vehemently denied that he was a "master of the nationality question." He was "sick and tired" of being tagged with responsibility for it, and had been "forced" to serve as the rapporteur to the congress.¹³⁵ But he was able to salvage something from his setback. Representation of the nationalities in the second chamber would still enable the RSFSR to command a majority if its constituent autonomous republics voted with it.¹³⁶ Stalin saved his heavy artillery, however, for a dual assault on "Great Russian chauvinism" and local nationalism. Arguing that the struggle with the former was the principal task in which Russians should take the lead, he insisted that the struggle against the latter should be carried out by indigenous cadres. Otherwise, ethnic conflict would sharply increase.¹³⁷ It is hard to imagine any more satisfying demonstration of Stalin's determination to balance core and periphery, to mediate between the two national identities that he could recognize as potentially conflicting elements within both his own persona and the body politic of the Soviet state.

Was Stalin merely being disingenuous about the dangers of Great Russian chauvinism? Throughout his life, he opposed the creation of a Russian Communist Party corresponding to other republican parties. Ironically, in the 1920s, it was one

¹³² "Iz istorii," 208.

¹³³ Cited in S. V. Kulekshov, *et al.*, *Nashe Otechestvo* (Moscow, 1991), 2: 155.

¹³⁴ "Iz istorii obrazovaniia SSSR," *Izvestiia TsK KPSS* 4 (1991): 172-73.

¹³⁵ "Iz istorii," 170.

¹³⁶ Compare McNeal, "Stalin's Conception," 21-22, who assumes that the "minor nationalities" in the RSFSR would be "more tractable." Given the history of Bashkir-Russian relations, as only one example, this is a large assumption.

¹³⁷ "Iz istorii," 173.

of the very few issues on which he agreed with Trotsky, although he was less specific in his motivations. More than twenty years later in the notorious Leningrad case, one of the major accusations brought against the Leningrad party organization was its alleged support for the creation of a Russian Communist Party and the establishment of a new republican capital for the RSFSR in Leningrad.¹³⁸ At that time, Stalin denounced N. A. Voznesenskii, a member of the Politburo, the head of State Planning, and a major figure in organizing the war effort, as one of the top leaders of the Leningrad "conspiracy": "For him," Stalin told Mikoian, "not only Georgians and Armenians"—by which Stalin clearly meant himself and Mikoian—"but also Ukrainians, are not people."¹³⁹

To be sure, Stalin's deep suspicion of loyalties in the borderlands was, if anything, even greater. In 1936, he ordered the dissolution of the Transcaucasian Federation into its constituent national parts, the three republics of Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaizhan. The move appeared to be in accord with the introduction of the Stalin constitution that proclaimed the existence of only non-antagonistic classes (and presumably also ethnic groups) in the USSR. Yet, at the same time, he and Beria unleashed a blood purge of the republican party organizations in Transcaucasia that was among the most severe in the entire USSR.¹⁴⁰ Stalin's oscillation in punishing alleged representatives of Great Russian chauvinism at the center and local nationalism at the periphery was another example of his increasingly brutal method of promoting institutional instability as a means of securing his own power.¹⁴¹ But it was also another manifestation of the conflict within his own identity.

By the end of the constitutional debates in 1924, Stalin had emerged as the main theorist and practical designer of the Soviet state. The shape of the USSR came closer to his version of a federation than to Lenin's, although it was a compromise between the two. But in 1924, the process of state-building was not yet over. Nor had Stalin reached the final station in his pilgrimage, which would be the complete identification with the state as its supreme ruler. In his struggle for power with the other epigones of Lenin—Trotsky, Zinoviev, Bukharin—Stalin's central ideological problem was how to defend his unique conception of the relationship between core and periphery against attacks that he was selling out the international revolution for a mess of nationalist pottage. Outside the party ever since 1918, hostile critics had denounced the drift toward national Bolshevism. Within the party, Stalin's rivals sought to tar him with the same brush and forced him to adopt a defensive position with respect to his doctrine of socialism in one country.¹⁴²

But Stalin also sought to refute the insinuations by reaffirming his dedication to the internal, multinational—if not strictly international—task of overcoming the gap between the core and periphery. In 1925, shortly after he had enunciated socialism in one country, he developed the theme of economic integration

¹³⁸ Vdovin, "National'naia politika," 26, and the literature cited there.

¹³⁹ A. I. Mikoian, *Tak bylo: Razmyshleniia o minuvshem* (Moscow, 1999), 559.

¹⁴⁰ Suny, *Making of the Georgian Nation*, 272–78.

¹⁴¹ See Lewin, "Grappling with Stalinism," 308–09; and Moshe Lewin, "The Social Background of Stalinism," in Robert C. Tucker, ed., *Stalinism: Essays in Historical Interpretation* (New York, 1977), 129–31, for a similar distrust of stable bureaucratic structures.

¹⁴² For Stalin's sensitivity to accusations of national Bolshevism, see S. V. Tsakunov, "NEP: Evoliutsiia rezhima i rozhdenie natsional-bolshevizma," in Iu. N. Afanas'ev, *Sovetskaia obshchestvo: Vozniknoveniie, razvitiie, istoricheskii final* (Moscow, 1997), 1: 100–12.

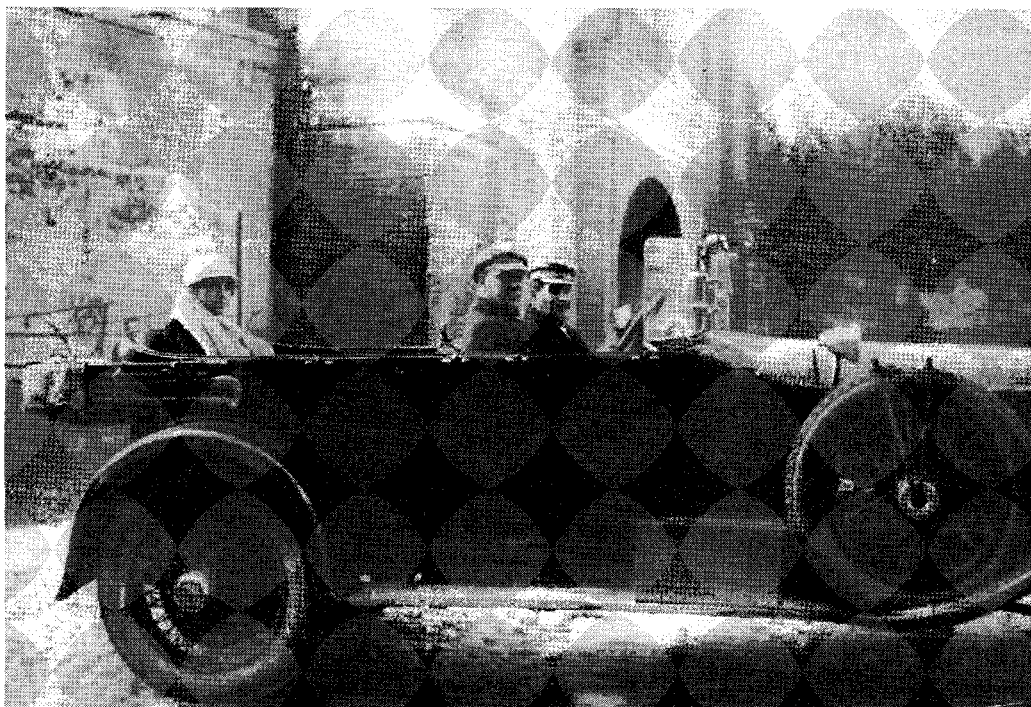


FIGURE 7: From the Alliluev family album, 1927. Stalin in a touring car with wife Nadezhda in the rear seat, and his chauffeur, P. I. Udalov. The location is the entrance to Stalin's apartment in the Kremlin. RGASPI, f.558, op.11, d.1651, no. 70.

(*smychka*) of the predominantly peasant periphery into the more advanced core in a speech to the future leaders of the Asian republics, the students at the University of the East. But he warned them of two deviations. One was to apply mechanically a model that was “fully applicable to the center but does not correspond with conditions in the so-called periphery.” The other was to exaggerate local conditions and peculiarities.¹⁴³ “National” Bolshevism of any sort was dangerous; only “Soviet” Bolshevism as Stalin defined and embodied it was acceptable.

During the earliest days of Soviet state-building, Stalin had arrived at the point where his presentation of self came closer than other party leaders to representing the profile of the new party that had emerged from the civil war. By constructing and disseminating a multiple identity, he could appeal in the 1920s and 1930s to all sections of the party: the Great Russian centralizers, the supporters of cultural autonomy among the nationalities and the lower strata, all of whom, as Bukharin lamented, came to trust him, a trust he would soon betray. In explaining Stalin's success in the struggle for power, much has been made of his skills in packing and manipulating the bureaucracy and of the mistakes of his opponents. But some credit must be given to his ability to construct an identity for himself that embodied the aspirations of a growing number of the party rank and file, who, like him, came from the social and ethnic peripheries of prerevolutionary society.

The paradox of Stalin's self-presentation resolves itself in the construction of the

¹⁴³ Stalin, *Sochineniia*, 7: 141–42.

future socialist state. It was an extension of himself based on three interlocking frames: the proletariat as the dominant class, the ethno-cultural region as the territorial unit, and Great Russia as the political center of the state. Once having created it, Stalin set himself the task of maintaining a balance among these elements, each of which contained the potential for conflict and contradiction. Who would be better suited to make the necessary adjustments than the man whose understanding of their mutual relationship was born of the struggle to unify them all within the identity he had constructed for himself? The stability and security of such a state depended wholly on the ability of the leader in whose image the state was made to control, through whatever means necessary, the threats that could, almost inevitably must, arise from the clash of principles that he himself had defined as essentialist. The entire history of the revolutionary movement had demonstrated that in a country with such deep class, regional, and ethnic divisions the resolution of conflict could not be left to debating societies—whether dumas, soviets, or party congresses—especially in the hands of intellectuals, whose very nature was to debate fine points, to split hairs, to sow confusion, and to waver. These manifestations of uncertainty and confusion were and would continue to be as great a danger to the unity of the state as they were to the identity of the man who had shaped the state in his own image.

Alfred J. Rieber is a professor of history at the Central European University in Budapest. He has taught at Northwestern, the University of Chicago, Columbia, and Penn. His publications reflect his interests in the political and social history of imperial Russia, Russian historiography, and Russian and Soviet foreign policy. In the first category, they include *The Politics of Autocracy* (1966), *Merchants and Entrepreneurs in Imperial Russia* (1982); in the second, "The Study of the History of Russia in the USA" (in Russian), *Istoricheskie zapiski* (2000); and in the third, *Stalin and the French Communist Party, 1941–1947* (1962), "Persistent Factors in Russian Foreign Policy," in Hugh Ragsdale, *Imperial Russian Foreign Policy* (1993), and as editor, contributor, and translator, *Forced Migration in Central and Eastern Europe, 1939–1950* (2000). The current essay is part of a larger work, "The Cold War as Civil War: Russia and Its Borderlands," nearing completion.

From Settler Colony to Global Hegemon: Integrating the Exceptionalist Narrative of the American Experience into World History

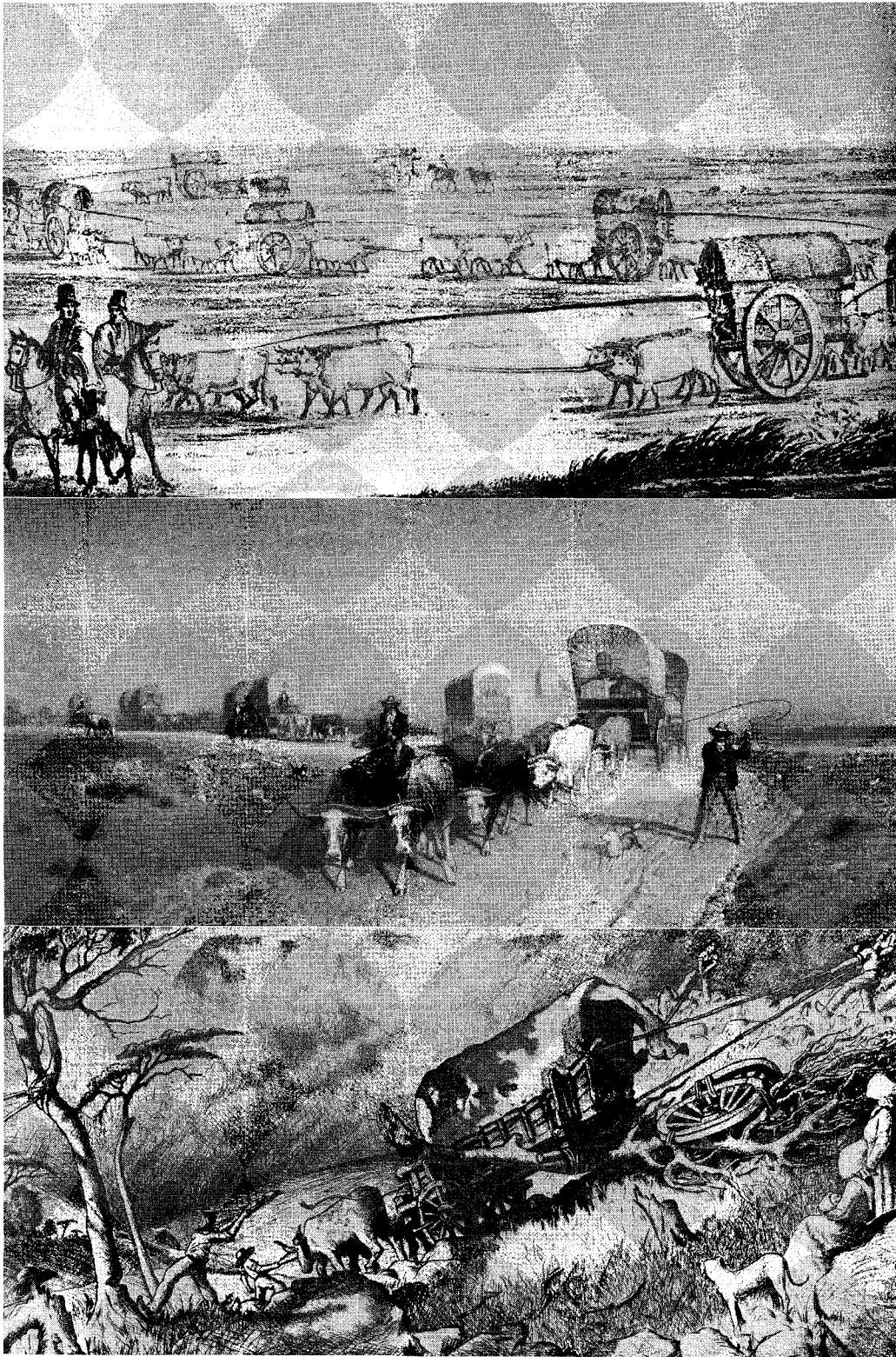
MICHAEL ADAS

THE PARADOX HAS BEEN THERE from the early years of settlement along the North Atlantic coast. The Pilgrims, and the Puritans soon after them, had migrated to the “howling wilderness” of New England out of a determination to build a utopian community that transcended history, a New Zion that was free of the corruption and oppression they sought to leave behind in Europe. In his metaphor of “a city upon the hill,” John Winthrop captured the Puritans’ sense of the exceptional nature of their undertaking, which they believed both divinely ordained and without precedent, at least since biblical times. But while Winthrop underscored the exceptional nature of the Puritan experiment in political, social, and religious development, he also stressed its lessons for the rest of humanity, lessons that he believed would be regarded as “a story and by-word through the world.” The city, after all, was on high ground with the “eyes of all people” upon it.¹

Winthrop’s metaphor proved to be foundational for the American nation that emerged in the following centuries from a scattering of tiny settler enclaves in New England and along the shores of Chesapeake Bay. Additional images and beliefs—such as the rugged individualism exemplified by the frontiersman, the rags-to-riches ascent of the hardworking entrepreneur, and the non-imperialist nature of American expansion—subsequently reinforced exceptionalist formulations of the American experience and national identity on the part of historians and politicians alike. But Winthrop’s city on the heights has been among the most enduring and frequently evoked symbols of a national experience that has been seen to be so distinctive that it defies comparison with or incorporation into the history of the rest

At various stages in the writing of this essay, I have refined, and at times reworked, my arguments in response to the questions and critiques of the participants in a panel on U.S. and global history at the 1999 convention of the Organization of American Historians; a conference on the writing of world history sponsored by the German Historical Institute, London, March 2000; a plenary session on world history at the nineteenth International Congress of Historical Sciences, Oslo, August 2000; a workshop sponsored by the Japan Center for Area Studies, Tokyo, and a seminar at Seikei University, January 2001. Useful suggestions for revision were made by several anonymous referees, and Michael Grossberg and Jeffrey Wasserstrom, who shepherded the essay through several versions. I am especially indebted to Karen Balcolm and Ray Ashare for their research assistance and insightful comments, and to Ramachandra Guha, Fumiko Nishizaki, Jane Adas, Matt Guterl, and above all David Engerman for their careful readings and suggestions for revision.

¹ Winthrop’s expectations were conveyed to his Puritan followers in a lay sermon delivered on their arrival in the New World. See “A Model of Christian Charity,” in Alan Heimert and Andrew Delbanco, eds., *The Puritans in America: A Narrative Anthology* (Cambridge, 1985), 71–74.



As these scenes of frontier expansion from (top to bottom) Argentina, the United States, and South Africa illustrate, the covered wagon was accorded a central place in the iconography of settler societies on several continents. In these diverse locales, wagon trains came to symbolize the progressive advance of civilized sedentary societies into what were represented as unimproved wilderness regions, sparsely populated by backward and savage peoples. Peter Schmidtmeier, "Caravana de carretas atravesando la pampa," reproduced in Diego Abad de Santillán, *Historia Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1965); Samuel Coleman, "Ships of the Plains," in Peter Hassrick, *The Way West: Art of Frontier America* (New York, 1977); and W. H. Coetzer, "Trek Wagons Descending a Hill," in Oliver Ransford, *The Great Trek* (London, 1972).

of humanity. And the discordant internal contradictions of Winthrop's formulation have persisted through centuries of ideological oscillation between exceptionalism and America's variant of a global civilizing mission.

Although fundamental and persistent, this tension between Americans' thinking about themselves and their relationship to other peoples and cultures has rarely been seriously addressed in the now-substantial historiographic discourse on American exceptionalism. And interestingly, it has often been foreign observers who have pointed it out. A number of European historians have drawn attention to what Serge Ricard has seen as "the basic incompatibility of the exceptionalist claim with political messianism, of singularity with universalism."² Akira Iriye, who had grown up in Japan but pursued his college education and career as a historian in the United States, returned again and again to the paradox in tracing the oscillations in late nineteenth-century American responses to Japan and China in the introductory chapter of one of his early works.³ A decade later, William Appleman Williams—an American scholar but one who consistently challenged then-prevailing notions about the exceptional nature of U.S. foreign policies—identified "an intense consciousness of *uniqueness*" and "a hyperactive sense of *mission*" as two of a number of critical themes in American history. But he offered no commentary on their apparent opposition.⁴ In view of the long neglect of the paradox in American historiographical writing, it is heartening to find in a recent review of Seymour Martin Lipset's *American Exceptionalism*, Mary Nolan's succinct summary of the predicament of peoples—in this case, the Germans—who have sought selectively to emulate American ways:

The [German] goal was to become Americanized while remaining oneself. American exceptionalism, which proclaims the moral and material superiority of the United States, denies the possibility of such emulation and negotiation. The ideology of exceptionalism thus stands in sharp and ironic contrast to much of American foreign and economic policy, from modernization theory to structural adjustment programs, which are premised on America as the only economic and political model.⁵

As Nolan's emphasis on the dilemmas that the paradox has posed for peoples and states interacting with an increasingly powerful and assertive American republic suggests, perhaps we have begun to reckon seriously with the global repercussions of the contradiction at the heart of our sense of national identity and destiny.

² Quoted passage from Serge Ricard, "The Exceptionalist Syndrome in U.S. Continental and Overseas Expansionism," in David K. Adams and Cornelis A. van Minnen, eds., *Reflections on American Exceptionalism* (Kiel, 1994), 73. Some decades earlier, in her work *Les mythes fondateurs de la nation américaine* (Paris, 1976), 90–98, Elise Marienstras provided numerous examples of these opposing visions but did not explicitly address their paradoxical juxtaposition.

³ Akira Iriye, *Across the Pacific: An Inner History of American–East Asian Relations* (New York, 1967).

⁴ William Appleman Williams, *America Confronts a Revolutionary World, 1776–1976* (New York, 1976), 27 (his italics). In a recent overview of American foreign relations, Walter A. McDougall explores these tensions, particularly in the early history of the United States. But he does not link them directly to the contradictions in American exceptionalist thinking. See *Promised Land, Crusader State: The American Encounter with the World since 1776* (Boston, 1997).

⁵ Mary Nolan, "Against Exceptionalisms," *AHR* 102 (June 1997): 773.

OVER THE CENTURIES, a variety of sometimes overlapping, but often quite distinct, claims for exceptionalism have been made by American thinkers, social commentators, and politicians. Winthrop's metaphor exemplifies the cosmic teleology version of exceptionalism that has dominated both political rhetoric and popular convictions. In this view, the emergence of the United States as a global power represents the working out in the mundane realm of a larger, divinely inspired plan. This sentiment can be found in American readings of their history from the Puritans' conviction that the epidemics that ravaged the Indian population of New England were God's way of preparing the New World for their settlement to Seymour Lipset's recent admission that he believed the "hand of providence" responsible for the strong leaders who have emerged in times of crisis in U.S. history.⁶ Though in some ways a variant of the "Gott mit Uns" impulse that has been a component of the ideological baggage of most societies throughout history, the divinely ordained vision of the American experience has been both more comprehensive and extreme than its counterparts elsewhere. It has also proven a good deal more impervious than most other national variants of divinely inspired mission to the unsettling excesses of human folly and cruelty that have abounded in the twentieth century.

Alternative versions of American exceptionalism are more amenable to empirical testing. They have also had, particularly in the American half-century of the post-World War II decades, a much greater impact on thinking and writing about U.S. history as well as approaches to foreign policy in the Cold War era and the first decade of the "new world order." Although divine imperatives are often implicit, and at times explicit, in these alternative formulations of exceptionalism, they emphasize the uniquely progressive and socially capacious character of American institutional and material development. The decidedly Whiggish thrust of progressivist variations on the exceptionalist theme owe much to expectations regarding the young American republic held by eighteenth-century European intellectuals.⁷ Their fascination with the American experiment appeared to validate the vision of the city on a hill. In the nineteenth century, both Winthrop's metaphor and the acclaim of the Philosophes informed interpretations of U.S. history that privileged it as the culmination of the evolutionary advance of human civilization. Whether grounded in the bounty of what was seen to be an undeveloped New World environment or the unique mixture of attributes that made up the American "character," or both, progressivist exceptionalism has celebrated—in varying blends of attributes and emphases—the unprecedented extent to which democracy, individualism and social mobility, civil society, free enterprise, ingenuity and inventiveness, and material well-being have flourished in the United States. In these areas of human endeavor, which are seen to be definitive in terms of social development, progressivist exceptionalists insist that American achievements have not simply surpassed those

⁶ Peter N. Carroll, *Puritans and the Wilderness: The Intellectual Significance of the New England Frontier, 1629–1700* (New York, 1967), 13–14, 37–38; and Seymour Martin Lipset, *American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged Sword* (New York, 1996), 14.

⁷ On these connections, see especially Joyce Appleby, "Recovering America's Historic Diversity: Beyond Exceptionalism," *Journal of American History* 79 (1992): 419–21.

of any other society in degree, they have reached distinctive levels of enactment and refinement.⁸

From a global perspective, these claims to American uniqueness would not have mattered very much if the United States had remained the geographically remote, rather isolated outlier of Western European civilization, which it was at least well into the nineteenth century. But the nation's rise to the status of a world power by the late 1800s, and its emergence after World War II as the epicenter of the process of globalization, meant both that Americans' self-images and the way they represented other peoples and cultures would have increasingly significant repercussions for all of humanity. These transformations gave new salience and intensity to the longstanding contradictions between exceptionalism in its varying guises and visions of America as a model for the rest of humankind. As Joyce Appleby has argued, over the course of the nineteenth century, the antithesis of the exceptionalist vision took on increasing importance in American thinking and policymaking aimed at both those who were considered aliens within the republic and foreigners who were increasingly encountered overseas: "The propagandists of American democracy breached the geographic isolation of their country by universalizing what was peculiar to Americans; their endorsement of natural rights, their drive for personal independence, their celebration of democracy. What might be construed elsewhere as uninterestingly plebeian was elevated by the national imagination to a new goal for mankind."⁹ The persisting conviction that the American experience, despite its unprecedented nature, could serve as a template for the future of less fortunate peoples and less developed cultures not only justified increasing interventionism in the outside world, it often promoted a predisposition to denigrate the worth and viability of foreign, particularly non-Western, cultures.

At times, these negative assessments remained implicit, even unconscious. More often, American policymakers, missionaries, and bureaucrats were openly disdainful of cultures and peoples deemed to be beyond the pale of Western (or increasingly, American) civilization. Though not necessarily racist but decidedly ethnocentric, their approach to these alien societies was premised on the presupposition that their ways of thinking and doing were diametrically opposed to those of an exceptionally progressive and highly developed United States. From missionary tracts on the Plains Indians to the journals of American ambassadors overseas, such epithets as savage and barbaric were standard fare in writings on non-Western peoples from the first years of colonization until well into the twentieth century. Chinese or Japanese leaders who resisted U.S. inroads into their societies in the late 1800s were caricatured as effete, reactionary, or xenophobic, while in the post-Cold War era, Muslim revivalists are indiscriminately lumped together as irrational fanatics bent on fomenting violent opposition to American-inspired efforts to promote economic and cultural globalization.¹⁰

⁸ The basic tenets of progressivist exceptionalism, which peaked in historical circles in the 1950s and early 1960s, were perhaps the most fully explicated in David M. Potter, *People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character* (Chicago, 1954); and Daniel J. Boorstin's three-volume, essentialist portrait of *The Americans* (New York, 1958–73).

⁹ Appleby, "Recovering America's Historic Diversity," 424.

¹⁰ The most wide-ranging treatment of these responses to the American Indians can be found in Roy Harvey Pearce, *The Savages of America: A Study of the Indian and the Idea of Civilization* (Baltimore,

Although often conceived in ignorance, these dismissive representations played a significant role in shaping policies aimed at promoting the westernization or Americanization of non-Western peoples and societies. The denigration or outright dismissal of alien, non-Western cultures allowed American diplomats, missionaries, and colonial administrators to conclude that they would be highly receptive to the introduction of American values and institutions. These attitudes and assumptions were manifested in early Anglo-American policies toward the indigenous Indian peoples of coastal North America, and they persisted in the centuries of settler frontier expansion and Indian dispossession. As recent historians of these processes have concluded, in these circumstances Americanization literally meant "cultural erasure" for the Indians. And there is perhaps no more revealing measure of the low regard that Anglo-Americans had for Indian culture than the fact that, with rare exceptions, even the most sympathetic missionary educators and government agents made no effort to learn the languages of the peoples among whom they worked.¹¹

From the nineteenth century, the highly ethnocentric and increasingly racist assumptions of the superiority and universal applicability of Euro-American ways that informed American policies toward the Indians were increasingly deployed in encounters with overseas peoples and cultures. In the 1890s and early 1900s, these presuppositions were worked into a distinctive (but by no means unprecedented or unique) American version of the civilizing mission, and some decades later they undergirded the central tenets of modernization theory. Both ideologies were used to justify social engineering projects designed to transform foreign, and again mainly non-Western, societies whose cultures were essentialized as tradition-bound, materially underdeveloped, and hopelessly backward.¹²

ANY MEANINGFUL ATTEMPT to integrate the history of the United States into the analysis of broader global developments over the last half millennium requires

1953). For China, see Peter Buck, *American Science and Modern China, 1876-1936* (London, 1980); and for Japan, Walter LaFeber, *The Clash: U.S.-Japanese Relations throughout History* (New York, 1997). Recent reactions to Muslim "fundamentalism" range from Samuel Huntington's strident prognostications in "The Clash of Civilizations," *Foreign Affairs* 72 (1993): 22-49; to the more muted strictures in Benjamin R. Barber, *Jihad vs. McWorld: How the Planet Is Both Falling Apart and Coming Together and What This Means for Democracy* (New York, 1992).

¹¹ The concept of cultural erasure is explored by Priscilla Wald in her provocative essay "Terms of Assimilation: Legislating Subjectivity in the Emerging Nation," in Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease, eds., *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (Durham, N.C., 1993), 59-84. See also Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *The White Man's Indian* (New York, 1978), 137, 150; and William G. McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789-1839* (New Haven, Conn., 1984), 51, 63-64, 70-71, 143, 151. Current research, such as that undertaken by Anne Keary at the University of California, Berkeley, reveals that some missionary groups were committed to the serious study of Indian languages (as had Roger Williams at an early stage of the colonization process). But, as a substantial body of historical literature has demonstrated, Indians were generally discouraged (or forbidden) from using their own languages in mission or government schools and were required to communicate with the settler population in English. I am grateful to David Engerman for drawing my attention to Keary's work.

¹² Michael Adas, "Improving on the Civilizing Mission? Assumptions of United States Exceptionalism in the Colonisation of the Philippines," *Itinerario* 22 (1998): 44-66; Howard Gillette, "The Military Occupation of Cuba, 1899-1902: Workshop for American Progressivism," *American Quarterly* 25 (1973): 410-25; Dean Tipps, "Modernization Theory and the Comparative Study of Societies: A Critical Perspective," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 15 (1973): 199-226.

comparative or world historians to grapple with the foundational and enduring paradox that I have argued runs through the historiography of the United States and informs the myths and discourses that have shaped the Americans' sense of national identity and purpose. For those who held that key processes in U.S. history were unprecedented and unique, it followed that they were so significant that they must be studied in and of themselves. From this perspective, it was also not unreasonable to conclude that these processes could not be meaningfully compared to what more cross-culturally minded or globally oriented scholars deemed to be similar developments in other peoples' history. These convictions appeared to most practitioners of American history to be well founded, given the sheer size of the United States (and the corresponding bulk of its historical production), its relative isolation well into the twentieth century,¹³ and, conversely in the period since World War I, its preponderant influence in international affairs.

Despite this confluence of constraints, it has long been acceptable, at times even fashionable, for historians of the United States to include explorations of the European roots of the new nation's beliefs, institutions, or patterns of colonization as vital components of, and even partial explanations for, the exceptional trajectory of American history.¹⁴ In fact, as numerous critiques of exceptionalism in American political thinking, social commentary, and historical writing have stressed, America's uniqueness was often articulated through self-laudatory contrasts with the European societies it was seen to have left behind and to be destined to replace in the vanguard of human development.¹⁵ Given this emphasis in much of the literature on the sources and influence of exceptionalist thinking, and mindful of the areas where I have concentrated my own historical research and writing, I will focus here on the ways in which American interactions with or historical experiences comparable to peoples and societies *outside* of Europe have shaped exceptionalist ideas and imagery. In addition to the Indian peoples of North America, and overseas societies, such as those of China and Central Asia, that were distinctly non-European in history and culture, I will include European settler societies in Oceania, Canada, southern Africa, Russia, and Latin America in my exploration of the ways in which cross-cultural and comparative history can be used to both contest persisting notions of American exceptionalism and to more fully integrate U.S. history into broader global analyses. In my discussion of history of the Western frontier as a key part of this larger narrative, I note the potential of the borderlands approach for framing the comparative and cross-cultural dimensions of the diverse strands of multiculturalism that have been so central to the American experience. But a full exploration of those possibilities lies beyond the range of the present

¹³ For a fuller consideration of these factors, see Raymond Grew, "The Comparative Weakness of American History," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 16 (1985): 87–101.

¹⁴ As long as the American side of this interaction was privileged, an imperative underscored by Carlton Hayes's reproach in the mid-1940s that few who specialized in U.S. history shared his view that the American experience was best studied in the context of a broadly defined, expansive European civilization. See Hayes, "The American Frontier—Frontier of What?" *AHR* 51 (1946): 199–216.

¹⁵ For overviews that focus on different eras in U.S. development, see Appleby, "Recovering America's Historic Diversity," 419–31; John F. Kasson, *Civilizing the Machine: Technology and Republican Values in America, 1776–1900* (New York, 1976); and Daniel T. Rodgers, "Exceptionalism," in Anthony Molho and Gordon S. Wood, eds., *Imagined Histories: American Historians Interpret the Past* (Princeton, N.J., 1998): 21–40.

essay, and is perhaps best left for those more expert in the history of migration, ethnicity, or American regionalism.

Until the last couple of decades, there have been few serious attempts to compare the discovery and settlement of the Atlantic littoral to similar processes in Australia, Argentina, or South Africa; the history of American frontier expansion to these areas and others exhibiting obvious parallels in many parts of the globe; or the nature of American empire-building overseas to imperial expansion by other industrial powers, including Japan. On the contrary, American historians have generally confined their narratives and analyses of these and other defining aspects of the American experience to the United States itself. If they attempted to set that history in a broader transnational framework, they were likely to stress, for example, the ways in which industrialization produced a peculiarly "American system" of manufacturing, the fundamental distinctions between America's exercise of informal influence overseas and the oppressive empires ruled by its rivals, and the incomparable magnitude and impact of the European immigrant flow to the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Implicit, but also at times quite conscious, comparisons appeared to confirm the exceptionalist nature of key features of American history. These ranged from what were seen to be distinctive modes of labor organization and agitation and the absence of significant socialist parties to the weakness of the state and what were assumed to be higher levels of mobility and material prosperity relative to other industrial societies.¹⁶

As numerous commentators have observed, the predominance of a national frame of reference for thinking and writing about U.S. history has reinforced notions of American exceptionalism in major ways.¹⁷ Because national units as a whole are difficult to compare successfully, reliance on them has discouraged systematic analysis of transcultural and cross-cultural historical patterns. And nation-centric history has often reduced comparisons inserted into narratives focused on developments within the United States to "one-shot, brief analogies,"¹⁸ which have often proved more misleading than informative. Until the past two or three decades, this preoccupation with national history had also marginalized both comparative and world history within the historical profession in the United States and often abroad. As William H. McNeill, who as early as the 1960s defied these trends by producing widely read and cited cross-cultural studies, has observed, for much of the twentieth century professional historians in the United States have had little regard for world perspectives.¹⁹ These are assumed to yield little more than poorly documented generalizations and deeply personal commentaries on the human condition, such as those authored by Arnold Toynbee and Oswald Spengler in the decades of global crisis following World War I.

¹⁶ For a superb exploration of these issues, despite conclusions that may prove unsettling for comparativists and globalists, see Michael Kammen, "The Problem of American Exceptionalism: A Reconsideration," *American Quarterly* 45 (1993): 1–43. Daniel T. Rodgers's recent essay "Exceptionalism" covers some of the same ground as Kammen but in interesting and often original ways.

¹⁷ For an early and thorough critique of these connections, see Laurence Veysey, "The Autonomy of American History Reconsidered," *American Quarterly* 31 (1979): 455–77.

¹⁸ The apt phrasing is Carl Degler's. See "Comparative History: An Essay Review," *Journal of Southern History* 34 (1968): 426.

¹⁹ William H. McNeill, "A Defense of World History," in McNeill, *Mythistory and Other Essays* (Chicago, 1986), 82–95.

In an extended critique of American exceptionalism, Ian Tyrrell has also deplored the neglect, and often the outright dismissal, of cross-cultural research by historians of the United States. In Tyrrell's view, the Americans' preoccupation with their own history has not only discouraged serious scholarship with a transnational frame of reference, it has skewed much of the comparative work that has been written in recent decades. His contention that comparative work undertaken by American scholars has usually begun with questions or patterns discerned in U.S. history that were then tested through an examination of similar phenomena in other areas works well for many of the studies written before the late 1960s.²⁰ As Tyrrell himself notes, his critique of American historians' approaches to comparative history owes much to Raymond Grew, who several years earlier argued that critical topics in U.S. history were usually the starting point for forays into cross-cultural analysis, including those focusing on slave systems, racism, and labor relations. Grew observed that issues arising in the study of the history of other societies had rarely shaped investigations of comparable phenomena in America, and he argued that even scholars who had made significant use of case evidence drawn from elsewhere in the Americas, Africa, or Eurasia rarely sustained a serious research commitment to these areas.²¹

The fine comparative studies of such scholars as George Fredrickson, Philip Curtin, Jack Greene, Samuel Baily, and Ian Steele render the categorical assessments of Tyrrell and Grew dubious at best.²² But they are even more troubling in view of the unintended and ironic American-centered assumptions that Tyrrell and Grew themselves make. Neither takes into account the very substantial corpus of comparative historical work produced by American scholars that does not feature U.S. case examples or American interaction with other societies.²³ On topics ranging from colonialism and peasant protest to international immigration and environmental transformations, this scholarship has in fact contributed substantially to the development of the comparative and global subfields in terms of theory and methodology, in the identification of critical issues for study and debate, and not the least in enhancing our understanding of the history of other peoples and regions, especially those in the "non-Western" world, which had been long

²⁰ Ian Tyrrell, "American Exceptionalism in an Age of International History," *AHR* 96 (October 1991): 1032–39.

²¹ Grew, "Comparative Weakness," 99.

²² See, for examples, George M. Fredrickson, *White Supremacy: A Comparative Study in American and South African History* (Oxford, 1981); and *Black Liberation: A Comparative History of Black Ideologies in the United States and South Africa* (Oxford, 1995); Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison, Wis., 1969); Jack P. Greene, *Peripheries and Center: Constitutional Development in the Extended Politics of the British Empire and the United States, 1607–1788* (Athens, Ga., 1986); Samuel L. Baily, *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise: Italians in Buenos Aires and New York City, 1870–1914* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1999); and Ian K. Steele, *The English Atlantic, 1675–1740: An Exploration of Communication and Community* (New York, 1986).

²³ This oversight is shared by leading comparativists, such as Carl Degler and George Fredrickson, whose periodic reflections on the state of the comparative subfield make little mention of work that does not make significant use of U.S., or at the very least European, case examples. See Degler, "Comparative History"; and Carl N. Degler, "In Pursuit of American History," *AHR* 92 (February 1987): 1–12; Fredrickson, "Comparative History," in Michael Kammen, ed., *The Past before Us: Contemporary Historical Writing in the United States* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1980), 457–73; and "From Exceptionalism to Variability: Recent Developments in Cross-National Comparative History," *Journal of American History* 82 (1995): 587–604.

neglected or ignored by American historians. Grew may well be correct in concluding that because of the excessively inward-looking nature of much of American historical scholarship, it has not had an international impact commensurate with the high quality and innovativeness characteristic of much of a prodigious quantity of research and writing.²⁴ But if the major contributions American scholars have made to both comparative and global history beyond that centered on issues rooted in U.S. historiography are taken fully into account, in these subfields of research and writing at least, their influence proves a good deal more considerable than Grew allows.²⁵

These achievements notwithstanding, the need for the full integration of U.S. history into comparative and global frameworks has perhaps been the most convincingly demonstrated by the important ways in which cross-cultural studies have shaped the research agenda for a diverse range of subfields dealing with processes that have been central to the American experience. In core fields of research ranging from slave systems and racial ideologies to frontier expansion, industrialization, and struggles for civil rights, comparative studies have since the 1960s proved critical to the development of U.S. historiography. They have identified questions that need to be pursued, established issues worthy of serious debate, and plotted broader historical patterns that had earlier tended to be obscured by a surfeit of primary source materials and a privileging of specialized research.²⁶ All of these tasks were, of course, precisely those for which Marc Bloch argued many decades ago that comparative analysis was indispensable.²⁷ And although Americanists have applied comparative techniques to case examples far

²⁴ Grew, "Comparative Weakness," 87.

²⁵ Among the more influential of this very substantial body of works are Jerry H. Bentley, *Old World Encounters: Cross-Cultural Contacts and Exchanges in Pre-Modern Times* (Oxford, 1993); Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *Rethinking World History: Essays on Europe, Islam, and World History*, Edmund Burke III, ed. (New York, 1993); and *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, 3 vols. (Chicago, 1974); Janet Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250–1350* (New York, 1989); William H. McNeill, *The Pursuit of Power: Technology, Armed Force, and Society since A.D. 1000* (Chicago, 1982); Philip D. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (Cambridge, 1984); Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900* (New York, 1986); Peter N. Stearns, *European Society in Upheaval: Social History since 1800* (London, 1967); Louise A. Tilly and Joan W. Scott, *Women, Work and Family* (New York, 1978); Eric R. Wolf, *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1969); and *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1982); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, rev. edn. (London, 1991); Robert Wohl, *The Generation of 1914* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979); Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China* (London, 1979); and most recently Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton, N.J., 2000); and Mark Philip Bradley, *Imagining Vietnam and America: The Making of Postcolonial Vietnam, 1919–1950* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2000).

²⁶ Even a partial survey of the works in each of these subfields would require an extensive essay in itself. But to gain a sense of the influence of comparative studies on U.S. historiography, one might reflect on the impact in the postwar decades of the seminal, if highly controversial, writings of Frank Tannenbaum and Stanley Elkins, and try to imagine the state of such critical fields as slavery, racism, and frontier settlement without the comparative contributions of Carl Degler, David Brion Davis, Eugene Genovese, George Fredrickson, John Cell, Philip Curtin, Sidney Mintz, Orlando Patterson, Jack Greene, Herbert Klein, John Thornton, Philip Morgan, Peter Kolchin, and Richard White.

²⁷ Bloch's case "Pour une histoire comparée des sociétés européennes" was first made in 1928 in Oslo, as a paper at the Sixth International Congress of Historical Sciences. My citations are from the English translation by J. E. Anderson, "A Contribution towards a Comparative History of European Societies," in Marc Bloch, *Land and Work in Mediaeval Europe: Selected Papers by Marc Bloch* (New York, 1969), 44–81.

more separated in time and space, and thus more disparate in cultural and historical origins and trajectories than Bloch deemed prudent,²⁸ their work has proved as potent an antidote to assumptions of national exceptionalism as his seminal studies on medieval Europe.

In conceiving U.S. history comparatively and thus integrating it meaningfully into a larger global context, it is essential to distinguish between exceptionalism and difference. Exceptionalist perspectives have by no means been confined to historians, social commentators, and politicians in the United States. Like their counterparts in earlier societies and in contemporary nations, American exceptionalists have almost invariably presumed the superiority of their own culture and, from the late eighteenth century, of the national character that culture had nurtured. But arguments for the uniqueness of the United States have been both more foundational and enduring, and they have tended to emphasize sources of superiority and trajectories of dominance that distinguish the history of the republic in fundamental ways from that of the rest of humankind. From the first decades of European settlement in North America, exceptionalists have almost invariably stressed unprecedented and qualitatively (and very often quantitatively) distinct patterns of societal, and later national, development that transcend the environmental and social obstacles that are alleged to have prevented earlier civilizations or contemporary rivals from attaining similar levels of individual and collective fulfillment. American exceptionalists tend to see the rise of the United States to global power as part of a larger teleological progression toward—depending on the observer and time frame in question—human virtue, utopian sublimity, civilization, development, or modernity. And, as I have argued above, in apparent contradiction to most of the foregoing assumptions, they have premised their prescriptions for interaction with foreign peoples and cultures on assimilationist imperatives that exceed those of even their most expansive and chauvinistic rivals, past or present.

I think it fair to argue that the findings of most comparativists who make extensive use of case evidence drawn from U.S. history underscore the importance of difference as opposed to the exceptional nature of the American experience.²⁹ Although exceptionalist claims have only rarely been based on well-grounded comparisons,³⁰ that is, of course, the only way they can be empirically verified or disproved. But, as most of the cross-cultural analyses of key patterns in American history written in recent decades amply demonstrate, serious comparison is better suited to determining the extent to which developments in the United States paralleled or diverged from those other societies and why. Much of the comparative

²⁸ For an insightful critique of the limitations of Bloch's comparative vision that is centered on these issues, see William H. Sewell, Jr., "Marc Bloch and the Logic of Comparative History," *History and Theory* 6 (1967): 208–18.

²⁹ A distinction that Allen Dawley insisted on well over a decade ago. See "Farewell to 'American Exceptionalism,'" in Jean Heffer and Jeanine Rovet, eds., *Why Is There No Socialism in the United States* (Paris, 1988), 311–15. For a more recent stress on the importance of these semantic distinctions for American historiography more broadly, see Kammen, "Problem of American Exceptionalism," 15, 24, 32.

³⁰ Here, the works of Seymour Martin Lipset provide perhaps the most notable counterexample. But despite a proclivity for rhetorical flourishes, he, too, has stressed the differences that comparison can reveal. See, for example, his recent essay on "American Exceptionalism Reaffirmed," in Byron E. Shafer, ed., *Is America Different? A New Look at American Exceptionalism* (Oxford, 1991), 1–45.

work done thus far has stressed difference rather than similarity, which has been troubling for a number of prominent advocates of internationalist history, such as Ian Tyrrell and Akira Iriye. They have urged that we can best counter American exceptionalism by deploying international and transregional (encompassing, for example, the Atlantic Basin or the Pacific Rim) approaches that play down national differences and foreground cross-cultural similarities, which Iriye suggests are ultimately products of the unity of the human condition.³¹ But both recurring and divergent historical patterns are proper subjects for comparative and international history. And both similarities and differences challenge American exceptionalism by placing U.S. history in broader global frames of reference that allow us to identify and explore underlying commonalities in major patterns of societal development across time and space. All societies exhibit variations on these shared themes; and each has experienced transcultural processes of historical transformation, such as agrarian expansion, industrialization, or conquest, in distinctive ways.

Akira Iriye's realization as a student in postwar Japan that his national history "could best be understood when it was examined from without as well as from within"³² provides a compelling point of departure for historians of the United States who have urged in a variety of ways that comparative or international approaches can provide more inclusive, nuanced, and complex understandings of the American experience than those adhering to a constricted master narrative that has been informed by exceptionalist thinking since the seventeenth century. At the most basic level, comparative analyses and global perspectives have contributed significantly to the disaggregation of the unified visions that have long dominated the writing of U.S. history. They demonstrate that national units, taken as a whole or conceived as autonomous entities, are difficult, if not impossible, to compare meaningfully. Comparative and world perspectives expose concepts of national purpose and character as the same sort of essentialisms associated with now-discredited approaches to history that were grounded in racial, religious, or civilizational typologies. And they illustrate the ways in which isolated national frames of reference can obscure or skew our understandings of cross-cultural interactions or transnational phenomena.

Rather than whole civilizations (a term that is problematic in and of itself) or unified national narratives, serious comparison and manageable world history compel us to focus on clearly delineated processes and particular types of institutions, social movements, or discourses. Somewhat paradoxically, this narrowing of the breadth of occurrences and issues to be studied requires comparativists and globalists to concentrate on the history of specific subregions, or even locales, which are then compared in depth to areas in other societies that evince the same types of transformations, institutional developments, or socio-intellectual upheavals. This approach to historical analysis inevitably forces us beyond elite and male-centered narratives, which until recent decades have dominated the historiography of both the United States and the areas to which it has been compared.³³

³¹ Tyrrell, "American Exceptionalism," 1034–38; and Akira Iriye, "The Internationalization of History," *AHR* 94 (February 1989): 3–5.

³² Iriye, "Internationalization of History," 9.

³³ Several decades ago, Laurence Veysey perceptively drew attention to the correspondence between

In this way, comparative and international perspectives have prompted or reinforced broader efforts by historians and social scientists to give agency and voice to a diverse range of ethnic, gender, and class groups that have long been neglected or altogether ignored.³⁴ Close attention to the ways in which global transformations and cross-cultural movements of peoples, ideas, and things have shaped and complicated diversity throughout American history would appear to be essential for a society that, viewed from the long-term vantage point of the history of humankind, is perhaps the most remarkable for its ever more complex pluralism and its intensely creative, multicultural synergy.

IN THE REMAINDER OF THIS ESSAY, I would like to explore some of the ways in which the history of the United States provides important variations on a number of the core processes of world history in the early modern and modern periods. For the United States, I will focus on patterns of European settlement on the North Atlantic coast and key themes in American frontier expansion. At both levels, I will give special attention to the intruders' interaction with the indigenous peoples and the pre-contact natural environment. Each of these key components of the American experience will be framed with reference to comparable processes in other parts of the world as well as with more general global trends. I have chosen to concentrate on these two aspects of American history in part because they have been less studied in a systematically comparative way than other key historical phenomena, such as slavery, racism, industrialization, immigration, labor organization, and popular political participation. But each also illustrates in rather revealing and distinctive ways the tensions between claims of U.S. exceptionalism and more capacious visions of American ideas, institutions, and material culture as models to be emulated by what were regarded as less fortunate societies. Each underscores the ways in which the history of the United States has been both integral to broader global developments and unquestionably distinctive but in no meaningful sense unprecedented or unique.

John Winthrop's fantasy that the "eyes of all people" were fixed on the Puritan settlements of New England bore little relation to the actual isolation, precariousness, and marginality of all of the English plantations established along the Atlantic coast of North America in the first half of the seventeenth century. Though reasonably prosperous and driven by an all-encompassing religious purpose, the Puritans—and the Pilgrims who preceded them and the less religiously motivated settlers then struggling to establish plantations in the Chesapeake region further south along the same coast—accomplished little that the rest of humanity might emulate, much less see as exceptional. In fact, they scarcely attracted the attention of the troubled and deeply divided population of the English metropole from which they had sought refuge. Each of these small bands of English settlers represented

exceptionalist generalizations concerning national character and a unified narrative of American history that was all but monopolized by white males. See "Autonomy of American History Reconsidered," 457–58.

³⁴ A trend that was emphasized by Joyce Appleby in her presidential address to the Organization of American Historians. See "Recovering America's Historic Diversity," 426–31.

a minuscule portion of the growing stream of European migrants who were then carving out enclaves for trade, conquest, and conversion from the coasts of Africa and across the great Indian Ocean trading zone to south China and Japan and throughout the Americas. Far larger numbers of Europeans had migrated in the previous century to Iberian colonies to the south, and in the seventeenth century migration from the British Isles to the Caribbean islands would considerably surpass that to all of the North Atlantic colonies.³⁵ It is true that the English migrants to the New World were predominantly permanent settlers in contrast to the transient merchants, missionaries, and officials who made up the bulk of the European population in Portuguese way stations, New France, and many of the imperial towns in Spain's vast New World empire. But comparable settlement societies were also struggling to survive elsewhere, including the Dutch on the southern tip of Africa and the mid-Atlantic coast, the French along the St. Lawrence River, and often far larger Spanish communities on the major islands of the Caribbean and key points of occupation and exploitation in Mesoamerica and the Andes highlands.³⁶

The climate in the areas where English settlers chose to establish their plantations proved a good deal less hospitable than in most of the areas selected by their European rivals.³⁷ The new world enclaves also proved unsuitable for the cultivation of many of the crops that English promoters of the voyages of expansion had anticipated the plantations would produce. And little of the mineral wealth that the Spanish had so ruthlessly extracted in South America was to be found.³⁸ Although the resources of the vast continent where the English chose to concentrate their early colonizing efforts would eventually prove equal to those of any of the areas of heavy European settlement, which Alfred W. Crosby has aptly termed

³⁵ A composite reckoning of the different migrant flows is included in the introduction to *To Make America: European Emigration in the Early Modern Period*, Ida Altman and James Horn, eds. (Berkeley, Calif., 1991), 3–6. The volume of official and non-official migration to the Americas has been skillfully interpolated by Magnus Mörner. See “Spanish Migration to the New World prior to 1810: A Report on the State of the Research,” *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, Fredi Chiappelli, ed., 2 vols. (Berkeley, 1976), 2: 737–82. I am grateful to John Kicza, whose recent paper for the 1999 AHA Annual Meeting directed me to these key sources on comparative population flows. For estimates of English migrant streams in the early centuries of colonization, see Bernard Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York, 1986). Decades ago, William Woodruff estimated that there were 160,000 Spanish in the Americas by 1574 and 25,000 Portuguese in Brazil alone. See *The Impact of Western Man: A Study of Europe's Role in the World Economy, 1750–1960* (New York, 1967), 73. See also Charles Gibson, *Spain in America* (New York, 1966), 116–19; and C. R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415–1825* (New York, 1969).

³⁶ For a well-focused comparison of Dutch settlement in southern Africa with the American colonies, see Fredrickson, *White Supremacy*, chap. 1; for the French in Canada, see Marcel Trudel, *The Beginnings of New France, 1524–1663*, Patricia Claxton, trans. (Toronto, 1973); and for patterns of Spanish migration and settlement in the Americas, Ida Altman, *Emigrants and Society: Extremadura and Spanish Society in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989); James Lockhart and Stuart B. Schwartz, *Early Latin America: A History of Colonial Spanish America and Brazil* (Cambridge, 1983), chap. 4.

³⁷ Karen Ordahl Kupperman, “The Puzzle of the American Climate in the Early Colonial Period,” *AHR* 87 (December 1982): 1262–89.

³⁸ For samples of hyperbolic estimates of the productive potential of the newly colonized areas, see the accounts of Thomas Hariot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1590; rpt. edn., New York, 1972); Robert Gray, *A Good Speed to Virginia* (1609; rpt. edn., London, 1970); and the essays and numerous travel accounts published by Richard Hakluyt. On the harsh realities that frustrated many of these dreams, see Kupperman, “Puzzle of the American Climate.”

neo-Europes,³⁹ in the early decades the very survival of the newly established plantations was in question. Failed experiments with the cultivation of European crops, severe weather, and—in Virginia, at least—the refusal of many “gentlemen” migrants to undertake manual labor left the plantations heavily dependent on supplies sent from England or on foods that the indigenous peoples taught them how to grow, that they received in barter, or that they increasingly extracted by force from local Indian communities. Support from their Nonconformist brethren in England was essential to sustain the Puritan venture in the New World wilderness during its early decades. The plantations in Virginia became economically viable only after the settlers there began to cultivate and market an Indian crop, tobacco, on an ever-larger scale.⁴⁰ Even after a number of the coastal plantations had become significant players in the burgeoning Atlantic trading system, they remained for nearly two centuries overwhelmingly exporters of primary products, especially forest products and foodstuffs. The colonists were also heavily dependent on the English metropole for manufactured goods—including farm implements, weapons, and processing machinery.⁴¹

If the climatic constraints facing the English in North America were more formidable than those encountered by settlers in many other areas of European overseas expansion in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a number of broader environmental factors—including perhaps most decisively the disease environment—made for a number of advantages that facilitated the gradual expansion of the original coastal enclaves. In contrast to sub-Saharan Africa and much of Asia, where malaria, yellow fever, dysentery, and other diseases accounted for daunting mortality rates *within* European communities—settlers and transients alike⁴²—the disease environment throughout the Americas (and later across the islands of the Pacific) favored the European intruders. Not only did the long-isolated Amerindian peoples of the Western Hemisphere lack immunities to the pathogens of the Old World ecumene, the temperate lands settled in North America were apparently free of serious diseases to which the Europeans had not been previously exposed. Thus, although the proportion of the settlers who perished in the early decades of settlement was high—at times, alarmingly so—malnutrition, severe winters, and familiar diseases, such as influenza and smallpox, were largely responsible. But the settlers, and fishermen and explorers decades before them, transmitted a variety of diseases to the indigenous peoples of coastal America that produced waves of epidemics that proved physically and morally devastating.⁴³ The havoc wrought by the spread of newly introduced

³⁹ See esp. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism*.

⁴⁰ Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York, 1975), chaps. 2, 3, 6; Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians: The Meeting of English and Indian Cultures in America, 1580–1640* (Totowa, N.J., 1980), 82–86, 172–74, 182; William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York, 1983), 35–37.

⁴¹ Morgan, *American Slavery*, chaps. 6, 9; Timothy Silver, *A New Face on the Countryside: Indians, Colonists, and Slaves in the South Atlantic Forests, 1500–1800* (Cambridge, 1990); Alan I. Marcus and Howard P. Segal, *Technology in America: A Brief History* (San Diego, 1989), chap. 1.

⁴² Philip D. Curtin, *The Image of Africa: British Ideas and Action, 1780–1850* (Madison, Wis., 1964), chaps. 3, 7; and *Death by Migration: Europe's Encounter with the Tropical World in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1989); David Arnold, *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth-Century India* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993).

⁴³ There is a very substantial corpus of historical work on the impact of imported diseases on the

epidemic diseases served to reinforce the settlers' claims, which were sometimes based on genuine conviction, that the North American continent abounded in "free," "open" lands, meaning that they were uncultivated, unclaimed, and sparsely populated or altogether uninhabited. The demographic catastrophes that afflicted virtually all of the indigenous peoples of the Americas (and later the original populations of Oceania as well⁴⁴) also undermined sustained resistance on the part of the pre-contact populations and contributed significantly to the debasement of their cultures and modes of social organization.

In North America, as in the other temperate lands in equally isolated Oceania where Europeans were able to establish settlement colonies, the lethal impact of invasive epidemic diseases was mirrored in the broader biosystem by the growing dominance of imported, domesticated livestock and feral animals, such as the European brown rat and a wide variety of birds, as well as plants, ranging from grain staple cultivars to weeds.⁴⁵ Over time, a number of key technological advantages that the Iron Age Europeans enjoyed over the Stone Age peoples of the Americas and those found throughout Oceania, as well as the Khoikhoi and San in southwestern Africa, but not the Bantu-speaking peoples like the Sotho encountered later and further east,⁴⁶ also proved critical to the ascendancy of ever-expanding settler enclaves over pre-contact societies. In each case, broken indigenous communities were either subordinated to various settler groups or driven further into the interior, where they often came into conflict with other autochthonous societies. In the early stages of settlement, the pre-contact populations of North America were larger and better organized than those encountered in some of the other neo-Europes, such as Australia, or in the arid regions occupied by the Khoikhoi and San on the southern African frontier. But they were sparse in comparison with the Maori on the north island of New Zealand or the Amerindian peoples in the agricultural heartlands of Mesoamerica and the Andes highlands further south.

The beaten and vulnerable remnants of the Indian societies along the Atlantic littoral were the first non-European peoples whom the agents of the city on the hill sought to remake in accordance with their understandings of Christian teachings and standards of civilized life. With its decidedly religious emphasis, this early

peoples of the Americas. For an overview, see Alfred W. Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Conn., 1972); for North America specifically, see Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* (New York, 1975), chap. 2. Even in southern Africa, which had long shared in the Afro-Eurasian exchanges, imported diseases like smallpox could be devastating for such relatively isolated peoples as the Khoikhoi. See Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa* (New Haven, Conn., 1990), 46.

⁴⁴ T. Wi Repa, "Depopulation in New Zealand," *Oceania* 3 (1932): 227-34. These patterns are surveyed in a broader discussion of environmental change in the Pacific as a whole by J. R. McNeill, "Of Rats and Men: A Synoptic Environmental History of the Island Pacific," *Journal of World History* 5 (1994): 299-349. The two critical centuries of demographic catastrophes for the peoples of the Island Pacific are examined in depth and on the basis of archival materials in Jean-Louis Rallu, *Les populations océaniques aux XIX^e et XX^e siècles* (Paris, 1990).

⁴⁵ The widest-ranging account of these transfers can be found in Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism*. For Oceania, see Andrew Hill Clark, *The Invasion of New Zealand by People, Plants and Animals* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1949).

⁴⁶ Monica Wilson, "The Sotho, Venda and Tsonga," in Wilson and Leonard Thompson, eds., *A History of South Africa to 1870* (Boulder, Colo., 1983), 143-47.

Anglo-American settler version of the civilizing mission bore striking resemblances to similar projects in contemporary Spanish America, Portuguese Africa and Asia, and French Canada, as well as later proselytizing efforts in Hawaii, South Africa, and Oceania. But most of the Anglo-American civilizers had a good deal less tolerance for the local cultures than their French or Portuguese, and on the whole even their Spanish, counterparts. Whether missionary efforts were successful or not, in none of these contact zones did religious conversion begin to offset the disintegration of indigenous cultures and the dispossession of the pre-contact peoples that dominated the first decades of colonization. If anything, these processes would accelerate as missionaries and other settler colonizers pushed farther and farther into the interior of the Americas, southern Africa, Australia, and the islands of the Pacific.

However lopsided conversion made cross-cultural exchanges in what Richard White has usefully characterized as the "middle ground"⁴⁷ that developed in the contact zones in the neo-Europes, it opened up the possibility of an institutionalized approach to relations between European settlers and the Indians, Maoris, or the Khoikhoi. The outcomes of this process on the Atlantic coast were by no means exceptional. But conversion provided the first opportunity, however feeble, for the Anglo-American settlers to disseminate their beliefs, material culture, and modes of social organization to alien, non-European societies. Rather than slowing or reversing the collapse of Indian culture, the educational and resettlement projects directed by John Eliot and his disciples in New England, which were by far the most ambitious attempted in the English colonies, were designed to wean those Indians who were persuaded to cooperate from savage ways that the settlers believed could only result in their eventual extinction. As their name suggests, the "praying towns" established by Eliot and his coworkers in the mid-seventeenth century were oriented toward converting the heathen Indians to Christianity. But the resettlement schemes and their elaborate educational agendas also aimed at a broader acculturation of Indian peoples to what the English believed to be more civilized societal norms—their own. The inhabitants of the towns were to be transformed into sedentary farmers, builders of houses, schools, and barns, and adepts at the craft skills and marketing acumen that were so highly valued in English and other settler societies.⁴⁸ In sum, in New England as in other contact zones involving previously isolated peoples, conversion and European education contributed significantly to the further erosion of indigenous cultures. But it was never clear in the case of the English colonies on the Atlantic coast (or for that matter in any of the neo-Europes) how fully the indigenous peoples who remade themselves in accordance with Anglo-American standards could be integrated into the citizenry that occupied the city on the hill.

⁴⁷ See Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge, 1991), chap. 2.

⁴⁸ For English North America, see James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (Oxford, 1985), chap. 7; W. Stitt Robinson, "Indian Education and Missions in Colonial Virginia," *Journal of Southern History* 17 (1952): 152–58; and Neal Salisbury, "Red Indians: The 'Praying Indians' of Massachusetts Bay and John Eliot," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 31 (1974): 27–52.

THE CENTRALITY OF FRONTIER EXPANSION in the first three centuries of American history has perhaps made it inevitable that it would come to serve as "the wellspring of . . . much exceptionalist thinking in the U.S. case."⁴⁹ In this regard, Frederick Jackson Turner's seminal, and subsequently highly contested, survey of the influence of the frontier on the course of U.S. history represented the culmination of ideas and assessments that had been broached, albeit in a much more fragmented manner, for centuries. But Turner's vision of the frontier as the source of the exceptional quality of the American character, and what he believed to be the unprecedented success of the American experiment in democracy more broadly, set the agenda that has preoccupied most of the historians who have written on the subject in the past century. Their testing of Turner's eloquently, but rather vaguely, enunciated hypotheses has resulted in protracted debates and a vast literature on the frontier's impact on U.S. history as well as a considerably more meager number of rather abbreviated efforts to apply Turner's ideas to frontiers elsewhere.⁵⁰ Ironically, the earliest of these comparisons, written from the 1940s through the 1960s, focused heavily on the exceptionalist claims that Turner made for American history, which he argued could be traced to the sequential advance of the frontier westward. Historians of Canada, Australia, and tsarist Russia sought to determine whether or not frontier expansion nurtured individualism, democracy, and high rates of mobility in the societies that were the subjects of their own specialized research.⁵¹

In the same decades as Turner's influence on frontier scholarship outside the United States was peaking, historians such as Owen Lattimore and William H. McNeill, both of whom had a decidedly more cross-cultural orientation than Turner or those who sought to test his theories, proposed rather different versions of the frontier dynamic in East and Central Asian and East European history respectively.⁵² In part because they did not directly address Turner's arguments, but mainly because they dealt with very different types of frontier interactions, neither Lattimore's nor McNeill's writings had much effect on those who continued to write about the American frontier. But the alternative ways in which each of these historians conceived frontier history, and their detailed explorations of its critical effects on Eurasian history over several centuries, opened up possibilities for a discourse on frontiers that was more genuinely transcultural and more global in its

⁴⁹ H. V. Nelles, "American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged Sword," *AHR* 102 (June 1997): 755. For a more skeptical view of the viability of what has often been seen as an obvious linkage, see Veysey, "Autonomy of American History Reconsidered," 469–70.

⁵⁰ For a recent essay that provides fresh perspectives on the relevant U.S. historiography and extensive references to key interventions in the many debates that Turner's formulations have generated, see William Cronon, "Revisiting the Vanishing Frontier: The Legacy of Frederick Jackson Turner," *Western Historical Quarterly* 18 (1987): 157–76; for a general assessment of comparisons inspired by some of Turner's arguments, see Peter Kolchin, "Comparing American History," *Reviews in American History* 10 (1982): 65–69.

⁵¹ Among the more interesting of these efforts are Paul F. Sharp, "Three Frontiers: Some Comparative Studies of Canadian, American and Australian Settlement," *Pacific Historical Review* 24 (1955): 369–77; A. L. Burt, "If Turner Had Looked at Canada, Australia, and New Zealand When He Wrote about the West," in Walker D. Wyman and Clifton B. Kroeber, eds., *The Frontier in Perspective* (1957; Madison, Wis., 1965), 59–77; Peter J. Coleman, "The New Zealand Frontier and the Turner Thesis," *Pacific Historical Review* 27 (1958): 221–38; and Donald W. Treadgold, "Russian Expansion in the Light of Turner's Study of the American Frontier," *Agricultural History* 26 (1952): 147–52.

⁵² Owen Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China* (New York, 1940); William H. McNeill, *Europe's Steppe Frontier, 1500–1800* (Chicago, 1964).

perspectives than Turner's nationally focused, exceptionalist formulations. In the last couple of decades, research on the frontier has not only been quite deliberately extended beyond the issues and patterns stressed by Turner, it has led to detailed comparisons that do not necessarily feature U.S. case examples.⁵³ These alternative approaches and much of the more recent specialized research on non-American frontier societies suggest that the fixation on issues of American exceptionalism that informed so much of the debate over the past century between the Turnerians and their critics was misplaced.

In some cases, both recent and earlier comparative research reveal that some of Turner's relatively neglected ideas about frontier history encapsulate themes that could be productively explored through rigorous comparisons with other areas. They might also be integrated into studies of the nature and impact of moving land frontiers in early modern and modern world history more generally. But it is vital that Turner's insights be incorporated into these broader approaches rather than serving as the basis of a revised, American-centered agenda similar to that which dominated so much of the early comparative research on frontiers. Cross-cultural and world perspectives are in turn likely to force further rethinking of American exceptionalism and lead to new understandings of the nature and impact of frontier expansion in U.S. history. Even though a full survey of these possibilities is beyond the scope of this essay, I would like to suggest some of the ways in which patterns of frontier expansion—including both those suggested by Turner and raised in the debates his work has generated and those identified by historians of areas other than the United States—can be integrated into larger frames of comparative and world history analysis.

One thing that comparative and global perspectives make apparent is that Turner's use of the term "frontier" encompassed a number of related but rather different phenomena, each of which has been emphasized to varying degrees by other scholars writing on different time periods and locales. The focus of his argument was a sequence of advancing European settler occupations of very large areas, which he considered so lightly settled by Amerindian peoples that they could be seen as "free land"—unclaimed, scantily occupied, and non-productive. At times, and a good deal less clearly delineated, Turner's frontiers are borderlands, peripheral areas on "the hither edge of free land" and settlement. Although he again has little to say about the historical dynamics involved, his border zones are regions contested among different cultures. Other references suggest that frontiers are synonymous with "wilderness" areas, sparsely populated reservoirs of raw materials that urbanized metropolises (in his case, the expansive U.S. republic) can exploit to grow wealthy and powerful.⁵⁴

⁵³ For exemplary examples of the history that has resulted, see Carl E. Solberg, *The Prairies and the Pampas: Agrarian Policy in Canada and Argentina, 1880-1930* (Stanford, Calif., 1987); Peter C. Perdue, "Boundaries, Maps, and Movement: Chinese, Russian, and Mongolian Empires in Early Modern Central Eurasia," *International History Review* 20 (1998): 263-86; and the forthcoming comparative study by Philip Curtin of Argentina and South Africa. For a collection of specialized rather than comparative case studies whose authors consciously seek to find new approaches to frontier history, see David Harry Miller and Jerome O. Steffen, eds., *The Frontier: Comparative Studies* (Norman, Okla., 1977).

⁵⁴ For examples of these different usages, see Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," rpt. in George Rogers Taylor, ed., *The Turner Thesis: Concerning the*

Although the land in question has rarely been free in Turner's sense of the term, his emphasis on advancing settler occupation and his more vague references to disputed borderlands between different cultural zones have served to fix our attention on a number of core processes in world history. The borderlands approach that Herbert Bolton pioneered decades ago (in part as a counter to Turner's emphasis on moving frontiers) has grown in recent decades into a dynamic subfield of historical enquiry. As David Thelen has argued, it provides one of the more promising ways of rethinking American history in genuinely comparative ways, both with regard to cross-cultural interactions and in terms of the borderland processes occurring *within* the United States that have increasingly foregrounded the multi-cultural dimensions of American society that had long been marginalized in national-centered and great man-centric historical narratives.⁵⁵ And even though Anglo-Saxon settler and American national expansion have been the focus of much of the borderlands research undertaken thus far, the conceptual apparatus can readily be transferred to frontier areas beyond North America.⁵⁶ Whatever the case examples deployed, the analytical complexities and logistical demands of the research required on converging cultures suggest that borderlands history is more likely to yield—at least in the short term—regional, rather than global, perspectives. But contextualizing the American frontier experience in a transnational or regional frame of reference has also provided the basis to challenge or set aside the exceptionalist assumptions and proclivities that have so long dominated the work of even those who have questioned Turner's thesis in fundamental ways. And the possibility of linking regional work on different borderlands sites in broader comparisons, which is superbly illustrated in a recent essay by Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron,⁵⁷ means that insights and patterns can be distilled that will ultimately inform our understandings of broader global trends and phenomena.

As Owen Lattimore stressed decades ago, the dynamics of advance and contestation in frontier areas have for millennia been tempered by environmental conditions that constricted or favored different types of human adaptation, and shaped the cycles of interaction and conflict between hunting and gathering, pastoral and agricultural, peoples.⁵⁸ Seen in this larger time frame, the sequence of moving frontiers that Turner plots in American history—and that was also occurring in varying combinations and roughly contemporaneously in other neo-

Role of the Frontier in American History (Boston, 1956), "free land" (1–2, 15); border zones (2, 3, 6); and undeveloped or primitive wilderness (1–2, 3–4, 7).

⁵⁵ Perhaps Bolton's most influential and enduring works have been his studies of *The Spanish Borderlands: A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest* (Toronto, 1921); and *The Colonization of North America, 1492–1783* (New York, 1920), co-authored with Thomas Maitland Marshall. His supra-national, quasi-global vision of history is best articulated in "The Epic of Greater America," *AHR* 38 (1933): 448–74. For Thelen's astute extension of the borderlands paradigm to domestic developments, see David Thelen, "Of Audiences, Borderlands, and Comparisons," *Journal of American History* 79 (1992): 436–44.

⁵⁶ See, for example, John Hemming, *Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians, 1500–1720* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978); and David J. Weber and Jane M. Rausch, eds., *Where Cultures Meet: Frontiers in Latin American History* (Wilmington, Del., 1994).

⁵⁷ Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, "From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in Between in North American History," *AHR* 104 (June 1999): 814–41.

⁵⁸ Lattimore, *Asian Frontiers of China*; and Owen Lattimore, "The Inner Asian Frontier," in Lattimore, ed., *Studies in Frontier History: Collected Papers, 1928–1958* (London, 1962).

Europes in North and South America, southern Africa, and Oceania—had long been a major vehicle for the spread of human populations as well as the dissemination of different modes of human ecological adaptation. As in the neo-Europes, frontier expansion in earlier times and different locales also resulted in the transfer of technology and other forms of material culture, promoted the spread of domesticated plants, animals, and diseases, and involved the proselytization of religious systems, the extension of commercial networks, and often unintended shifts in plant and animal wildlife.

It is important to remember that in addition to the dominant role these processes played in the history of all of the neo-Europes, they were also occurring in the early modern era and the first decades of industrialization in the Central Asia pastoral zone between the Ottoman, Chinese, and Russian empires, in east, central, and south Africa, over much of South and Southeast Asia, and in the Persian, Arab, and Berber cultural zones to the west. But in contrast to the settler frontiers in the Americas, Oceania, and southern Africa, which were the outgrowth of unprecedented *overseas* extensions of European politics and cultures into what had hitherto been relatively isolated areas from a global perspective, frontier expansion over much of the Old World ecumene represented continuations of cross-cultural contests and interactions that had been occurring for centuries. These categorical distinctions between the moving frontiers in the neo-Europes and those in the Old World ecumene often made for very different outcomes in everything from epidemiology and settlement patterns to the fate of indigenous peoples and the extent of environmental transformation. As the foregoing suggests, in a longer-term, global perspective, frontier expansion in the United States was by no means exceptional. Rather, it represented one example of a distinct variation on a more general pattern of population movement that has recurred over much of the globe throughout human history.

Comparative and world history analytical frameworks also make it clear that the American frontier, like its contemporary counterparts in the other neo-Europes and those across the Old World ecumene, was not a single entity but a composite of several types of overland expansion.⁵⁹ In varying combinations, frontier history in European settlement colonies overseas, as well as in eastern Russia and other parts of the Old World ecumene, was made up of combinations of territorial advances that were centered, depending on time and place, on agricultural, pastoral, trading, mining, or forestry enterprises. The mix, phasing, and relative importance of each of these types of frontier expansion varied considerably in different national and regional contexts. Although the agricultural component dominated U.S. frontier expansion for nearly three centuries, it was proportionately less prominent in other European settlement colonies. Particularly in the early phases of frontier expansion in Argentina, South Africa, New Zealand, and Australia, for example, pastoralism—cattle raising on the pampas, sheep farming on the South Island and in the outback, and both on the Karroos—were the most pervasive sources of the frontier's influence on national development.⁶⁰ In South Africa, mining frontiers, first diamond and then gold,

⁵⁹ A complexity that Turner stresses in "Significance of the Frontier in American History," 6.

⁶⁰ See, respectively, David Rock, *Argentina, 1516–1982: From Spanish Colonization to the Falklands War* (Berkeley, Calif., 1985), 45–49, 96–117, 132–41; Clark, *Invasion of New Zealand*, chap. 6; Stephen

dominated the colony's history as a whole from the last decades of the nineteenth century to a far greater extent than was the case in other settler areas, including Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States. Mining frontiers played major roles at certain points in time and on a longer-term basis in specific frontier locales in these other neo-Europes, but in terms of overall influence on national development they were dwarfed by pastoral and agricultural frontier expansion.⁶¹ Although forest frontiers have had significant economic, if much less important social, effects on expansive societies in North America and Russia, nowhere has their impact been as pronounced as in Brazil, whose history has been and continues to be shaped in major ways by frontier advances centered on the clearance and exploitation of its vast rain forests. And even though mining, pastoral, and especially agricultural frontiers of the plantation variety were also critical to colonial and national development, deforestation and lumbering figured more prominently in each of these other types of settler advance in Brazil than in any of the neo-Europes or Russia.⁶²

Even rather general comparisons between frontier regions also reveal significant differences in the ways in which the different types of territorial advance they share unfolded historically. Large-scale increases in the amount of land devoted to sedentary agriculture, to take the most obvious example, have played significant roles in the process of frontier expansion in virtually all of the regions of the world where this has occurred in the last three or four centuries. But the agents of agrarian expansion and the systems of land tenure under which they operate have varied widely between one frontier society and the next, and often between different regions and time periods within the larger and more extended versions of territorial advance. In South Africa, subsistence farmers and ranchers predominated on the agrarian frontier as it moved into the Karroos further and further from the limited markets at the Cape; in Argentina, large landholders, employing large numbers of migrant laborers and sharecroppers, pioneered extensive farming on the pampas; while the government-sponsored, homesteading schemes in Canada and the United States were intended to enable the emergence of yeoman farmers oriented to production for continental and overseas markets.⁶³ And as John

H. Roberts, *The Squatting Age in Australia, 1833–1847* (Melbourne, 1935); and M. F. Katzen, "White Settlers and the Origins of a New Society, 1652–1778," in Wilson and Thompson, *History of South Africa to 1870*, 208–13. Cattle frontiers were, of course, critical to the opening of some of the plains areas of the American West.

⁶¹ Thompson, *History of South Africa*, chap. 4; Geoffrey Wheatcroft, *The Randlords* (New York, 1986). For case studies from and overviews of mining frontiers in other settlement colonies, see J. H. M. Salmon, *A History of Goldmining in New Zealand* (Auckland, 1963); William G. Robbins, *Colony and Empire: The Capitalist Transformation of the American West* (Lawrence, Kans., 1994); and H. C. Allen, *Bush and Backwoods: A Comparison of the Frontier in Australia and the United States* (Sydney, 1959).

⁶² Warren Dean, *With Broadaxe and Firebrand: The Destruction of the Brazilian Atlantic Forest* (Berkeley, Calif., 1975); and Susanna Hecht and Alexander Cockburn, *The Fate of the Forest: Developers, Destroyers and Defenders of the Amazon* (New York, 1990). For case studies on the advance of deforestation on other nineteenth-century agrarian frontiers, see Richard P. Tucker and J. F. Richards, eds., *Global Deforestation and the Nineteenth-Century World Economy* (Durham, N.C., 1983).

⁶³ Leonard M. Thompson, "The South African Dilemma," in Louis Hartz, ed., *The Founding of New Societies: Studies in the History of the United States, Latin America, South America, Canada, and Australia* (New York, 1964), 180–91; Solberg, *Prairies and the Pampas*, 54–69; Paul W. Gates, "The Homestead Law in an Incongruous Land System," *AHR* 41 (1936): 652–81; and F. A. Shannon, *The Farmer's Last Frontier, Agriculture: 1860–1897* (New York, 1945).

Weaver's ongoing comparative research has amply demonstrated,⁶⁴ the patterns of occupation, justifications for seizure, regulation of property rights, and contests between government bureaucracies and frontier settlers varied considerably in each of the neo-Europes, despite the British origins of so many of them.

Comparison of the variations on patterns of expansion across agrarian frontiers compels reassessments of some of the most cherished tenets of American exceptionalism. New Zealand historians have argued, for example, that the settler society that emerged from the expansion of sheep raising and squatter farming in the mid-nineteenth century was, if anything, more egalitarian and independent-minded than that of the American West. And rather than a zone where tsarist oppression reigned supreme, Siberia was perceived by serfs and free peasants alike as a frontier of relative freedom and considerable opportunity. At the same time, recent research has shown that railroad magnates and large landlords rather than idealized yeoman farmers may have reaped the greatest profits from homesteading schemes and the abundance of "free" land in the American West.⁶⁵

Even the shibboleth of Manifest Destiny proves not to have been unique to those who championed frontier expansion in the United States during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Contemporary advocates of Australia unification, for example, predicted that the colony would eventually be transformed into a mighty continent-spanning nation that would inherit the global mission of the British Empire. And one of the most outspoken of them deplored France's annexation of Tahiti as "an impudent interference with Australia's mission of civilization in the Pacific Ocean."⁶⁶ The teleological version of Manifest Destiny as the unfolding of a larger divine plan was more than matched by the Afrikaners' conviction that they were God's anointed people, whose frontier advances represented the reclamation of the promised land from its savage inhabitants.⁶⁷ And throughout the nineteenth century, tsarist policymakers and Slavophile intellectuals viewed Russia's "great historical mission" in the resource-rich expanses of Siberia and the Far East as essential to preserving Russia's standing as one of the great powers of Europe and fulfilling its ambition to become a global power, rivaling Great Britain. In the last half of the twentieth century, Russia, like the United States, relied heavily on the raw materials and manpower that it had drawn for centuries from its far-flung frontiers to sustain its superpower status.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ See John C. Weaver, "Beyond the Fatal Shore: Pastoral Squatting and the Occupation of Australia, 1826–1852," *AHR* (October 1996): 980–1007; and his forthcoming book *Grassy Eldorados: The Great Land Rush and the Making of the Modern World, 1650–1900*.

⁶⁵ Coleman, "New Zealand Frontier," 224–27; Donald W. Treadgold, *The Great Siberian Migration: Government and Peasant in Resettlement from Emancipation to the First World War* (Princeton, N.J., 1957); Robbins, *Colony and Empire*, chap. 4; Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York, 1987), chap. 2.

⁶⁶ Paul F. Sharp, "Three Frontiers: Some Comparative Studies of Canadian, American, and Australian Settlement," *Pacific Historical Review* 24 (1955): 374–75; W. K. Hancock, *Australia* (London, 1930), 33–35. For a detailed study of Australia's imperial ambitions, see Roger C. Thompson, *Australian Imperialism in the Pacific: The Expansionist Era, 1820–1920* (Melbourne, 1981).

⁶⁷ T. Dunbar Moodie, *The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid, and the Afrikaner Civil Religion* (Berkeley, Calif., 1975), chaps. 1, 2, 4, 6.

⁶⁸ B. H. Sumner, *Tsardom and Imperialism in the Far East and Middle East, 1880–1914* (Oxford, 1940), quoted phrase, 16; Andrew Malozemoff, *Russian Far Eastern Policy, 1881–1904* (Berkeley, Calif., 1958), 41–50.

ALTHOUGH DIFFERENT IN IMPORTANT RESPECTS, particularly duration and scale, the often fierce resistance on the part of the indigenous peoples to frontier expansion in what was to become the United States had striking parallels in most of the neo-Europes as well as throughout the Afro-Eurasian ecumene. As in the American West, substantial and well-organized indigenous societies repeatedly resorted to open warfare in order to contest the advance of settler invaders in frontier societies from New Zealand and Central Asia to South Africa and Canada. The legendary war parties of the Indians on the Plains and in the borderlands of North America were matched by the prowess, and at times considerable success in battle, of the Zulus and other Bantu-speaking peoples in southern Africa, the Maoris of New Zealand, and the Cossacks and Mongols on the Central Asian steppes. But, however stunning such isolated victories as Custer's defeat at the Little Big Horn and the Zulu destruction of a British expeditionary force at Isandhlwana might have been, from the eighteenth century at the latest, violent resistance on the part of indigenous peoples to advancing frontiers was everywhere futile in the long run. Whether the beleaguered societies consisted of small bands of hunter-gatherers in the Australian outback or the Karroos east of Capetown, were defended by skilled horsemen, such as those of the North American prairies and the inner Asian steppes, or relied on superbly drilled foot soldiers such as those of the Zulu *impis*, all were ultimately subdued and subordinated by the expansive settler societies that sustained the moving frontiers that threatened to deprive them of their lands and destroy their ways of life. This shared outcome not only provides intriguing possibilities for comparative research on indigenous warfare and frontier conflict, it suggests important transregional themes in the ethno-cultural history of frontiers as well as larger global processes that were exemplified by recurring outcomes in each, quite distinctive, frontier locale.⁶⁹

Since the neolithic era, town-dwelling and agrarian peoples have written the histories of, classified, and often even supplied the very names of pastoral, hunting and gathering, and shifting cultivating societies, whose more sparsely populated lands came to be regarded as frontiers that bounded and offered the promise of expansion for more highly concentrated, sedentary populations. The labels that ancient chroniclers applied to the peoples associated with frontier areas were usually far from flattering. The Greeks and Chinese, for example, lumped them together as barbarians, or those who did not speak civilized languages or possess refined cultures like their own. The highly urbanized peoples of the Mesoamerican agrarian heartlands dismissed the bands of hunters and gatherers who drifted in from the north as *chichimecs*, or dog peoples. The names that the Romans and other settled Mediterranean peoples gave to nomadic invaders, such as the Vandals and Huns, came to be synonymous with wanton destruction and mass slaughter. And in the Abbasid age, the urbane Muslims of Persia and the Fertile Crescent dismissed Turkic and Mongol conquerors as uncouth infidels. From the early centuries of European expansion, unflattering designations—such as barbarian,

⁶⁹ Some of which has already produced impressive results, including Kate Brown, "Gridded Lives: Why Kazakhstan and Montana Are Nearly the Same Place," *AHR* 106 (February 2001): 17–48; James O. Gump, *The Dust Rose Like Smoke: The Subjugation of the Zulu and the Sioux* (Lincoln, Neb., 1994); and even more globally in the contributions to R. Brian Ferguson and Neil L. Whithead, eds., *War in the Tribal Zone: Expanding States and Indigenous Warfare* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 1992).

primitive, and savage—for peoples contacted in incipient frontier regions overseas were increasingly abstracted for purposes of classification and worked into hierarchies that were thought to reflect levels of moral virtue and cultural achievement.⁷⁰ By the end of the eighteenth century, these divisions of humankind were widely thought to have been verified by scientific investigation. And when deployed in the following century in hegemonic, often racially charged, European discourses on the fate of pastoral or hunting and gathering peoples in frontier regions around the world, terms like primitive and savage, and even native and aboriginal, came to signify sorry pasts and tragic futures that would ultimately end with their cultural, and perhaps biological, extinction.

Much of what nineteenth-century Americans thought, said, and wrote about the Indians of the American frontiers was shared, often with remarkably little variation, with the settler societies of the other neo-Europes, which were just as deeply committed to subduing their own indigenous peoples. Although the phrasing might differ, the “banjo bards” of frontier expansion in all of these areas justified settler occupation and the consequent dispossession of pre-contact peoples with strikingly similar appeals to the need to “open up” and render productive rich lands and critical resources that had long gone to waste. In all cases, this deplorable state of underdevelopment was traced to the low level of societal and cultural development of the indigenes. And in view of the relatively sparse, and rapidly declining, numbers of the indigenous populations in most areas, advocates of frontier expansion reasoned that there was more than enough land and resources to go around. In line with what was widely accepted as scientific thinking, expansionists argued that the “aboriginal” societies encountered on the frontiers provided superb examples of the phenomenon of recapitulation, or the survival of peoples and societies whose material culture and customs were similar or identical to those of ancient or Stone Age peoples. Recapitulation was but one aspect of highly compressed evolutionist vision of frontier history that is the diachronic centerpiece of Turner’s thesis.⁷¹ But his celebration of the successive transformations of the West from a hunter-gathering and pastoral to an agrarian and modern, urban industrial society was standard fare in the writing of the advocates of frontier expansion in all of the neo-Europes. And like Turner, they, too, tended to see what they regarded as primitive indigenous cultures as obstacles to, rather than potential participants in, this process of social improvement and cultural uplift. But in Turner’s rendition of frontier dynamics, the Indians had an additional role that, insofar as I am aware, was not a component of the expansionist ideologies of the Australians, New Zealanders, or Argentines. The Indians’ resistance *and* counter-example played critical roles in shaping the idealized, rugged, and autonomous American, which Turner saw as one of the key outcomes of the frontier experience.

By the late nineteenth century, many of the proponents of frontier expansion in all of the neo-Europes embraced the social evolutionist assumption, based largely on misreadings of the writings of Charles Darwin and at least implicit in Turner’s

⁷⁰ Annemarie de Waal Malefijt, *Images of Man: A History of Anthropological Thought* (New York, 1974); Gladys Bryson, *Man and Society: The Scottish Inquiry of the Eighteenth Century* (Princeton, N.J., 1945); Antony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge, 1982).

⁷¹ Turner, “Significance of the Frontier,” 4–8.

thesis, that, as one Australian governor put it, “the natural progress of the aboriginal race[s] was] towards extinction.”⁷² And some, perhaps most, expansionists shared the view of the Reverend Frederic Farrar that this fate was deserved because such savage societies had failed to progress, to advance to civilized levels. “They have not,” Farrar wrote in the 1860s, “added one iota to the knowledge, the arts, the sciences, the manufactures, the morals of the world.”⁷³

Social evolutionist predictions of the imminent disappearance of the often more populous pastoral or hunting and gathering societies of the Old World ecumene were rarely cited by Russian, Chinese, or Ottoman advocates of frontier expansion. In contrast to the United States and the other neo-Europes, in the nineteenth century cultural rather than racial differences continued to be stressed by both sides in these confrontations. But as was the case in European settlement colonies, the scribes of the invading sedentary societies, who wrote the histories of these contests, also justified the conquest and displacement of the indigenes with formulaic complaints concerning fertile lands going to waste and rhetorical pronouncements regarding the necessity of civilizing primitive or barbaric peoples. And once political control had been established in Siberia or Central Asia, distinctive, but in many respects familiar, civilizing rhetorics were directed at the indigenous peoples.⁷⁴

Whatever the policies pursued by the settler invaders or however resilient indigenous cultures proved to be, nineteenth-century frontier expansion in both the neo-Europes and the steppe lands and savannahs of the Afro-Eurasian ecumene represented the end game of a process that was clearly under way by the seventeenth century, and was to prove a watershed in global history. In fact, this process, the eclipse of pastoral societies by their sedentary neighbors, was arguably one of the defining features of the early modern era. In the preceding millennia, pastoral peoples, who tended to be highly mobile and adept at warfare, more than held their own against their far more populous, sedentary neighbors. And periodically, mounted nomads, such as the Arabs, Mongols, and Turks, had conquered and ruled, in some cases for centuries, agrarian societies that bordered on their homelands along the fringes of the desert and in the steppes. But from the sixteenth century onward, innovations in fortification, highly disciplined infantry forces wielding more and more sophisticated firearms, and especially the deployment of field artillery gave urbanized, sedentary agricultural societies decisive advantages over pastoral peoples in warfare and the concentration of political power.⁷⁵ The

⁷² Hancock, *Australia*, 20–21.

⁷³ Frederic Farrar, “Aptitudes of the Races,” *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London* 5 (1867): 125.

⁷⁴ James Forsyth, “Native Peoples before and after Conquest,” in Alan Wood, ed., *The History of Siberia: From Russian Conquest to Revolution* (London, 1991), 81–88; and *A History of the Peoples of Siberia: Russia's North Asian Colony, 1581–1990* (Cambridge, 1992), chap. 8. See also the contributions to the special issue on Manchu Colonialism in *International History Review* 20 (1998). Some Russian historians have argued that the Russian state was not as determined as the American or Australian to assimilate the indigenes. See A. Lobanov-Rostovsky, “Russian Expansion in the Far East in the Light of the Turner Hypothesis,” in Wyman and Kroeber, *Frontier in Perspective*, 83–84. And it is noteworthy that the contrast between Russian respect for indigenous cultures and languages and the American determination to transform them was stressed in a 1997 Library of Congress exhibition (in the foyer of the Madison Building) on Russian and U.S. missionary education and government policies with regard to the Indian and Eskimo populations of Alaska.

⁷⁵ For explorations of the multiple dimensions of this “military revolution,” see McNeill, *Pursuit of*

spread of industrialization in the nineteenth century, and the railways and machine guns it generated, vastly accelerated this process and left the peoples of frontier areas beyond the zones of agrarian settlement and urban concentration even more vulnerable to subjugation, dispossession, and marginalization. The moving frontiers that extended this process across the American West were therefore significant and in some ways distinctive, but by no means exceptional, expressions of these watershed transformations in the history of humankind.

BEYOND THE IDENTIFICATION in the history of the United States, as well as the societies to which it has been compared, of questions worth asking and underlying patterns deserving exploration, a broader contextualization of the American experience in world history is indispensable to understanding the nation's rise to global power. Not surprisingly, America's emergence as a global hegemon has led to ever-increasing insistence on its historic role as the model of progressive development for all of humankind, on the city on the hill as "a story and by-word through the world" side of the paradox of exceptionalism. The proliferation of overseas interventions and American initiatives to transform foreign cultures and social systems that the commitment to a universalized, transglobal mission has justified, if not inspired, makes unpacking exceptionalist rhetoric all the more critical. And one of the most effective ways to engage in that vital enterprise is to integrate fully the history of the United States into a larger global narrative. Whether one is concerned with frontier expansion, industrialization, overseas colonization, or America's critical roles in the spread of the capitalist world system, global perspectives on these multifaceted processes are essential to any attempt to understand the motives, responses, and actions of those who actually participated in them. Intercontinental migrations supplied the manpower, North American frontier regions and overseas areas contributed much of the resource base (including investment capital until the last half of the nineteenth century), and foreign rivals—political, military, commercial, and ecclesiastical—often provided the impetus for the ever-increasing importance of cross-cultural exchanges in the history of the United States.

By the last half of the twentieth century, transnational exchanges had become so routinized and pervasive that they impinged on virtually all aspects of American life, hence literally globalizing contemporary U.S. history. As early as the oil crisis of 1973, it was clear to all who were willing to see that what had been long been presumed to be *American* corporations had in fact metamorphosed into international conglomerates with bottom-line priorities that often had little to do with the national interest. New waves of immigration—more likely in post-1960s decades to flow from Latin America, the Caribbean, and Asia rather than Europe—have complicated and increased the ethnic and cultural diversity of the United States to the point where the majority status of peoples of European descent is challenged, or has already been eclipsed, in the fastest-growing and most dynamic areas of the country. The resources this polyglot

Power; and Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500–1800* (Cambridge, 1988).

population consumes, the products it produces, and the environmental consequences of both are now calibrated in terms of international capital flows and market exchanges as well as ecological agendas that are premised on visions of the earth as a single entity.

Except in times of major international crises, it is unlikely that most Americans give much thought to world events in their day-to-day lives, even though those lives are permeated with consumer products, from basketball shoes to DVD players, manufactured in once "exotic" regions like the Pacific Rim or Central America. But from the Gulf War through a series of costly overseas interventions such as those in Somalia, Bosnia, and Kosovo, international conflicts, which the press now routinely proclaim vital to the national interest, have more and more preoccupied a populace apparently resigned to paying the considerable costs—in taxes if not casualties—of America's self-appointed role as policeman of yet another new world order. The steep rise in interventionism from the late 1930s required America's executive guardians of ambitious and highly contested global dispensations to devote significantly higher portions of their personal energies and political capital to foreign affairs than was the case through most of the nation's earlier history. During World War II and the Cold War decades, this shift in leadership priorities was more obvious than it has been after the collapse of Soviet command communism. But it is striking that world events both made and unmade the first post-Cold War president, George Bush, who engineered a pyrrhic victory in the Persian Gulf only to be defeated in large part because he came to be perceived as a leader who had neglected domestic affairs. And overseas crises and foreign relations increasingly became the preoccupation of the last president of the twentieth century, Bill Clinton, whose major successes in enacting domestic programs was largely confined to those inextricably bound up in broader projects to advance globalization, such as NAFTA and GATT.

In view of the relatively isolated and peripheral position of colonial America until the late eighteenth century, and arguably the United States for much of the nineteenth, world historians might well be justified in minimizing their importance to global development in the early modern era and the first decades of the industrial age. Other than to lament the myopia and provincialism of their American audience, prominent post-World War II scholars, such as William H. McNeill, Marshall Hodgson, J. H. Parry, and Eric Wolf, whose pioneering cross-cultural writings and prescriptions for the study of world history revitalized a moribund field, made little use of U.S. case examples and only rarely commented on American variations on larger global themes.⁷⁶ Foreign area specialists—who abounded in the early decades of the Cold War, when government, university, and foundation funding made possible the proliferation of language programs and multidisciplinary centers—were even more determined than the pioneers of the new world history to promote the study of other peoples' societies and cultures. And in pursuit of these new perspectives, they often

⁷⁶ Barrington Moore, Jr.'s inclusion of an American case study as one of the six in his pioneering exploration, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Boston, 1966), was a notable exception to this trend. But many of the reviewers at the time strongly criticized Moore for including the United States, which, they argued, lacked peasants and lords, in the European or Asian sense of the term, and had traveled a quite distinctive path to modern democracy. See, for example, Stanley Rothman, "Barrington Moore and the Dialectics of Revolution: An Essay Review," *American Political Science Quarterly* 64 (1970): 72–73.

quite consciously neglected related developments in the United States or American influences on their areas of expertise. In many instances, they did so out of the conviction that the American impact had already been excessively studied and its importance consistently overstated. Similar reasoning also helps to account for the scant coverage given to American case examples in college history courses with comparative and global dimensions in this formulative period.⁷⁷

In the 1960s and 1970s, the growing influence within the historical profession of comparative approaches that very often included major U.S. case examples prompted many world historians and area specialists to reassess their often deliberate marginalization of America's impact on the broader historical experience of humankind. It was soon apparent that distinctive, but by no means exceptional, American versions of transcultural and intercontinental historical processes, such as settler colonialism, frontier expansion, slavery, racism, segregation, immigration, industrialization, and imperialism, were simply too integral to world history to be neglected or ignored. U.S. variants on common global themes were also too important in terms of their scale, complexity, and international impact to be left out of broader cross-cultural narratives. Meaningfully integrating American history into global narratives and comparative analyses also countered the tendency for the writings and courses of area specialists and world historians to be ghettoized, confined in their appeal to relatively small numbers of readers and students. But above all, the traumatic descent during the 1960s into the Vietnam quagmire underscored the deficiencies and dangers of conceiving the world history of the early modern and modern eras without a meaningful U.S. component. It also led to the realization that without serious inquiry into the history of the societies in the areas into which the Americans increasingly intruded and the larger global systems in which they came to play dominant roles, we cannot begin to understand the political, military, economic, and cultural impact on the rest of the world of America's emergence in the twentieth century to the precarious status of global hegemon.

⁷⁷ Whether deliberate or not, some sense of the neglect of American case examples in early college courses on global and comparative history can be gleaned from the sample syllabi collected by Kevin O'Reilly in the first edition of *World History* (New York, 1985).

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Review Essay
Walter Benjamin for Historians

VANESSA R. SCHWARTZ

Pedagogic side of this undertaking: "To educate the image-making medium within us, raising it to a stereoscopic and dimensional seeing into the depths of historical shadows." The words are from Rudolf Borchardt's *Epilegomena zu Dante*, v. 1. [Berlin 1923] pp. 56–7.

Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project* (N 1, 8), 458.

CERTAIN INTELLECTUAL FIGURES inform and even set the theoretical parameters of historical and historiographical discourse at particular moments. If Michel Foucault seemed to emerge as the philosopher for historians in the 1980s, Walter Benjamin's ascent in American historical circles happened sometime in the 1990s and is not yet over. The latest stir around Benjamin arrives with the recent publication of the long-awaited translation from German and French of his unfinished magnum opus, which he described as "the theater of all my struggles and all my ideas," known in English as *The Arcades Project*.¹ Popular critical opinion about it has ranged from architectural critic Herbert Muschamp's delight in what he dubbed a "towering literary event" to Mark Kingwell's trace of contempt for "an intellectual folly, a massive and spectacular ruin."² Part encyclopedia of the nineteenth century, part model of a philosophy of history for the twentieth century, its more than 1,000 pages help to qualify the Harvard University Press edition as a major event in scholarship.

The English translation of *The Arcades Project* offers an occasion to reconsider the set of insights and organized chaos that lay at the center of Walter Benjamin's work. *The Arcades Project* needs to be understood in the context of what Benjamin called his "Parisian production cycle"—his work from *One-Way Street* written in 1927 to his "Theses on the Philosophy of History" in 1940.³ It is a body of work that

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¹ Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1999), translators' foreword, x.

² *New York Times* (January 16, 2000): B1; Mark Kingwell, "Arcadian Adventures: Walter Benjamin, the Connoisseur of Everyday Life," *Harper's* (March 2000): 70–76, quote p. 71.

³ Margaret Cohen, *Profane Illumination: Walter Benjamin and the Paris of Surreal Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), 3. The other Benjamin essays that are central are "Surrealism—The Last Snapshot of the European Intelligentsia" (1929), "A Short History of Photography" (1931), "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" (1936), "The Story Teller" (1936), "Eduard Fuchs,

has earned him his reputation in a variety of scholarly disciplines: philosophy, comparative literature, film studies, art history, urban studies, and finally history.⁴ This essay considers the insights Benjamin's Parisian production cycle generates for the field of history. In addition, it asks whether the translation of the incomplete text called *The Arcades Project* will change Benjamin's import for historians.

No doubt, part of the interest in Benjamin has always resided in his status as the most tragic member of a group of German intellectuals who eventually became known as the Frankfurt School. Others have already laid out the terms by which Benjamin's ideas do or do not conform to the Weimar Marxists and their pre-war and then postwar notions of social theory and the culture of capitalism.⁵ But his significance extends well beyond his status as the black sheep of the Frankfurt School family. His topics range from the traditional literary critical heights of German allegory to the phenomena of everyday life such as childhood memories, city streets, wax museums, fashion, and films. His cast of characters includes the ragpicker, the *flâneur*, the collector, the prostitute, and the bibliophile. Benjamin's writings are also diverse in form, ranging from essays to monographs, to memoirs, and more experimental works of montage and citation. Benjamin's eye, like that of so many historians, caught the seemingly incidental detail. He was also interested in kitsch. As his friend Theodor Adorno noted, Benjamin was "drawn to the petrified, frozen or obsolete elements of civilization . . . [S]mall glass balls containing a landscape upon which snow fell when shook were among his favorite things."⁶ Rare for a leftist intellectual of the pre-war generation, he was as much enchanted by the consumer spectacle of the modern city as disturbed by the power of this enchantment to produce a public caught in the city's phantasmagorias—those illusions and spectacles that Karl Marx imagined as repressed wishes.⁷ At a time when many of his peers could only see the dangers of mass culture and modern technologies, Benjamin argued for their progressive potentials.

Although Benjamin was very much a product of his times, he has much to offer as a historian for our own early twenty-first century moment. His work can be obscure, opaque, and even poetic, yet we should struggle to understand it, not least because it has already helped unlock new ways of understanding the nineteenth century, capitalism, and historical methodology. Within history, Benjamin's writings have been most explicitly influential in shaping the study of the modern city. His interest in vernacular culture and mass reproductive technologies also offers important insights for historians of mass culture; his work has been at the heart of the interdisciplinary field of "modernity studies." His interest in "collective dreams"

Collector and Historian" (1937), "The Paris of the Second Empire in Baudelaire" (1938), and "On Some Motifs in Baudelaire" (1939).

⁴ This essay is not meant to summarize the field of Benjamin studies. For such a survey, see David Ferris, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Walter Benjamin* (Cambridge, forthcoming).

⁵ See Martin Jay, *The Dialectical Imagination: A History of the Frankfurt School and the Institute of Social Research, 1923–1950* (Boston, 1973); Jay, *Marxism and Totality: The Adventures of a Concept from Lukács to Habermas* (Berkeley, Calif., 1984); John McCole, *Walter Benjamin and the Antinomies of Tradition* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1993); Richard Wolin, *Walter Benjamin: An Aesthetic of Redemption*, rev. edn. (Berkeley, 1994).

⁶ Anne Friedberg, *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994), 49.

⁷ Walter Benjamin, "Exposé of 1939," in *Arcades Project*, 14.

and his argument that they were embodied in such actual “monuments” as the Paris arcades makes him the most glaringly absent voice among those interested in history and memory. *The Arcades Project*, I would suggest, is a more complex and less nationalistic version of Pierre Nora’s *Realms of Memory* before the fact.⁸ But the potential value in thinking about Benjamin goes beyond those historians interested in the city, modernity, mass culture, and memory and history.

It has become patently evident that there can be no overarching and all-encompassing theory of history and method at the beginning of our new century, yet Benjamin’s interpretation of the nineteenth century has in many ways laid the groundwork for understanding the central transformations of the twentieth century—not only those transformations that have altered the so-called subjective experiences of people living in that century but also the modes through which historians might imagine, study, and write about the century just past as well as the centuries yet to come. Poised somewhere between philosophy and history, like Foucault, Benjamin put historical practice at the center of both intellectual inquiry and eventual social transformation.

Now readers of English can ponder Benjamin’s monumental yet incomplete meditation on the nineteenth century. Should they bother? While many of the themes and insights of *The Arcades Project* can be found in the already published “résumés” of 1935 and 1939 also known as “Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century” and his other works from the Parisian cycle, actually reading the massive volume, with its inconsistent constellation of citation and explication, is a jarring, difficult, and productive experience. First, the general arguments Benjamin made about modernity are clarified by the material he collected in this project. Reading through the examples he gathered does more than enhance the schematic arguments he made in the summary essays, however. They offer a mode of historical argumentation in which to show is to tell. The effect of wading through the actual “stuff” of the text is a striking exercise in historical method through which the reader encounters history as a conversation between the past and the present (his commentary and his citation from historical sources), in which history is written as an argument advanced by montage and juxtaposition rather than as a systematic presentation of evidence in support of a clearly stated thesis.

If the so-called postmodern moment in historiography seems mired in a linguistic dead end, Benjamin’s questions, topics, and method can help us take cultural history in a new direction—toward the visual. By this, I mean not simply a history of changes and transformations in the materials and experiences of the visual but also an alternative way to think about historical categories and methods—in some

⁸ Benjamin is not in the index of *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, 3 vols., Lawrence Kritzman, ed. (New York, 1996–98), nor is he mentioned in Nora’s introduction. None of the articles in the *AHR* 102 (December 1997): 1372–1412 *Forum* on history and memory mentions Benjamin, nor does Hue-Tam Ho Tai, “Remembered Realms: Pierre Nora and French National Memory,” *AHR* 106 (June 2001): 906–22. The literature cited in those articles on history and memory inexplicably ignores Benjamin as well. An exception to this is Matt K. Matsuda’s book, *The Memory of the Modern* (New York, 1996). The historical literature may have failed to consciously integrate Benjamin because it is so oriented to “national” memory, and Benjamin, like Matsuda after him, is more interested in the category of the “modern” and other such framing categories as capitalism.

measure what Hayden White referred to as “historiophoty”—the representation of history and our thought about it in visual images, as filmic discourse.⁹

Benjamin’s work is particularly suited for understanding the transformations associated with our own digital age because his critique of Rankean historicism, which he announced in no uncertain terms—“The history that showed things ‘as they really were’ was the strongest narcotic of the (nineteenth) century”—offers a starting point for an aphoristic materialist history as an encounter between the past and the present that is articulated as a rapidly emergent image—a flash.¹⁰ Unlike the sort of historicism that assumes the past is always accessible if we are willing to disavow our position in the present, Benjamin believed that history was a constellation of past and present through which the present would find an image of itself and thus see more clearly. In a world such as our own, saturated by the circulation of seemingly decontextualized images, perhaps this dialogue can be best achieved by an enhancement of the historian’s “conversation” of words into one of and with images.

BENJAMIN’S PERSONAL AND INTELLECTUAL STORY is as sensational as it is catastrophic and bears retelling if only to connect his thought to the world from which his materialist history emerged. Born in Berlin in 1892 to a bourgeois Jewish family, he was active in the Zionist movement in his youth and, over time, became increasingly associated with Marxist cultural and intellectual circles. He wanted to become a professor at the University of Frankfurt, yet his *Habilitationsschrift* (the dissertation needed to obtain a post as a professor) on the origin of the seventeenth-century German tragic drama was rejected there in 1925. One of his committee members complained that he was simply “unable, despite repeated efforts, to get any understandable meaning out of it.”¹¹ Blocked from obtaining an academic position, he became a journalist in order to support himself, his wife, and son. He wrote for the *Frankfurter Zeitung* and created educational radio broadcasts for German children. During the period from 1925 to 1933, he traveled between Paris, Naples, and Moscow, drawn to the latter as much by his love for Asja Lacis, a Latvian Bolshevik, as by the Marxist experiment under way there.¹² He separated from his wife in 1928. That same year, Benjamin managed to publish a version of his thesis, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, and the more experimental Surrealist-inspired work, *One-Way Street*. He left Germany for Paris in March of 1933 soon after the Reichstag fire. In 1940, when the Germans invaded France, he secured a visa to come to New York, which would have enabled him to follow into exile his good

⁹ Hayden White, “Historiography and Historiophoty,” *AHR* 93 (December 1988): 1193–99.

¹⁰ Benjamin, *Arcades Project* (N 3, 4), 463. Most citations to the *Arcades Project* hereafter will refer to the citation’s location in one of the “convolutes” or bundles of notes and to its page number in the English translation.

¹¹ As cited in Susan Buck-Morss, *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), 22.

¹² For Benjamin’s experiences in Moscow, see his *Moscow Diary* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986). Benjamin’s relation to the Soviet experiment is complex. He was never a member of the Communist Party, for example. His writings on “shock” and the machine age reveal a very different sensibility from that of the Soviet regime. For more on this, see Susan Buck-Morss, *Dreamworld and Catastrophe: The Passing of Mass Utopia in East and West* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000).

friend and intellectual interlocutor Theodor Adorno as well as the other members of the Institute for Social Research who had already relocated to their wartime home in New York. Benjamin began that journey by way of Marseilles. After a failed attempt to escape on a freighter by dressing as a sailor, he eventually traveled to the Franco-Spanish border in September 1940.¹³

The circumstances of Benjamin's escape from France are dramatic and perhaps particularly resonant for academics, who might well fantasize of themselves as the Walter Benjamin character fleeing the Nazis: out of shape, suffering from a heart condition, and burdened by dragging around a briefcase containing a manuscript that he said was more important than his life. Benjamin made the journey with great difficulty but managed to arrive at Port Bou, the border control town, traveling with acquaintances Henny Gurland and her son José.¹⁴ They all encountered difficulty at the border because they lacked transit visas. The border police informed them that, as "Jews without nationality," they were prohibited from traveling through Spain. They believed they would surely face deportation to a camp. That night in hopeless despair and perhaps hysterical overreaction, Benjamin took a lethal overdose of morphine. He died by morning. The suicide seems particularly poignant because, with the benefit of hindsight, it appears that Benjamin could have made it to New York, as his companions did. He did not, and neither did the manuscript, whose mysterious disappearance has only heightened the drama of this devastating tale. Narratives of Benjamin's life and death often identify the manuscript in the briefcase as a finished version of *The Arcades Project*, but most Benjamin scholars believe instead that the briefcase contained a full draft of what has survived as an eighteen-point aphoristic essay, "Theses on the Philosophy of History."¹⁵

Although he left most of his written work in his apartment in Paris (where it was later confiscated by the Gestapo), he gave the notes for the Paris project to Georges Bataille, philosopher and critic and then a conservator at Benjamin's true home, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, where it remained hidden during the war. The project made its way to New York in 1947 and into the hands of Adorno, who tried to make sense of the thirty-six separate bundles of French and German notes, long citations, and notebooks of revisions that seemed to defy conventional form and reason. He charged his student Rolf Tiedemann with editing the beast of a project, which appeared in German in 1982 as the fifth volume of Benjamin's *Gesammelte Schriften* (Completed Works) under the title *Das Passagen-Werk*.

In the meantime, many of Benjamin's essays were translated into both French and English, mostly in the late 1960s and 1970s. Hannah Arendt's collection of Benjamin's writings, *Illuminations*, which included her introduction (first published in *The New Yorker* in 1968) and many of Benjamin's important essays written during the period of the Parisian production cycle, "The Work of Art in the Age of

¹³ Lisa Fitko, "The Story of Old Benjamin," in Benjamin, *Arcades Project*, 947.

¹⁴ Buck-Morss, *Dialectics of Seeing*, 331.

¹⁵ Andy Merrifield, "Benjamin and the City of Light," *The Nation* (January 31, 2000): 25–28. See also Marshall Berman, "Paris under Glass," *Utne Reader* (July–August 2000): 94–97. Susan Buck-Morss makes a good case in *Dialectics of Seeing* that it was not the *Arcades* in the briefcase. A recent article by Stephen Schwartz, *Weekly Standard* (June 11, 2001), offers what seems like a far-fetched suggestion that Benjamin was murdered by Joseph Stalin's agents and did not commit suicide. See also the "Connections" column by Edward Rothstein, *New York Times* (June 30, 2001): A17.

Mechanical Reproduction” most notably, was published in 1969. During the same period, “Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century” appeared in the *New Left Review*; Susan Sontag championed Benjamin and also appropriated his ideas through her many publications in the 1970s.¹⁶ Bits and pieces of *The Arcades Project* were translated from German after 1982. In 1989, two major publications appeared. Cerf Press published a French edition, based on Tiedemann’s work and translated by Jean Lacoste, entitled *Paris, capitale du XIX^e siècle: Le livre des passages*, and MIT published Susan Buck-Morss’s *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project*, the first and still the best English-language critical analysis of the project.¹⁷

Ten years later, at the end of 1999, Harvard University Press finally published the much-anticipated 1,055-page English translation of the German edition, by Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin, professors of German and French, respectively. The translations have made Benjamin’s work increasingly accessible to a broader audience and have begun to transform him from a cult figure in the rather arcane field of “Benjamin studies” to a philosopher/theorist whose ideas, like those of Foucault, Antonio Gramsci, Jürgen Habermas, and Pierre Bourdieu, offer a useful framework through which to generate historical questions and research grounded in more general models of social and individual experience.

Some first-time readers might respond by dismissing Benjamin as a failed academic and self-aggrandizer whose confidence in his own genius was not widely shared in his own time. He was, after all, constantly and unmercifully criticized by his friend and junior of eleven years, Adorno. He spent thirteen years working on a project that was still in a shambles and then, overcome by fear, needlessly ended his own life. His unfortunate collision with the rise of Nazism in Germany, which produced his tragic personal circumstances, conspired to make of him a martyr whose last laugh is to have us reading the notes to his unfinished work. I want to suggest that the flurry of interest in Benjamin is not simply an academic fetish about misunderstood genius. To sustain such a position means demystifying that most fetishistic of his works—the “unfinished” *Arcades Project*.

¹⁶ The first English translation was by Quentin Hoase and appeared in *The New Left Review* (January 1968): 77–88, n. 48. The translation with which English readers are most familiar by Edmund Jephcott was published first in *The Partisan Review* in 1978 and was collected in Walter Benjamin, *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings*, Peter Demetz, ed. (New York, 1978). See also Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York, 1977); and “Fascinating Fascism,” orig. pub. in the *New York Review of Books*, rpt. in Bill Nichols, ed., *Movies and Methods*, Vol. 1 (Berkeley, Calif., 1980).

¹⁷ Walter Benjamin, *Das Passagen-Werk*, 2 vols., Rolf Tiedemann, ed. (Frankfurt am Main, 1982), part of the *Gesammelte Schriften*, 7 vols., Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Schweppenhäuser, eds., with Theodor Adorno and Gershom Scholem (Frankfurt am Main, 1972–89); and *Paris, capitale du XIX^e siècle: Le livre des passages*, Jean Lacoste, trans. (Paris, 1989).

These notes devoted to the Paris Arcades were begun under an open sky of cloudless blue that arched above the foliage; and yet—owing to the millions of leaves that were visited by the breeze of diligence, the stertorous breath of the researcher, the storm of youthful zeal, and the idle wind of curiosity—they've been covered with the dust of centuries. For the painted sky of summer that looks down from the arcades in the reading room of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris has spread out over them its dreamy, unlit ceiling.

The Arcades Project (N 1, 5), 457–58.

THE PROJECT THAT CONSUMED BENJAMIN from 1927 until the end of his life began, benignly enough, as a newspaper article about the Paris arcades: the pedestrian passages sheltered under roofs of iron and glass that sprang up in the city during the first thirty years of the nineteenth century. Never published in that form, the project then became an essay, “Paris Arcades: A Dialectical Féerie,” and eventually a planned book, *Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century*, for which he wrote two prospectuses, one in 1935 and then again in 1939. These remain the most familiar distillations of many of the insights of *The Arcades Project*. The essays and the larger collection of notes juxtapose the novel material culture of the nineteenth century, such as the arcades, with forms of experience such as boredom and collecting. He treats writers and philosophers such as Charles Baudelaire, Grandville, Charles Fourier, Karl Marx, and Henri St. Simon, as well as such abstract notions as knowledge, progress, awakening, and dreaming. But in its most general sense, *The Arcades Project* offers a history of capitalism, with an emphasis on the transformation from a culture of production to one of consumption.

If *The Arcades Project* is a history of capitalism, why write that history as one in which Paris becomes the “capital of the nineteenth century”? Surely, London could vie for the place where the economic and cultural transformation of emergent modernity first appeared, with its Industrial Revolution and its early and far-flung empire-building. Is the choice of Paris a personal idiosyncrasy or a function of life circumstances that had Benjamin working under the “blue sky” of the reading room of the national library in France? Although these notions cannot be brushed aside, Paris stood as the epicenter, for Marx and others, of modern political radicalism; it also generated the most significant cultural movements of the modern era—realism, impressionism, the avant-garde aesthetics of the modernist novelist Marcel Proust. It offered a rich inventory of the burgeoning mass cultural entertainments that set the nineteenth century apart as a watershed in the development of mass society.

Benjamin studied the arcades and other products of the nineteenth century not in the traditional Marxist relation of base and superstructure, in which culture is a reflection of the economy, but in a context that insisted that culture is the economy's expression. He summarized this approach by saying that “the expression of the economy in its culture will be presented, not the economic origins of culture.”¹⁸ In other words, capitalism as a system must be grasped as a whole and culture seen in a dialogic relation with economy, driving and shaping economics and vice-versa. In particular, Benjamin understood that the formal elements of a cultural product were as important as the ideology that Marxists saw “reflected” in

¹⁸ *Arcades Project* (N 1a, 6), 440.

its content. Form embodied and transmitted the logic of an economic system as much as content, which he also saw as more than a superstructural reflection of the base.

Benjamin's failure to conform to the more orthodox considerations of his peers prompted some of Adorno's most despairing remarks about Benjamin's intellectual vision. What is significant for historians, and what the publication of *The Arcades Project* makes clear, is that, unlike his Frankfurt School colleagues, Benjamin genuinely delighted in the material culture of capitalism—he was dazzled by the modern city, drawn to its institutions and to the traces of capitalist production.¹⁹ He maintained a vision of how capitalism would not simply provide its own undoing but would actually create opportunities for liberation and transformation. He was particularly interested in the way modern cities and the nascent forms of mass culture created a potential for democratization and eventual social transformation, which is why his work has provided a cornerstone in certain areas of cultural studies.²⁰

According to Benjamin, capitalism endowed objects with the means to express collective dreams. This drew him to particular urban architectural forms such as arcades, railway stations, department stores, and wax museums, which he called “dream houses of the collective.” Such spaces seemed to acknowledge at the very least, perhaps even call into being, the crowd that would play such a vital role in both modern political revolution and the revolution in consumer culture. “In these constructions, the appearance of great masses on the stage of history was already foreseen.”²¹ In these structures, the historian would discern the unfulfilled hopes and desires of the collective. For Benjamin, the nineteenth century resulted in a sleep induced by capitalism, which, by implication, had led to the rise of fascism: “Capitalism was a natural phenomenon with which a new dream-filled sleep came over Europe, and, through it, a reactivation of mythical forces.”²² A work of history such as this was vital in order to slay capitalism by waking the slumbering collective from its nineteenth-century dream, because, as he wrote, “capitalism will not die a natural death.”²³

The task of the historian thus became to use history as a “technique of awakening,”²⁴ and this project, he wrote, “deals with awakening from the nineteenth century.”²⁵ Benjamin's project of awakening involved the “unconscious world of remembrance” in the form of dream experience.²⁶ Committed to the Marxist mode of dialectical analysis, Benjamin turned to history because if, as Jules Michelet had observed in a progressive historical mode, “Each epoch dreams the

¹⁹ Some critics might maintain that this is pushing Benjamin's delight in capitalism too far. See, for example, McCole, *Walter Benjamin*. Although it does seem to make him a less-than-perfect Marxist, I think this perspective nevertheless represents Benjamin more accurately than the characterizations that suppress what I would call the “bourgeois booster of urban life” strand that runs through his work.

²⁰ See Tony Bennett, et al., eds., *Culture, Ideology and Social Process* (London, 1981); Iain Chambers, *Popular Culture: The Metropolitan Experience* (London, 1986).

²¹ *Arcades Project* (M 21a, 2), 455.

²² *Arcades Project* (K 1a, 8), 391.

²³ *Arcades Project* (X 11a, 3), 667.

²⁴ *Arcades Project* (K 1, 1), 388.

²⁵ *Arcades Project* (N 4, 3), 464.

²⁶ Eduardo Cadava, *Words of Light: Theses on the Photography of History* (Princeton, N.J., 1997), 69.

one to follow," Benjamin added, "Every epoch, in fact, not only dreams the one to follow, but in dreaming, precipitates its awakening."²⁷ The nineteenth century's pace, its enshrinement of novelty, and its insistent rupture with tradition made awakening more likely. By grasping the material traces of the nineteenth century as talismans, Benjamin would, like Proust, "present collective history—not 'life as it was,' nor even life remembered, but life as it has been 'forgotten.'"²⁸

Proust's writings become the best possible way to think through this concept of awakening, because Benjamin did not imagine a positivist's clear demarcation of the difference between dreaming and being awake as a coming to consciousness but instead built on the notions of consciousness articulated by Sigmund Freud and the Surrealists. Benjamin sought to transfer Freud's insights about the individual onto the collective, especially embracing Freud's notion that the "clear-cut antithesis of sleeping and waking has no value for determining the empirical form of consciousness of the human being."²⁹ Benjamin connected his Arcades Project to the Surrealists in his notorious aphorism, "Dada was the mother of Surrealism. Its father was an arcade."³⁰

Before Benjamin, as Margaret Cohen has forcefully argued in *Profane Illumination*, André Breton had tried to reconcile Marx and Freud in Surrealism, which set about to blur life and art, waking and dreaming, in a sort of modern marvelousness—what Louis Aragon called "modern mythologies." Stripping the marvelous and the mythological from commodity fetishism would induce a repressed reality, called surreality, to emerge in the form of the image. Benjamin argued that what emerged from the identification of "modern mythologies" was a "profane illumination," which served as a materialist, anthropologically inspired way to overcome and surpass the other sort of illumination—religious illumination.³¹ Breaking free of Marxism's traditional embrace of notions of progress and of human subjects as rational, Benjamin sought to determine the "'significance of psychoanalysis for the subject of materialist historiography,'" as he wrote to Max Horkheimer in 1937.³² He imagined the mundane objects of everyday life as embodiments of unconscious projections. Dreaming became the medium through which the collective versus the individual psyche related to this world of objects. Benjamin's Surrealist Marxism infuriated Adorno, who instead understood psychoanalysis as another bourgeois ruse and flatly rejected Benjamin's notion that psychoanalytic insights developed about the individual (the notion of the individual is the epitome of bourgeois ideology) could be transferred onto the collective. Adorno's critique ultimately became the basis for the major revisions of the 1935 résumé in 1939 in which Benjamin dropped the project's dream-language.

If the Surrealists seized on the notion of modern mythologies, Benjamin broke with Louis Aragon and André Breton by insisting that the material facts of modern

²⁷ Walter Benjamin, "Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century" (1935), in *Arcades Project*, 13.

²⁸ Buck-Morss, *Dialectics of Seeing*, 39.

²⁹ *Arcades Project* (K 1, 5), 389.

³⁰ *Arcades Project* (C 1, 3), 82.

³¹ The definitive study of Benjamin and the Surrealists is Margaret Cohen's *Profane Illumination*. See also her "Modernity as Phantasmagoria," in Ferris, *Cambridge Companion to Walter Benjamin*. Cohen's framing of Benjamin in the context of Surrealism is a vital element missing from many analyses of what sets Benjamin apart from the rest of the Frankfurt School. *Profane Illumination*, 3.

³² Cohen, *Profane Illumination*, 6.

urban life could serve as a guide in awakening. He wrote, "Whereas Aragon persists within the realm of dream, here the concern is to find the constellation of awakening . . . here it is a question of the dissolution of 'mythology' into the space of history."³³ Benjamin's notion of history envisioned it as centrally concerned with awakening. This is a key rupture and one of interest to historians, because Benjamin's materialism led him to the archive, which he thought the essential tool through which history would replace mythology. The most literal archive already mined by scholars inspired by *The Arcades Project* has been that relating to the modern city.

Benjamin's reading of modernity as crystallized in nineteenth-century Paris, as well as the interpretations of the German sociologists around Georg Simmel, have come to dominate accounts of urban life as it emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century. Susan Buck-Morss stated Benjamin's urban question this way: "Could the metropolis of consumption, the highground of bourgeois capitalist culture, be transformed from a world of mystifying enchantment into one of metaphysical and political illumination?"³⁴ The arcades as architectural structures epitomized the dream houses of the collective in the nineteenth century. The importance bestowed by urban studies scholars interested in modernity on Benjamin's Parisian production cycle and *The Arcades Project*, in its various fragments and forms, can be likened to the reverence of the Mormons for Joseph Smith's tablets. It has become a foundational text, oft-cited and sometimes read.

Reading through the thousand pages of the English translation of *The Arcades Project*, one stumbles upon the vast array of virtually every important topic that materialized in nineteenth-century cities in the West: the poor, revolution, gas lighting, urban renewal, fashion, trains, catacombs, apartments, panoramas, the Stock Exchange, department stores, photography, museums, exhibitions. Unlike the tradition of urban ethnography that emerged from Friedrich Engels's and Henry Mayhew's writings about the effects of industrialization on the poor in Manchester and London, Benjamin's analysis of Paris distinguished itself by also emphasizing the glitzy and glittering modern city. These dazzling effects of modern city life coupled with Benjamin's interest in Baudelaire's notion of modernity (the fleeting, ephemeral, and contingent experience) produced a vision of the spectacular qualities of urban existence alongside the images of revolution and poverty.³⁵ Benjamin's Paris is deeply indebted to Baudelaire's vision of the "religious intoxication of great cities" in addition to his sense that the "old Paris is gone."³⁶ Benjamin shared Baudelaire's ambivalent feelings about the modern city; but Benjamin's extensive reading in the abundant, mundane, and celebratory nine-

³³ *Arcades Project* (N 1, 9), 458. Louis Aragon and André Breton were influential figures in the Dadaist and Surrealist movements respectively. On the history of these movements, see Maurice Nadeau, *The History of Surrealism*, Richard Howard, trans. (1967; Cambridge, Mass., 1989); Mary Ann Caws, *André Breton* (New York, 1971). See also André Breton, *Manifestoes of Surrealism*, Richard Seaver and Helen Lane, trans. (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1969).

³⁴ Buck-Morss, *Dialectics of Seeing*, 23.

³⁵ For analyses of the city as spectacle, see T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers* (Princeton, N.J., 1984); Vanessa R. Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998); and several essays in Leo Charney and Vanessa R. Schwartz, eds., *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life* (Berkeley, 1995).

³⁶ *Arcades Project* (A 13), 61, and (C 7a, 11), 96.

teenth-century Paris literature also contributed to a broader vision of the city than the modernist trajectory that usually traces its origin to Baudelaire. Benjamin's phrase, "Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century" (probably derived from Marx, who called Paris "the new capital of the new world"³⁷), has come to represent a trajectory of scholarship in which the city has become the crystallization of both modern mythology and history.³⁸

Benjamin emphasized the way the city and its new institutions, the exhibition, the department store ("temples consecrated to the intoxication of great cities"³⁹), the panorama, the museum, created a sort of commodification on display in which capitalism now put a greater premium on display than use or exchange value.⁴⁰ This emphasis thus elaborates on Marxist notions of commodification in the market through the Benjaminian twist of emphasizing form—here, in new institutions and their techniques of display. Through these new institutions, "consumers begin to consider themselves a mass. (Earlier it was only scarcity which taught them that)."⁴¹ In the 1935 draft of "Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century," Benjamin cites the philosopher Hippolyte-Adolphe Taine on the exhibitions, "Europe is off to view the merchandise," and Honoré de Balzac on the boulevards and arcades as "the great

³⁷ Cohen, *Profane Illumination*, 4.

³⁸ The literature about city life in the nineteenth century is vast. Graeme Gilloch's *Myth and Metropolis: Walter Benjamin and the City* (Cambridge, 1996) takes Benjamin and the city as its subject. There is a sort of declension model based on proximity to Paris as to whether an analysis of the city seems dependent on Benjamin's reading of modern urban life. Studies of Paris predominate the field. In addition to Clark and Schwartz, key studies include Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, *Paris as Revolution: Writing the Nineteenth-Century City* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994); Christopher Prendergast, *Paris and the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1992); Nicholas Green, *The Spectacle of Nature: Landscape and Bourgeois Culture in Nineteenth-Century France* (Manchester, 1990); Philippe Hamon, *Expositions: Literature and Architecture in Nineteenth-Century France*, Katia Sainson-Frank and Lisa Maguire, trans. (Berkeley, 1992); Sharon Marcus, *Apartment Stories: City and Home in Nineteenth-Century Paris and London* (Berkeley, 1999); Shelley Rice, *Parisian Views* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997); Molly Nesbit, *Atget's Seven Albums* (New Haven, Conn., 1992); Naomi Schor, "Cartes Postales: Representing Paris 1900," *Critical Inquiry* 18 (Winter 1992): 188–244; Adrian Rifkin, *Street Noises: Studies in Parisian Pleasure, 1900–1940* (Manchester, 1993); Jeannene Przyblyski, *The Camera on the Barricades: Photography and the Paris Commune of 1871* (Minneapolis, forthcoming). Other considerations engaged with Benjamin include Peter Fritzsch, *Reading Berlin 1900* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996); Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late Victorian London* (Chicago, 1993); *Victorian Literature and Victorian Visual Imagination*, Carol T. Christ and John O. Jordan, eds. (Berkeley, 1995); Erika Diane Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End* (Princeton, N.J., 2000); Giuliana Bruno, *Streetwalking on a Ruined Map: Cultural Theory and the City Films of Elvira Notari* (Princeton, 1993); Joachim Schlör, *Nights in the Big City: Paris, Berlin, London (1840–1930)*, Pierre Gottfried Imhof and Dafydd Rees Roberts, trans. (London, 1998); *Women in the Metropolis: Gender and Modernity in Weimar Culture*, Katharina von Ankum, ed. (Berkeley, 1997). Benjamin is surprisingly absent from the history of U.S. cities, especially New York; see William B. Scott and Peter M. Rutkoff, eds., *New York Modern: The Arts and the City* (Baltimore, 1999). Lauren Rabinovitz, *For the Love of Pleasure: Women, Movies and Culture in Turn-of-the-Century Chicago* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1998), is one important study that uses Benjamin in relation to an American city. In an interesting account of urban culture in Shanghai, Leo Ou-Fan Lee evokes the Benjaminian model: *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930–1945* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999). For the problem of comparative urban studies, see Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, "Comparing 'Incomparable' Cities: Postmodern L.A. and Old Shanghai," *Contention* 5 (Spring 1996): 69–90.

³⁹ *Arcades Project* (A 13), 61.

⁴⁰ Buck-Morss, *Dialectics of Seeing*, 81. See Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London, 1995).

⁴¹ *Arcades Project* (A 4, 1), 43.

poem of display."⁴² Benjamin announces that "Look at everything, touch nothing" is the logic of this display.⁴³

In writing about this culture of display, Benjamin founded a trajectory that extended from the arcades to the department store. More recently, film historian Anne Friedberg has broadened the analysis to take us from modernity's department stores to postmodernity's malls and virtual modes of visual consumption.⁴⁴ The display of commodities posits a spectating audience, and this notion has generated one of the signal issues of the Benjamin city literature: the meaning of the *flâneur* and the experience of *flânerie*, which serve as foundational ways of understanding the viewing habits of the mass-media audience.

Flânerie has become so common a term to describe urban spectatorship that it has begun to seem hollow. But it can still be used to describe the historically specific conditions of spectatorship in the consumer-oriented city that emphasizes mobility and fluid subjectivity and pleasure.⁴⁵ Benjamin understood the *flâneur*, the bourgeois male observer of the patterns and rhythms of city life, as a "type" who exemplified urban spectators. The *flâneur* delighted in the sight of the city and its tumultuous crowd, while allegedly remaining aloof and detached from it. His sentiments about city life could be found in Baudelaire's pronouncement that the "life of our city is rich in poetic and marvelous subjects."⁴⁶ An inveterate stroller, the *flâneur* goes "botanizing on the asphalt," according to Benjamin, who envisioned the arcade as the *flâneur*'s home before Haussmannization made the streets a comfortable dwelling.⁴⁷

Critics have used Benjamin's analysis to emphasize the masculine bourgeois privilege of modern public life in Paris and other cities.⁴⁸ Many scholars have argued that the *flâneur* had no female counterpart because the sexual divisions of the nineteenth-century city prevented women from occupying urban space in the way that men did.⁴⁹ Nineteenth-century writers seem to make incarnate this absent representation through their obsessive depiction of prostitutes. More recent literature has begun to reject this framing to see a form of female *flânerie* in women's occupation of the new spaces of consumption.⁵⁰ Finally, as I have argued

⁴² "Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century," 7 and 3.

⁴³ *Arcades Project* (M 4, 7), 805.

⁴⁴ Friedberg, *Window Shopping*. Friedberg's book was published in 1993 and thus before the real wave of Internet and other digital technologies extended the paradigm, perhaps in a way that dissipates the specificity of urban culture. See Samuel Weber, *Mass Mediaurus: Form, Technics, Media*, Alan Cholodenko, ed. (Stanford, Calif., 1996). For more on department stores, see Geoffrey Crossick and Serge Jaumain, eds., *Cathedrals of Consumption: The European Department Store, 1850-1939* (Aldershot, 1999); Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure*; Michael B. Miller, *The Bon Marché: Bourgeois Culture and the Department Store, 1869-1920* (Princeton, N.J., 1981); and William Leach, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power and the Rise of a New American Culture* (New York, 1993).

⁴⁵ For a description of the various uses of the term, see Keith Tester, ed., *The Flâneur* (New York, 1994).

⁴⁶ Charles Baudelaire, *The Salon of 1846*, cited in Janet Wolff, "The Invisible Flâneuse," in Wolff, *Feminine Sentences: Essays on Women and Culture* (Berkeley, Calif., 1990), 37.

⁴⁷ Walter Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*, Harry Zohn, trans. (London, 1989), 37.

⁴⁸ Wolff, "Invisible Flâneuse," 5.

⁴⁹ Wolff, "Invisible Flâneuse." See also Deborah Epstein Nord, *Walking the Victorian Streets: Women, Representation and the City* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1995).

⁵⁰ See Friedberg, *Window Shopping*; Rabinovitz, *For the Love of Pleasure*; Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure*; and Patrice Petro, "Perceptions of Difference: Women as Spectator and Spectacle," 41-66,

elsewhere, the question of the gender and class of the *flâneur* misses the point. Benjamin's interest in the *flâneur* was not as a historically specific person. Rather, his focus on this Parisian urban type has allowed scholars to extrapolate from the descriptions of the *flâneur* to envision a historically specific mode of experiencing the spectacle of the city in which the viewer assumes the position of being able to observe, command, and participate in this spectacle all at the same time.⁵¹

If *The Arcades Project* suggests anything, it is that modernity cannot be conceived outside the context of the city, which provided an arena for the circulation of bodies and goods, the exchange of glances, and the exercise of consumerism. Modern life seemed urban by definition, yet the social and economic transformations wrought by modernity recast the image of the city in the wake of the eruption of industrial capitalism during the second half of the nineteenth century. As Georg Simmel, a major influence on Benjamin's vision of changing notions of experience in modernity noted, the modern city occasions "the rapid crowding of changing images, the sharp discontinuity in the grasp of a single glance, and the unexpectedness of onrushing impressions."⁵² Simmel's words could serve as a description of the cinema; the experience of the city set the terms for the experience of the other elements of modernity. As typified by *flânerie*, modern attention was conceived as not only visual and mobile but also fleeting and ephemeral.⁵³ Modern attention was vision in motion. Modern forms of experience relied not simply on movement but on the juncture of movement and vision: moving pictures. As Benjamin noted early in Konvolut C (Ancient Paris, Catacombs, Demolitions, Decline of Paris): "Couldn't an exciting film be made from the map of Paris? . . . From the compression of a centuries-long movement of streets, boulevards, arcades, and squares into the space of half an hour? And does the *flâneur* do anything different?"⁵⁴ It should thus come as no surprise that, in the midst of working on *The Arcades Project*, Benjamin wrote his single most influential essay, one that examines the transformation of experience through modernity's signal mode of representation. It focuses on the power and logic of film both as a form of representation and as a burgeoning social institution.

IN EARLY 1935, BENJAMIN WROTE "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," which was published in 1936.⁵⁵ A response to Hitler's appropriation

and Anke Gieber, "Female Flânerie and the *Symphony of the City*," 67–88, in von Ankum, *Women in the Metropolis*; and Rita Felski, *The Gender of Modernity* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995).

⁵¹ See Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities*, 9–10.

⁵² Georg Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life," in *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, Kurt Wolff, ed. and trans. (1903; rpt. edn., New York, 1950), 410.

⁵³ For more on notions of attention in modernity, see Jonathan Crary, *Suspensions of Perception: Attention, Spectacle and Modern Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999).

⁵⁴ *Arcades Project* (C 1, 9), 83.

⁵⁵ Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations*, Hannah Arendt, ed., Harry Zohn, trans. (New York, 1969), 217–52. The English translation of the essay's title has been disputed by Samuel Weber, who translates it as "The Work of Art in the Time of Its Technical Reproducibility," in "Mass Mediauras; or Art, Aura and Media in the Work of Walter Benjamin," in David Ferris, ed., *Walter Benjamin: Theoretical Questions* (Stanford, Calif., 1996), 27–49, and by Miriam Hansen, who translates the title as "The Artwork in the Age of Its Technical

of mass culture for fascist ends, it also stands as an elaboration of several of the themes delineated in *The Arcades Project*. The essay is the most coherent statement of his critical difference from Adorno and Horkheimer and other members of the Frankfurt School who did not see in mass culture anything more than false consciousness. In the essay, Benjamin sought to “take mass culture seriously not merely as the source of the phantasmagoria of false consciousness, but as the source of collective energy to overcome it.”⁵⁶ It also stands on its own as a foundational essay in what has become the field of visual culture studies, because of its serious consideration of modern visual culture as more than an interpretation of “art.”⁵⁷ The essay focuses intensively on the relation between the history of form and its reception and identifies the transformations of experience and perception that we associate with modernity as it is generally construed. In it, Benjamin lays bare his interest in how forms of technology and media are social facts—not just in their institutionalization but also as embodiments and instantiations of social relations and experiences. A hallmark of the artwork essay, which echoes *The Arcades Project* as well, is Benjamin’s interest in the relation between a period’s visual technologies and its structures of understanding. He believed that every era has very specific techniques of reproduction that correspond to it.⁵⁸ The concern of the artwork essay is the “era of mechanical reproduction” from lithography to film. While it provides useful insights into the many forms of mechanically reproduced representations, the essay’s virtuosity is in its original insights into the apotheosis of the era—film.

The context for Benjamin’s essay was fascism’s uses of mass culture. Rather than assuming that the media associated with the modern masses were inherently fascist, Benjamin argued that fascism appealed to the collective in its unconscious state by aestheticizing politics and recapitulating in the extreme the reactionary tenet of “art for art’s sake.”⁵⁹ Benjamin argued that the modern mass media could be equally as progressive as fascistic, if not more so.⁶⁰ The essay stands as a blueprint for imagining the ways in which technology changed cultural practice and products in such a way as to set the stage for social transformation. His intention in the piece was to set forth an interpretation that would be useful for “the formulations of

Reproducibility,” in “Walter Benjamin and Cinema: Not a One-Way Street,” *Critical Inquiry* 25 (Winter 1999): 306–43. I use the Zohn translation because it is the most cited of Benjamin’s essays. In addition, I think Zohn’s more idiomatic translation, which results in the use of “mechanical,” may not be as literal as “technological” but may well better express the qualities of photography and film he describes.

⁵⁶ Buck-Morss, *Dialectics of Seeing*, 253. The most important work that has been done on Benjamin and film is by Miriam Bratu Hansen. See “Benjamin, Cinema and Experience: ‘The Blue Flower in the Land of Technology,’” *New German Critique* 40 (Winter 1987): 179–224; “Benjamin and Cinema: Not a One-Way Street”; “America, Paris, the Alps: Kracauer (and Benjamin) on Cinema and Modernity,” in Charney and Schwartz, *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life*.

⁵⁷ See Nicholas Mirzoeff, *An Introduction to Visual Culture* (London, 1999); and Mirzoeff, ed., *The Visual Culture Reader* (London, 1998).

⁵⁸ This point is also elaborated in Walter Benjamin, “Eduard Fuchs: Collector and Historian,” in *The Essential Frankfurt School Reader*, Andrew Arato and Eike Gebhardt, eds. (New York, 1982).

⁵⁹ Buck-Morss, *Dialectics of Seeing*, 309.

⁶⁰ This perspective also suggests Benjamin’s familiarity with the views of the Soviet revolutionary avant-garde in the 1920s and V. I. Lenin’s appreciation of film in particular. What it also makes clear is that totalitarian regimes, whether to the left or right, were deeply aware of the importance of mass culture in cementing their power.

revolutionary demands in the politics of art.”⁶¹ Thus we can see the way the artwork essay also emerges from Benjamin’s engagement with the Surrealists and other avant-garde cultural movements that sought to dissolve the traditional high-low distinctions on which both bourgeois society and art and literary criticism were based. Yet Benjamin’s interest in mass culture also separated him from classical Marxist revolutionary aspirations, which continued to be distrustful of the cultural products of bourgeois capitalism, especially through his abiding interest in form applied to the “low culture,” which he then sought to politicize.

The essay examines the nineteenth century’s establishment of a new mode of representation—mechanical reproduction—which is distinct from older forms of reproduction such as copying and imitation. Benjamin traces a lineage that begins with lithography and moves from photography to its fullest expression in film.⁶² Not only did mechanical reproduction brush aside such notions as creativity and genius, eternal value and mystery, but its plurality of copies also replaced the aura generated by a work of art. “Aura” is an important concept for Benjamin, as both fundamental to the power of representation and diminished by technological reproducibility. What is new in mechanical reproduction, a mode in which to “ask for the ‘authentic’ print makes no sense,” is the rejection of authenticity and thus the authority of the actual art object and the “traditional value of the cultural heritage.”⁶³ In particular, Benjamin identifies the diminution of the aura generated by a work of art, which thus positively detaches representation from tradition. Aura depends on distance and reverence, authenticity and originality. In this form, art is embedded in ritual and maintains a cult value attached to traditional hierarchies, in which the art object’s existence is more important than whether the object can be viewed. Mechanical reproduction emancipates the work of art from this relation to ritual and singularity and “begins to be based on another practice—politics.” This notion emerges because he imagined the masses as constituted not just in but by mechanical reproduction.⁶⁴ These forms also transformed practices of reception and spectatorship. Whereas art is conceived of as absorbing the spectator’s attention, technologies such as film offer a new mode of reception in a state of distraction that better matches the pace and scale of a public who fast become “absent-minded” examiners. The increased emphasis on reception, and thus on the vital engagement of the masses, forms the core of the progressive politics of mass culture, which allows Benjamin to see in it the “monuments to the Utopian hope of past generations.”⁶⁵

Benjamin was struck by the emphasis the age of mechanical reproduction placed on the masses and their relation to art. Once emancipated from the “purpose” of ritual, a measure of the social significance of art became its enjoyment by the masses.⁶⁶ Rather than the distance that accompanies aura, the masses prefer to

⁶¹ Benjamin, “Work of Art,” 218.

⁶² For an excellent conceptualization of Benjamin’s influence in the history of photography, see Jeannene M. Przyblyski, “History Is Photography: The Afterimage of Walter Benjamin,” *afterimage* 26 (September–October 1998): 8–11. This perspective is central to the collective contribution of the essays in Charney and Schwartz, *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life*.

⁶³ “Work of Art,” 221.

⁶⁴ “Work of Art,” 224.

⁶⁵ Buck-Morss, *Dialectics of Seeing*, 336.

⁶⁶ “Work of Art,” 234.

bring things spatially closer and destroy uniqueness by accepting the reproduction of reality. The new age altered the very ground of valuation in the arts: "Quantity has been transmuted into quality," he noted. In mass culture, more is better. This transformation has remained at the core of the mass arts, whose success and importance is directly linked to its appreciation by large numbers.⁶⁷ In this way, exhibition and display become the key distinctions between art before and after mechanical reproduction. Painting is particularly vulnerable in this new economy of value because, unlike such forms as architecture or film, "it is in no position to present an object for simultaneous collective experience."⁶⁸ Adorno chafed at this notion, concerned that Benjamin was suggesting that all art was thereby counter-revolutionary. Film functioned as the epitome of this new economy of aesthetic value, and Benjamin's analysis of film emerges as an essential way of critically considering the importance of film as a social fact and as a representational form.

Benjamin considered film to be the most powerful agent of contemporary mass movements as well as the medium of its historical moment because it represented the masses to themselves as a collective. Influenced by Berthold Brecht's ideas about engaging and empowering the audience in epic theater, Benjamin saw film's popular appeal residing in the way it turned members of the public into "experts"; the success of a film rested on public opinion (the audience members are the real film critics), and such forms as newsreels even turned passersby into film actors as "extras." He also believed that film resolved the vexed relation between science and art. Most significantly, however, he observed that film is not simply produced by mechanical reproduction but that mechanical reproduction is inherent in the film as form and product. The "sameness, repeatability, closeness and shock of film," in pointed counter-distinction to the aura of art, enabled film to offer the potential to constitute "the masses" and for these masses to emerge as a revolutionary proletariat and thus destroy capitalist society with a form of its own making.⁶⁹

Film represents the way in which mechanical reproduction created new forms of subjective experience, particularly in relation to time and space. As Benjamin explained in what have become canonical observations about cinema's transformations of time and space:

Our taverns and our metropolitan streets, our offices and furnished rooms, our railroad stations and our factories appeared to have us locked up hopelessly. Then came the film and burst this prison-world asunder by the dynamite of the tenth of a second, so that now, in the midst of its far-flung ruins and debris, we calmly and adventurously go traveling. With the close-up, space expands; with slow-motion, movement is extended . . . [T]he camera introduces us to an unconscious optics as does psychoanalysis to unconscious impulses.⁷⁰

Film, in other words, transformed our notions of time and space, showed us life as the naked eye cannot perceive it, an unconscious optics that with the intensity of "dynamite" might have the power to awaken the sleeping collective.

Elsewhere, Benjamin writes of film and shock. The shock effect of film mirrored

⁶⁷ "Work of Art," 239.

⁶⁸ "Work of Art," 234.

⁶⁹ Hansen, "America, Paris, the Alps," 381.

⁷⁰ "Work of Art," 236.

a response to the overstimulation of urban life.⁷¹ Like Simmel and the other Frankfurt School critic most closely allied with Benjamin's point of view, Simmel's student Siegfried Kracauer, Benjamin argued that human sense perception changes with humanity's "entire mode of existence."⁷² New media such as film, new modes of transport such as the train and eventually the car, new living conditions such as urban apartment dwelling become the keys to transformations in experience. The overwhelming sense of these transformations accompanied by film is captured by its earliest critics (who Benjamin loved to mock) such as Georges Duhamel, who complained, "I can no longer think what I want to think. My thoughts have been replaced by moving images."⁷³ Early on, Benjamin identified the way cinema would come to dominate the modern imagination, in which people began to speak of certain experiences "as if they were a movie."

Benjamin's interest in the power of mechanical reproduction led him to reconsider notions of subjective experience in modernity. Such new notions and the actual effects of technological modernity also called for a new method of history, he argued. His aphoristic, snapshot-like writing, first manifested in *One-Way Street*, also characterizes his last essay, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," and makes greater sense as a potential historical method via an understanding of his artwork essay. Because *The Arcades Project* is clearly not a finished work in any sense of the term, it is difficult to venture a guess as to the extent to which Benjamin intended to render in a more explanatory prose his ideas about Paris, modernity, the nineteenth century, and the philosophy of history. Whatever Benjamin's intent, we actually have *The Arcades Project* in its current published form to consider as we ponder Benjamin's method. Reading it, it becomes clear that sometime during his work on Paris and mechanical reproduction, key signposts for his consideration of modernity, Benjamin realized that his project was as much a meditation on the potentials of historical method as on capitalism in nineteenth-century Paris. Yet Benjamin's method was also self-consciously considered in relation to the very transformations he was interested in illuminating. In other words, his historical methodology was one that emerged from and was best suited to understanding history in the "age of mechanical reproduction."

⁷¹ See Leo Charney, "In a Moment: Film and the Philosophy of Modernity," and Ben Singer, "Modernity, Hyperstimulus and the Rise of Popular Sensationalism," both in Charney and Schwartz, *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life*.

⁷² "Work of Art," 222. Siegfried Kracauer, *The Mass Ornament: Weimar Essays*, Thomas Y. Levin, ed. and trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1995). For more on Kracauer, see Miriam Bratu Hansen, "'With Skin and Hair': Kracauer's Theory of Film, Marseille, 1940," *Critical Inquiry* 19 (Spring 1993): 437–69.

⁷³ "Work of Art," 238.

The true picture of the past flits by. The past can be seized only as an image which flashes up at an instant when it can be recognized and is never seen again.

“Theses on the Philosophy of History.”⁷⁴

IF THE QUESTION OF THE IMAGE is essential to Benjamin’s notion of modernity, it later became the core of his avant-garde notions for the foundations of a materialist history. Some of his historical sensibility hardly seems avant-garde today, especially among cultural historians. For example, *The Arcades Project* is filled with questions about the everyday and mundane objects, such as “where were . . . mirrors manufactured . . . and when did the custom of furnishing bars with them arise?” or “when did Gavroche [the boy urchin of literature and art] first appear?”⁷⁵ He compared his method of research to learning what it is that draws expeditions off course: “Comparison of other people’s attempts to the undertaking of a sea voyage in which the ships are drawn off course by the magnetic North Pole. Discover this North Pole. What for others are deviations are, for me, the data which determine my course.”⁷⁶ This sort of reading against the grain as well as following the atypical piece of information characterizes much of contemporary cultural historical practice. For Benjamin, the force determining his interest in deviations was inexorably tied to his own present concerns. In her introduction to the edited collection *Illuminations*, which anthologizes the “Theses on the Philosophy of History,” Hannah Arendt summarized Benjamin’s historical practice in a way that clarifies why Benjamin resonates with historical practice today:

What guides this [Walter Benjamin’s] thinking is the conviction that although the living is subject to the ruin of time, the process of decay is at the same time a process of crystallization, that in the depth of the sea, into which sinks and is dissolved what once was alive, some things “suffer a sea-change” and survive in new crystallized forms and shapes that remain immune to the elements, as though they waited only for the pearl diver who one day will come down to them and bring them up into the world of the living.⁷⁷

This is a telling statement, for all historians already know that we are those pearl divers, having to acknowledge that we wrench the past from its sometimes-obscure enclosures. But time has changed our objects of study, and historians actually bring them back into our own world motivated by our present concerns. We are thus incapable of showing “how things really were” but instead create a dialogue between the past and present that establishes a usable version of history. Even Benjamin’s notion that “to discover in the analysis of the small individual moment the crystal of the total event” can be integrated into a seemingly ordinary sense of the historian’s method by which the grain of sand becomes the means to understanding the desert—the sort of signature of such genres as microhistory.⁷⁸ While these statements about history suggest that Benjamin may have been ahead

⁷⁴ Walter Benjamin, “Theses on the Philosophy of History,” in Arendt, *Illuminations*, 255.

⁷⁵ *Arcades Project* (R 1, 4), 538 and (B 1a, 6), 743.

⁷⁶ *Arcades Project* (N 1, 2), 456.

⁷⁷ Arendt, *Illuminations*, 51.

⁷⁸ *Arcades Project* (N 2, 6), 461.

of his time, historical discourse has at least caught up with him by now. But this is not all that Benjamin had to say about history.

The Arcades Project, despite its incompleteness, along with the "Theses on the Philosophy of History" (Benjamin's final text) may be considered both a model of and a guide to Benjamin's project for a philosophy of history. Even if the volume that we call *The Arcades Project* is in no way complete, its form may not have been far from what Benjamin might have been intending to write all along. Already in *One-Way Street*, he declared the form of books "an obsolete mediation between two different card filing systems. For everything essential is found in the note boxes of the researcher who writes it, and the reader who studies it assimilates it into his or her own note file."⁷⁹ Perhaps *The Arcades Project* continued to grow in note-card form because Benjamin intended it to resemble them. After all, in that same aphoristic text, he also asks, "when shall we actually write books like catalogues."⁸⁰ In our own digital era, in which we may now re-present history and our documents in hypertext, we may well not be far from Benjamin's sixty-year-old notion of the book becoming a catalog, a form germane not simply for its lack of narrative coherence but also for its reliance on the interdependence of image and text.⁸¹ For some critics, Benjamin thus becomes an important way station in the journey toward a postmodern historiography that might be seen to begin with Friedrich Nietzsche. Viewed differently, the very observations Benjamin made about modernity allowed him to reimagine history and its study from the vantage point of a world transformed by capitalism, mechanical reproduction, and changing human perception. Benjamin's work on modernity challenges our very distinction between modernity and postmodernity.⁸²

Benjamin centered his notion of history on the image, the citation, and the telescoping of the past through the present. He blurred the lines between visual and linguistic constructions in order to determine what he took to be the expressive dimension of an era and in that way intervened in both literary and art historical practices. His idea of history was shaped, most of all, by the cinematic, and he insisted on thinking about "the materialist presentation of history as imagistic in a higher sense than in the traditional presentation."⁸³ Benjamin's cinematic history was achieved through the decomposition of cinema into its elements—particularly still photographs—and through the seemingly exclusively cinematic means of narration that had recently been extensively discussed in avant-garde aesthetic circles: montage. "History decays into images, not stories," he pronounced, offering the means to recompose it through the technique of montage: "the first stage in this

⁷⁹ *One-Way Street*, as cited in Buck-Morss, *Dialectics of Seeing*, 336.

⁸⁰ *One-Way Street*, in Marcus Bullock and Michael W. Jennings, eds., *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings*, vol. 1, 1913–1926 (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), 457.

⁸¹ See Philip J. Ethington's multimedia web site essay, "Los Angeles and the Problem of Urban Historical Knowledge," in the electronic *American Historical Review* 105 (December 2000), at <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ahr/105.5/>.

⁸² See Michael P. Steinberg, ed., *Walter Benjamin and the Demands of History* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1996); David Frisby, *Fragments of Modernity: Theories of Modernity in the Work of Simmel, Kracauer and Benjamin* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986); Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism: or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham, N.C., 1991).

⁸³ *Arcades Project* (N 3, 3), 463.

undertaking will be to carry over the principle of montage into history.”⁸⁴ He believed that his method would conjoin a heightened graphickness with Marxist dialectics. Long before the Internet but after the telegraph and film, Benjamin observed the spectacular and fragmentary qualities of modernity and interposed them into his own historical project. In the early nineteenth century, the Romantics saw ruins as a vital component in a fragmentary history that they could reconstitute. By the twentieth century, only the assemblage of fragments in juxtaposition remained, if history would shake loose the sort of historical awakening to which Benjamin aspired. For Benjamin, the fragment established itself as the trope of the modern. Histories would need to be written not only *for* their times but to embody the *forms* of their times if awakening (the goal of history) was to be achieved.

The Arcades Project embodied this trope of the modern in its very form. “To write history is to cite it” became the guiding principle of Benjamin’s method in the Paris book.⁸⁵ Thus the published text’s mixture of long citations amalgamated with Benjamin’s commentary, incomplete as it is, may also have been the basis for what Benjamin might have hoped to achieve as a form of historical narration. Elsewhere, he wrote, “Method of this project: literary montage. I needn’t say anything. Merely show.”⁸⁶ As Buck-Morss explains, when Adorno was reading through the manuscript in 1948, he came to fear that the project would have consisted only of the “shock-like montage of the material.”⁸⁷ This strain in Benjamin, a sort of history written like the messages in Chinese fortune cookies, can be at once inspiring, eye-catching, and frustrating for the historian trained to decode and contextualize emblems and aphorisms and not perpetuate them.⁸⁸

If citation and images became the objects with which historians could work, what Benjamin came to call the “dialectical image” located the past in relationship to the uses and needs of the historical present. In a formulation that cannot but strike the contemporary historian as resonant with Foucault and Nietzsche before him, Benjamin suggested that the past, as the epigraph to this section makes clear, flashes up and can only be seized and actualized by the present. What distinguishes Benjamin is that he conceptualizes the past as flashing up *as an image*. He continues:

It’s not that what is past casts its light on what is present, or what is present its light on what is past; rather, image is that wherein what has been comes together in a flash with the now to form a constellation. In other words, image is dialectics at a standstill. For while the relation of the present to the past is a purely temporal, continuous one, the relation of what-has-been to the now is dialectical: is not progression but image, suddenly emergent.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Eduardo Cadava’s *Words of Light* is very suggestive on this point and one of the most interesting discussions of Benjamin and history to date. Benjamin quote from *Arcades Project* (N 11, 4), 476, and (N 2, 6), 461.

⁸⁵ *Arcades Project* (N 11, 3), 476.

⁸⁶ *Arcades Project* (N 1a, 8), 460.

⁸⁷ Both Tiedemann and Buck-Morss believe that Adorno overreacted to what might have been a mixture of citation and commentary.

⁸⁸ At the end of *The Dialectics of Seeing*, Buck-Morss proposes a Benjamin-inspired photo essay about the Arcades Project. Her most recent book, *Dreamworld and Catastrophe*, extends this as it juxtaposes images, texts, and notes in an analysis of the collapse of the Cold War and the Soviet Union.

⁸⁹ *Arcades Project* (N 2a, 3), 462.

Presence for Benjamin came in the form of vision (the image) or what he called “the Now of recognizability,” which facilitated the moment of awakening that *The Arcades Project* meant to summon. In this manner, Benjamin challenged the model of a universal and continuous history organized by notions of progress; in this way, a different history, but history nevertheless, emerges at the center of political practice and as the key to the process of awakening.

Benjamin’s notions of a history guided by the image as its key concept are suggestive for historians today, whose thinking is shaped by the transformations in temporality and historical method shaped in the shadow of film and newer digital forms. History and film can be thought to, after all, share the common project of presenting us, as Philip Rosen put it, with “an absence, namely that of the represented past.”⁹⁰ More than twenty years ago, Stephen Heath noted, “film is like history, absent in the representation, in the past presented; history is like a film, another genre but the same narrative patterns, the same familiarity, without problem or division.”⁹¹ If film and history share certain qualities, film’s temporality may well transform our own historical thinking about time and the past. Film as a medium seems to be fundamentally about an insistent presence—both of objects that are represented (the iconic figuration of a car in a film is achieved through filming an actual car) and a perceptual presence that seems resistant to the passage of time. If film is both like history in that it represents an absence and unlike history in that it seems to erase the pastness of the past, it may very well embody the “Now of recognizability” that Benjamin described as what emerges from his notion of “dialectics at a standstill.” In this way, film becomes a key mode of historical awakening. Although I am not suggesting that all written history would thus disappear, I am suggesting that both still and moving images have not only transformed our own notions of temporality but also may offer the historian a mode and medium through which to awaken from the collective sleep Benjamin outlines. This view would require a genuine reconsideration of the value and uses of mass cultural forms by historians who have generally imagined that such mass-reproduced images perpetuate the dreams and delusions of bourgeois society.

If “dialectics at a standstill” puts the study of history at the center of fostering social change, Benjamin’s notion of history in *The Arcades Project* is not, however, without its contradictions. In particular, his 1939 version of “Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century” seems downright anti-historicist. His increasingly desperate living situation, I would suggest, inflected his vision of history. In his 1939 exposé of the project, Benjamin gave up on the surrealist dream language that so annoyed his interlocutor Adorno and that seemed at the crux of a historicist consideration of the hopes and projective desires of the collective, whom he rescued from Adorno’s classical embrace of false consciousness. Literary critic Terry Eagleton stresses that Benjamin’s notions were always anti-historicist because they offered instead a Trotskyian, twentieth-century Marxist notion of permanent revolution, suggesting his notion of shock and constellation replaced nineteenth-century linear

⁹⁰ Philip Rosen, “Securing the Historical: Historiography and the Classical Cinema,” in Patricia Mellencamp and Philip Rosen, eds., *Cinema Histories, Cinema Practices* (Frederick, Md., 1984), 31.

⁹¹ Rosen, “Securing the Historical,” 19.

notions of historical evolution.⁹² Benjamin's eventual anti-historicism may have been motivated by the escalating potential for violence in Europe or by reasons we cannot explain.

In his 1939 summary of the project, Benjamin had discovered his thinker for that anti-historicist turn: the radical Auguste Blanqui and his *L'éternité par les astres* (1872). Blanqui was an activist and writer who was committed to permanent revolution and who spent more than half of his life in prison because of his views. Blanqui did more for Benjamin than echo his increasing personal pessimism. Blanqui allowed Benjamin to connect what are clearly anti-progressive Nietzschean perspectives to the French revolutionary genealogy in which Benjamin had been engrossed as part of his history of the nineteenth century. It is here that he abandons the utopian strain that ran through the French socialists and Marx as well. He noted that Blanqui strove "to trace an image of progress that (immemorial antiquity parading as up-to-date novelty) turns out to be the phantasmagoria of history itself."⁹³

His attachment to Blanqui also locates Benjamin in a sort of anti-historical and nihilistic mire in which all there is is an eternal present, a perspective that has made Nietzsche so unpalatable for historians. Again, Benjamin cites Blanqui,

There is no progress . . . Always and everywhere in the terrestrial arena, the same drama, the same setting, on the same narrow stage . . . The same monotony, the same immobility, on other heavenly bodies. The universe repeats itself endlessly and paws the ground in place. In infinity, eternity performs—imperturbably—the same routines.⁹⁴

Blanqui's notion of time at first glance might match Benjamin's notion of imagistic history, especially in its structural sameness, which evokes the infinite repeatability of mechanical reproduction (the universe repeats itself endlessly). But Blanqui's perspective was as surely shaped by a life of almost continuous imprisonment as Benjamin's was by the closing off of the world he had known by the rise of fascism. The only open sky he felt by then was an artificial one—painted on the ceiling of the Bibliothèque Nationale. He would be forced to abandon that one forever in 1940. As a Jew in what was fast becoming Hitler's Europe, it should come as no surprise that he became fixated on notions of eternal return, which those who link Benjamin to Jewish Messianism remind us.⁹⁵

The Arcades Project encapsulates most of Benjamin's intellectual concerns and matches his own life's trajectory in its unfinished and unrealized quality. In addition to his observations about the history of capitalism and his grasp of the vicissitudes of urban culture and the power of technologies of mechanical reproduction to create and potentially liberate the masses through its cultural product, he was a historian before his time, of his time, and also for our time. Reading Walter Benjamin in our own context, in which socialist revolution in Europe has failed but

⁹² Terry Eagleton, *Walter Benjamin: or, Towards a Revolutionary Criticism* (London, 1981).

⁹³ "Exposé of 1939," 25.

⁹⁴ "Exposé of 1939," 26.

⁹⁵ See McCole, *Walter Benjamin*, 106–10; Buck-Morss, *Dialectics of Seeing*, 242–46; Irving Wohlfarth, "On the Messianic Structure of Walter Benjamin's Last Reflections," *Glyph*, no. 3 (1978): 148–212; Gershom Scholem, *Walter Benjamin: The Story of a Friendship*, Karen Ready and Gary Smith, eds. (London, 1982); Rolf Tiedemann, "Historical Materialism or Political Messianism? An Interpretation of the Theses 'On the Concept of History,'" *Philosophical Forum* 15 (Fall/Winter 1983–84): 71–104.

Marx's predictions about the global nature of capitalism and its potential to transform the modes of representation could not have been more true, should be instructive for historians. At a recent conference concerning the city of Paris before Baron Haussmann's transformations, an exasperated French architectural historian tired of what he perceived to be the incessant evocation of Benjamin and urged that scholars lock Walter Benjamin in the closet for fifty years.⁹⁶ That would be too soon for the field of cultural history. With the publication of the English translation of *The Arcades Project*, he may finally be coming out of the closet of the specialized arcana of Benjamin studies and into the mainstream of historical discussions, as we cross the threshold of this new century. Historians interested in maintaining a materialist and dialectical base for our inquiry should welcome the opportunity to ponder Benjamin that the translation of *The Arcades Project* provides. Benjamin's Paris may have earned its label as the "capital of the nineteenth century," but it can also help us interpret and narrate the past in a way that better embodies twentieth-century transformations in experience, knowledge, and notions of temporality. We will do so in the context of a new, more visual and imagistic historiography that reconfirms the materialism of archival practice while wedding historical method to modes—the image, the clip, the byte, the digital, and the virtual that structure and characterize our own "modern" times.

⁹⁶ Many of the papers from that conference have been published in Karen Bowie, ed., *La modernité avant Haussmann: Formes de l'espace urbain à Paris, 1801–1853* (Paris, 2001).

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Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

JOSEPH A. AMATO. *Dust: A History of the Small and the Invisible*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 250. \$22.50.

Dust and dirt are no longer the constant, highly visible companions of everyday life in developed countries. Films show dust storms in the desert, and tourists can smell and see the dirt and dust of Africa and India. But, as Joseph A. Amato shows, the lives of European peasants have been transformed and are no longer in constant touch with dust and dirt. At the same time, a whole new range of invisible matter, organic and inorganic, now inhabits our universe, and dust has ceased to constitute the smallest type of matter.

Amato's "history of the small and the invisible" spans the histories of culture, technology, and medicine. It is a work of synthesis. It takes standard accounts, for instance, of medieval and Renaissance craftsmanship, art, the measurement of time and space, and the discovery of the microscope and telescope to show how light, cleanliness, precision, and new visions of the minute began to elide the ages-long link between dust, dirt, and everyday life. Other histories enter into the story. Chemistry and industry supplied new surfaces such as plastics that were bright, smooth, and easily cleaned and upon which dust found it difficult to settle. Machines arrived on the scene that gave the mid-twentieth-century housewife the means, and the duty, of expelling dirt and dust. Earlier, "the great unwashed" had been cleaned and disinfected. Here, the histories of nineteenth-century public health crusades, whose origins lay in the enlightenment project of progress and were given a boost with the discovery of bacteria, come into play.

Amato's perspective is that of the present day. He evokes well the fears raised by the new terrors of the invisible: bacteria, viruses, and now prions. The old associations between dirt, putrefaction, foul smells, and disease have altered; now we may imagine and sometimes see a plethora of invisible enemies lying behind the veil of dirt.

Amato writes well, and his scholarship, which is wide ranging, is never intrusive. His synthesis does, however, raise a general question. As Amato writes with an eye to the present and selects his material with the aid

of hindsight, he naturally focuses on those aspects of historical change that lead to the demise of dust and dirt as the primary constituents of visible matter and as carriers of disease. Participants in those changes, however, may well not have ascribed any such significance to them. In a sense, Amato's history is half way toward an old-fashioned whig history, but without the element of progress. In my field of study—medical history—such histories have become taboo. They are trotted out at the beginning of courses as strawmen to be knocked down during the process of indoctrinating students into the superiority of present-day historiography. But are not histories of secularization, feminism, or Third World development written from a hindsight perspective? It is unlikely that such histories would be accused of having a quasi-whig methodology, although in truth all histories that look to the present have something of it in them. It may be that the history of science and medicine should not be afraid of histories like Amato's. Presentist history is usually relevant history and enjoyed by its readers. The old whig history and postmodern history share a concern with present-day relevance, even if their ideological stances differ widely. Significantly, Amato's approach has allowed him to use a wide range of sources such as Friedrich Albert Lange's nineteenth-century *History of Materialism and Criticism of its Present Importance*, Edward Grant's books on medieval medicine, Carlo Ginzburg's *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (1980), and Jonathan Sawday's *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (1995). Not all presentist history is so eclectic. It could be considered a weakness in Amato's book that he does not develop a systematic explanation to account for the near disappearance of dirt and dust, and for their replacements in the mentality of developed nations. However, Amato's eclecticism allows him to bring up a range of insights from a number of very disparate historians to enrich his historical enquiry, which would have been ignored by a more theoretically inclined and more narrow focused historian.

Amato has produced a perceptive work, which explains to the reader the stages in the disappearance of dirt and dust and provides the social, cultural, and technical context for the changes. He leaves the reader

with the question of whether human imagination and language will be inhabited by the new invisible world of atoms and pathogens in the same way as the visible world helped to structure our thoughts. His conclusion is that, despite the terror of the invisible and the links of the invisible to such powerful agencies as science and medicine, it will not do so. In an interesting and subtle discussion, Amato explains why. Humans think anthropomorphically and not in terms of atoms and microbes. Moreover, imagination is highly constrained in order to let humans function efficiently, and supernatural and moral beliefs often override the materialism implicit in a world of invisible atoms and viruses. In this synthetic and eclectic work, the author's voice is clearly present.

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MARINA FRASCA-SPADA and NICK JARDINE, editors. *Books and the Sciences in History*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 438. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$29.95.

This collection originated in a seminar held by the Cambridge University Historiography Group. Twenty essays, representing recent work, were commissioned and edited by Marina Frasca-Spada and Nick Jardine. They are grouped under three catch-all headings and loosely arranged in chronological order, beginning with the medieval era and ending in the mid-nineteenth century. An editorial introduction notes that both the history of science and book history have recently taken parallel paths away from concern with "canonical authors and elite reception" toward surveying "the full range of writings and readership." In keeping with this trend, the readers and writers of major works (by Nicolaus Copernicus, Andreas Vesalius, Isaac Newton, *et al.*) are passed over; commentaries, compendia, and popularizations loom large; the so-called "hard" sciences receive less attention than do astrology and alchemy. The editors also reject recent "grand pronouncements about the impact of print on the sciences" citing the work of this reviewer as a case in point. They regard it as "misleading" to consider "manuscript, print and electronic communication as media which variously facilitate or hinder the growth of knowledge" (p. 3).

Why this is misleading is not made clear. In the only essay on developments before printing, Rosamund McKitterick notes that medieval craftsmen had to rely on oral transmission to pass on their "fund of empirical knowledge of such subjects as mathematics, acoustics and chemistry" (p. 30). (Did medieval craftsmen really cultivate such advanced subjects?) She also asserts that "the pattern of . . . oral and written transmission of knowledge established in the early middle ages has remained substantially the same ever since" (p. 26). The idea that the balance between oral and written has gone unchanged since the days of Charlemagne strikes

me as bizarre. So does Silvia De Renzi's comment, in a later essay, that "the appeal of orality as an antidote to bookish and stale knowledge led Galileo to write dialogues" (p. 163).

Elsewhere, Adam Mosely grudgingly admits that printing did make a difference in one respect: "claims about the distinct character of print and scribal culture prove difficult to sustain, except in respect of the mixed blessing of the presses' fecundity" (p. 114). That fecundity had significant consequences is apparent from Ann Blair's account of how increasingly systematic indexing came to the aid of scholars who experienced a "sense of a crisis due to information overload" (p. 69). Other aspects of print's "distinct character" emerge from Sachiko Kusukawa's piece on woodcuts and engravings and Jerry Brotton's account of map making. Although Brotton's chief purpose is to counteract wrongheaded Western claims of superiority over the print-deprived Turks, he makes room for the output of uniform grids and standardized images that eventually led to a "decisive and irrevocable shift" in Western geography" (p. 42).

Print's distinct character can also be inferred from Thomas Broman's essay on periodicals. Broman is so impressed by the large output of learned journals that he raises the possibility of a "second printing revolution" (pp. 226–27). Broman is a specialist in German history and has more to say about German periodicals after the 1760s than about the earlier francophone review journals (edited by French émigrés and often called *Bibliothèques*) that were issued to a cosmopolitan readership by publishers as spin offs from the book business in the Dutch Netherlands—a region that is neglected in this collection. Neglected also is the movement of printing centers and the effects of the Index of Prohibited Books on scientific publication. Nor does any essayist take note of the precursors of the review journals, namely the sales catalogues that were compiled by booksellers to publicize their wares at annual fairs. These catalogues helped to reorganize the world of learning by developing new subject headings such as "the Sciences." They seem to be more relevant to the project of linking books with the sciences than are essays on such topics as a commentary on ten pages of *An Essay on the Origin of Evil*, shell collections, conflicting representations of the Mexican civet, John Stuart Mill on reading—to select from the odd assortment at random.

Given the absence of any clear rationale for selection, one should not complain about the inclusion of an essay on James Spedding, who edited Francis Bacon's work. But it does seem wrong to attribute Bacon's role as a "hero of modern science" to a nineteenth-century English editor while ignoring the iconic status assigned to the "great Verulam" a century earlier by the French encyclopedists.

For some reason, the collection is supplied with not one but two "afterwords." The second one, by Adrian Johns, covers nothing less than "the past, present, and future of the scientific book" and informs us that "the

transitional moment we inhabit today is characterized above all by uncertainty" (p. 415). The first one, by Jardine, is more to the point. With "the fading away of chronicles of accumulated knowledge," Jardine suggests, the history of science has lost its bearings. He hopes that an infusion of new approaches developed by book historians will have a bracing effect. Insofar as these new approaches lead away from concern with "canonical authors and elite reception," however, they undermine and "problematize" a natural, time-honored way of linking books with the sciences. Judging by this collection, specialists are left at liberty to ride their hobby horses in whatever direction they choose. The introductory observation, that both the history of science and book history have recently taken parallel paths, acquires ominous significance. As Jardine's afterword reminds us (rather late in the day), parallel lines are fated never to meet.

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CHRISTOPH STRUPP. *Johan Huizinga: Geschichtswissenschaft als Kulturgeschichte*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 2000. Pp. 352.

In the decades after World War II, historians from many European countries who were dissatisfied with writing political history in an exclusively national perspective attempted to follow the example given by two historians from two of the smaller European nations, Jakob Burckhardt from Switzerland and Johan Huizinga from the Netherlands. Both Burckhardt and Huizinga were pioneers in the field of cultural history, and both had been considered as outsiders of the profession in their own time. Interestingly enough, the impressive intellectual caliber of Huizinga was first recognized outside the Netherlands by historians who cherished Burckhardt's achievements, as for example Hans-Rudolf Guggisberg from Basel. Today, Huizinga's rank among historians of all European countries is well established. Between 1948 and 1953, Huizinga's complete works were published in nine volumes, and between 1989 and 1991 his letters in three volumes.

In his new biography of Huizinga, Christoph Strupp has not only carefully used Huizinga's published works and letters but has also made good use of all available unpublished material related to Huizinga's life, career, and thinking. In particular, he has taken advantage of the treasures in the Huizinga Archive in the University Library of Leiden. For several reasons, Strupp's work can be called a milestone in Huizinga studies. First, while giving due attention to the interpretation of Huizinga's major works (such as *Herfstij der Middeleeuwen*, first published in 1919, or *Homo Ludens*, published in 1938), Strupp also analyzes Huizinga's less well-known works: his early writings in medieval history, for example, or his studies concerning the University of Groningen in the nineteenth century. In addition, Strupp provides his readers with a compre-

hensive account of Huizinga's various activities outside the classroom or the archive. Huizinga devoted much of his time to the editorship of a popular journal on cultural matters; he was a most active member of the Academy of Sciences of the Netherlands and of the Commission Internationale de Coopération Intellectuelle of the League of Nations, founded in 1922; he supported academic exchange programs, the presentation of history in museums, and the preservation of historical architecture in Dutch cities.

Throughout his life, Huizinga combined theoretical reflections with archival research. He took an interest in local matters and addressed key problems of world history. He was a committed member of his university and of the scholarly societies to which he belonged, and he never forgot the international solidarity of scholars. In sum, in his approach toward writing history as well as in his various other activities, Huizinga can be seen as the intellectual antipode to those of his colleagues for whom history served first and foremost the aims of their respective nations.

Huizinga passed away three months before the end of World War II on February 1, 1945. He was a true European. For many years to come, he may serve as a role model for all those who want to write the history of Europe in a European spirit. Strupp's fine and well-balanced biography of Huizinga will be a great help for those who want to take up this challenge. An English translation of this important work seems very desirable.

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CATHERINE JULIEN. *Reading Inca History*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 338. \$49.95.

Posed implicitly in the title and mutually dependent, the two major questions asked in this study are: is there such a thing as Inca history, and can it be known to or by us? The answers are affirmative in each case, persuasively so, thanks to new and well-managed scholarship and lucid exposition.

In announcing her purpose and method, Catherine Julien compares her work with that of such predecessors as John Howland Rowe, her long-time mentor, and R. Tom Zuidema, whose synchronic approach she generally eschews. She believes that the Inca can be shown to have had a historical consciousness of their own; that this consciousness informed a variety of records left by them; and that a sense of these Inca records can be had through careful comparison and analysis of narratives in Spanish into which they were incorporated. The comparisons between the Spanish texts in question are extensive and come to involve the reader intimately, set out as they are in double columns. Fundamental to the corresponding analysis is the literary notion of genre: that is, sequences of narrative that can be cross-located through presence or absence, chief among them being life-history and

military campaigns. These last she relates to Inca models, notably the quipu or knotted-string device that served as writing for the Inca. (The Spaniards spoke of—and burned—whole “libraries” [*bibliotecas*] of quipus.)

The study starts off with a strong concern for dynasty and genealogy, in all its logical and historical dimensions, focusing in great detail on the concept of *capac*, key in the Inca cause of political self-promotion. This prepares us for a thorough discussion of the interconnection between such Andean and Spanish writers as Polo de Ondegardo, Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, Miguel Cabello Valboa, Juan de Betanzos, Bernabé Cobo, and Martín de Morúa, all in the name of excavating and uncovering the local sources they have in common (chapters three through five). Thereafter, we learn to hear the messages and arguments these writers advance with other, better-informed ears, on such matters as the “emergence” of the Inca, Pachacuti’s architectural transformation of the Inca capital, Cuzco, and the idea of deeper temporal origins (chapters six through eight).

Among the scholarly events that Julien makes clear were indispensable for her own study are the fuller publication of Betanzos’s history in 1987 and Rowe’s superb correlation, in 1985, between the Spanish narratives of Sarmiento, Cabello, and Morúa, on the one hand, and, on the other, the Memorial of Tupac Yupanqui’s campaigns transcribed from a quipu for legal reasons in 1569. Julien also tracks down and highlights references to quipus in graves, notably that of Pachacuti, which record the lives of those interred. Indeed, quipu antecedent becomes a strong support for her genre argument and extends her historiographical skills not so much into anthropology as into literary criticism. It also provides a pleasing antidote to the wholesale emphasis on Inca and Quechua “orality” typical of much late twentieth-century Andean scholarship.

There can be no doubt about the huge significance of Julien’s study. She patiently demonstrates a cluster of connections between native precedent and Spanish literary production that must surely lead the way to further dramatic insight; and her respecting the native premise corrects the U.S. custom of referring to pre-Columbian America as “prehistoric.” Often silent with respect to European predecessors (Charles Wiener; Clement R. Markham; Otto Nordenskjöld; Hermann Trimborn), Julien rightly associates her work with a current major shift in this sense in Andean studies, promoted by the teammates she names (among them, Thomas H. Abercrombie, Gary Urton, and Sabine MacCormack).

Just because what Julien has done is so good, one regrets there could not have been more. She has little to say about quipu as “writing,” or alphabetic transcription as such. And in detecting quipu precedent, she avoids narratives other than those she chooses, even when such reference would surely have helped her argument. Guaman Poma (mentioned on other

scores) said explicitly that his *Nueva coronica y buen gobierno* (1570–1613) had been transcribed in part from quipus; and its initial chapter structure bears out this claim, legible as it is according to numerical and other norms known to have informed the quipu. A clear case is that of the four *suyu* or constituent provinces of Inca territory, which Rowe and Julien reveal in the memorial, and which shapes much of Guaman Poma’s work. Again, the Quechua kingship drama *Apu Ollantay*, however controversial it may appear in other respects, twice offers a direct account of a quipu being read, at the same time as registering, from the Cuzco viewpoint, the profound effects provoked by Pachacuti’s imperial politics, in respect to one of Julien’s main concerns: marriage constraints placed on Inca daughters. Again, no lessons are learned from the Quechua text of the Huarochiri Manuscript.

In all, this book is a finely achieved proposition, whose reverberations will be increasingly felt within and far beyond the disciplinary bounds of history.

GORDON BROTHERSTON
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VICENTE L. RAFAEL. *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History*. (American Encounters/Global Interactions.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 286. Cloth \$54.95, paper \$18.95.

The essays collected in this volume offer a sustained inquiry into the meaning of being Filipino/a and the challenge presented to the very idea of history by the impossibility of fixing a Filipino/a identity. Vicente L. Rafael is an insightful and eloquent guide. The book has much to offer to contemporary discussions of the relationship between nationalism and colonialism in the making and unmaking of our conceptions of history.

The subtitle to the introduction, “episodic histories,” offers an immediate clue to what is to come. What these essays provide is not a coherent historical narrative, to repudiate the possibility of which is one of the author’s fundamental goals, but episodes from the last one hundred years of Filipino history that recast the past as a tapestry in motion, consisting of (seemingly) limitless events and images that reinforce, contradict, or simply play off one another.

The discussions suggest that what we do with the past is contained only by our own situated limitations. History does not offer easy truths on the past, nor is the past just a construct shaped by the present. Rather, the past offers a site for the play of imagination. The plea here is not for arbitrariness but for a recognition of the possibilities offered by the archives, which permit a whole range of readings of the past if we only care to recognize them. History as we have known and practiced it, then, appears against this archival richness, and the interpretive possibilities it offers, as a strategy of containment, an ideological closure on the

imagination of different pasts and, therefore, different futures.

While Rafael's inquiry into history and identity is couched in the language of postcolonial criticism, what is at issue may be a contemporary restatement of an old problem: history as art and science. Here the art (in the form of language) wins. The Philippines provide an excellent case for such a version of history, because "Las Islas Filipinas, in short, existed for more than three centuries before there were any Filipinos who would lay claim to its reality and proclaim loyalty to its existence. It is this ambivalent fit between the name of a place and the name of a people that has long haunted nationalisms, both official and popular" (p. 7). There is less of an "objective" basis for a Filipino/a nation than most others, even at the level of a common language, which goes a long way toward explaining Rafael's own concern with language—and which makes being Filipino/a into an art. But the history of the Philippines here is metonymic of a broader problem of the relationship between history and the nation.

The episodes Rafael addresses range over a hundred-year period, roughly from the struggle for independence from Spain through colonization by the United States to the contemporary Philippine "diaspora." Of the eight essays in the volume, the first three deal mainly with American representations of the Philippines, while the last five deal mostly with Filipino/a self-representations. Rafael is a good guide to both primary and secondary literature. Especially impressive is his command of material beyond the archives of the conservative historian, including contemporary visual materials from photographs to film.

The discussions in this book raise very important questions, but of equal importance are the questions that it does not raise, which problematize the substitution of artfulness in history for explanations of the past that call for some measure of coherence. Contrary to one of the blurbs on the back cover, the essays do not offer "a momentous work" arriving "from the future" but variations on long-standing themes in history. Contemporary "innovations" in history often owe more to the past than they acknowledge—which is a tribute to academic forgetfulness, but also to the fact that, over the last two to three decades, historians have conceded the discussion of what history is or is not about to those whose training is mostly in literature. Second, the view of history as art (or a species of literature and language) that underlies Rafael's discussions makes for a voluntarism of interpretation that is itself highly problematic, given the space it opens up for authorial arbitrariness. One antidote to this is careful consideration of questions of significance, which do not receive sufficient attention in this volume.

Finally, there is the question of colonialism. While Rafael is relentless in his questioning of colonialist historiography and nationalism, which has shared in the assumptions of colonialism, he has little to say

about the meaning of colonialism, especially in the Philippines, where the absence prior to colonialism of any national self-consciousness, or an idea of national unity, calls into question the very notion of colonialism as an explanatory principle of history. It is becoming increasingly evident that nationalist consciousness is itself the product of colonialism, if not a colonialism itself (which again may be more evident in the case of the Philippines than in others). Nationalism and colonialism produce one another, and our histories are entangled in that dialectic. What this means for colonialism as an explanatory principle is very much in question and calls for closer attention than it receives here.

The coherence of this volume, then, depends on the very concepts that it sets out to question: nationalism and colonialism. The contradictions are very much worth pondering, as they point to fundamental contradictions in contemporary historical thinking.

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YOSHIYUKI IGARASHI. *Bodies of Memory: Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture, 1945–1970*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2000. Pp. x, 284.

This provocative book by Yoshiyuki Igarashi examines how memories of war have been suppressed and expressed, and discusses the tensions between diametrically opposed desires—the desire to remember and to forget—through the mediation of history in postwar Japan in the quarter century since defeat. Drawing heavily on popular culture, including radio and TV dramas, films, and sports, Igarashi demonstrates how seemingly trivial cultural characters and phenomena reinforce and resist what he calls the "foundational narrative" of U.S.-Japanese postwar relations, emphasizing Japan's "overnight" metamorphosis from the enemy to the "intimate" ally of the United States in the Cold War. The narrative attempts to smooth the "interruption" of history and thus underline the historical continuity of both countries.

As signified by the title of the book, Igarashi focuses primarily on the period from 1945–1970 in tracing the changing image of Japan's bodies—from nationalist bodies to sanitized and democratized bodies in postwar Japan under U.S. hegemony. Further, he explores both "the discursive and material conditions of postwar Japan for its memory and historical production" (p. 5). The book starts with the role of atomic bombs and Emperor Hirohito to provide a basis for the narrative. Hirohito's so-called "divine" decision and the use of the bomb were equally idealized under the pretext of ending the war. At the same time, as implied by the famous "rendezvous" picture of Emperor Hirohito and General Douglas MacArthur (taken on September 27, 1945), the image of Japan's (dominant) male bodies was transformed to subordinate female bodies (Hirohito) in light of the dominant power of the

U.S. (MacArthur) in the postwar world. The new feminized bodies conveniently mask the memories of Japan's past aggressive actions.

The book deals with a wide range of fields, from high-brow literary works by Katō Shūichi, Maruyama Masao, Ōe Kenzaburō, Nosaka Akiyuki, and Mishima Yukio to popular culture. Its strength lies in detailed and informative (and critical) discussions of popular culture in the 1950s and 1960s, since culture, not politics, according to Igarashi, expresses new images of a nation without facing the recent past. In the great hit melodrama "Kimi no nawa" ("Your name is . . . ?" 1952–1954, later reproduced in a film and a book), the liminal place—Sukiyabashi, the bridge in downtown Tokyo where the heroine and hero are supposed to meet—becomes a sign of loss and recovery. The 1950 movie series, "Godzilla," which showcases a monster that attempts to destroy the nation, ends in ultimate defeat by Japanese (scientific) power. The first professional Japanese wrestler and national champion, Rikizōzan, won via his "reconstructed" body over "dominant" American wrestlers with his "oriental" weapon (karate chop) in the 1950s and the early 1960s. (The ironic twist was the hidden fact that Rikizōzan was not an "authentic" Japanese but was Korean.) In this manner, Igarashi skillfully demonstrates that the beginning of the so-called economic miracle in the mid-1950s supported the progression of bodily images in popular culture. The defeat of the mass demonstration against the renewal of the American-Japanese Security Treaty of 1960 (reconfirmation of the narrative) caused people to turn away from politics and instead pursue more luxurious materialized bodies. As the culmination of sound and productive bodies and sanitization of cities, the 1964 Tokyo Olympics accelerated the erasure of further memories of humiliation (defeat) and helped the Japanese to forget the "unforgettable" past.

Igarashi's arguments are sometimes repetitious, and discussions of literary works, especially Ōe's, need further development. His book, however, successfully analyzes how postwar Japan remembered (or did not remember) the past and how the memory of Japan's defeat was suppressed through its close ties with the U.S. in the political paradigm of the Cold War. The image on Igarashi's book cover is the 1944 painting of a young Japanese pilot by the artist Ōgai Yatarō, which was displayed for the first time in public in Mugonkan (the Voiceless Museum) in 1997. The discovered body of the pilot—scarred and "haunted"—provokes diametrically opposite messages of the war: nationalist sentiment and nostalgia, and critical reflection. Igarashi's book thus problematizes the incomplete past that haunts contemporary Japan, more than fifty years after the war and more than twenty years after Hirohito's death. Critical analysis of the war within Japan and in East Asia still meets with resistance. The preference is to keep the foundational narrative alive.

I look forward to reading the next volume of Igarashi's book, covering the last thirty years.

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COMPARATIVE/WORLD

WILLIAM IAN MILLER. *The Mystery of Courage*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 346. \$29.95.

This very intelligent and highly readable book offers a "meditation" on Western ideas about courage. William Ian Miller is a professor of law with a background in literature who has already demonstrated a flair for subtle interpretative analysis in previous works on disgust and humiliation. In the present work, he exhibits a great knack for asking probing questions about our claims to be able to give a coherent account of courage or to produce reliable knowledge about its nature and psychology. What interests him is the "mystery" of courage (and its opposite, cowardice, about which he has many valuable things to say). By this he means the difficulty writers have had in establishing a unitary psychology or concept of bravery that is adequate to all occasions and examples. Displaying a mastery of a wide range of texts and materials—for instance, in brilliant chapters on Aristodemus, who disgraced himself by refusing to fight in the battle of Thermopylae, Tim O'Brien's writings on the Vietnam War, and Aristotle's theory of courage, to name those that especially impressed me—Miller demonstrates that every turn the nature of courage has eluded attempts to control and define it.

There is much in this book to interest the historian. Indeed, one of the strengths of the book is that Miller is sensitive to the ways in which notions of courage have changed over time. "[No] theory of courage can ignore war or the experience of fighting, without being hollow at the core," he observes (p. 12). Miller's emphasis on the centrality of combat to theories of courage justifies his strong focus on soldier's memoirs, though he also draws on the literature of the concentration camps, the gulags, church martyrs, and many other sources. The same emphasis on combat yields important insights about the decisive impact of World War I on theories of courage. For Aristotle and the many writers who followed him, courage was a disposition that, once acquired through training, was available to the individual at all times. But the Great War called the Aristotelian theory into question when it became clear that, under the disastrous conditions of trench warfare, even the most heroic soldier tended to break down. The long-established definition of courage as a permanent trait or disposition of the self gave way to a conception of courage as a limited human resource. The result was a new "bank account" theory of courage, based on notions of exhaustion, depletion, and decay, which equated courage with the "feminizing" quality of sheer endurance. In short, Miller shows

that modernity, as exemplified by the Great War, brought about a major transformation in the sexual politics and ideology of courage.

And postmodernity? What changes, if any, has it introduced into the narrative of courage? Miller is such a well-informed and stimulating thinker that, if I had any wish, it would be that at the end of his book he had addressed the claim, made by post-Holocaust writers such as Lawrence Langer, that the "extreme situation" of the concentration camps rendered obsolete all notions of heroic choice and heroic action. Langer would presumably reject the attribution of courage to the victim for enduring the camps, on the grounds that the "selfish" behavior required to survive the ordeal makes the language of courage totally misleading. I would be curious to know Miller's response to Langer's claim for the necessity of a post-Holocaust transvaluation of ethics and our notions of courage.

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PIOTR O. SCHOLZ. *Eunuchs and Castrati: A Cultural History*. Translated by JOHN A. BROADWIN and SHELLEY L. FRISCH. Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener. 2001. Pp. xii, 327. Cloth \$44.95, paper \$22.95.

This volume by Piotr O. Scholz attempts to present a panoramic view of castration, eunuchry, and emasculation in a variety of ancient and modern cultures. The growing interest in this theme is attested by recent sessions at both the American Historical Association and the Medieval Congress in Kalamazoo during which eunuchs in Byzantium, China, the Mamluk state, Rome, and early Christianity were dealt with. It is clear that castration or the rejection of sexual identity has played a role not only in such religious traditions as ancient paganism, Christianity, and Buddhism but also in the recruitment of a loyal civil service, in order to insure that officials would remain untainted by the desire to provide a future for their descendants. At the same time, the Jewish and Confucian traditions have looked unfavorably on such practices. The present volume promises to open up a world that has remained largely unexplored, surveying ancient Egyptian, Near Eastern, Greek, Roman, and other "pagan myths" in which self-castration, eunuchry, emasculation, and other violent excisions of the male sex organ or its parts played a role. Chapters also deal with China, the Islamic world, the Ottoman Empire, medieval Europe, the Renaissance, and more recent history. The most thorough sections deal with ancient myths and cults, with which the author is clearly more comfortable.

Much detail is presented, although the rather persistent absence of suitable scholarly citations makes it difficult for the interested reader to confirm some of the more curious tidbits of information and views voiced by the author. This is, nevertheless, an improvement over the original German edition published in

1997, which contained no explanatory footnotes. The work relies too heavily on secondary sources, and long sections do not provide any corroborating evidence, which makes it difficult for the interested reader to follow up tempting leads. Scholz frequently claims to explain what produced such myths and realities. Nevertheless, one is often left with an unclear understanding as to why such phenomena should be so widespread in myth and legend, and why so many cultures undertook this practice, despite clear legal and religious prohibitions. Literary sources in particular do not always clarify whether the castrations referred to are metaphorical or actual. Basic issues are barely addressed: what collective need was fulfilled through the brutal act of castration, in the course of which many children and young men died? Were there any who provided arguments against the practice? How could it persist despite widespread legal prohibitions? What does the practice of castration tell us about gender identification in these cultures? Furthermore, although Scholz is probably right in assuming that many "eunuchs" had not in fact been emasculated, how can this be verified?

A look at the period of this reviewer's expertise, the Christian Middle Ages, reveals an accumulation of anecdotes and "facts" that are not always sufficiently examined and proven. For example, the author notes the failure of other scholars to treat the possibility that self-castration in Gnostic communities was a widespread phenomenon. But such scholarly disregard may be based not on squeamishness but rather on the absence of hard evidence. The claim that since Diocletian "hundreds or even thousands of eunuchs were in the service of the Emperor" is unsubstantiated; likewise the alleged emasculation of royal children in order to prevent them from posing a threat to the throne. The assertion that Peter Damian, in his *Liber Gomorrhianus* (however extreme his attitude toward sexuality) advocated sexual self-mutilation is not true. The statement that the castration of Abelard by henchmen in the service of Heloise's uncle "was often used in paintings and drawings" appears without scholarly citation. The encoded messages found in the paintings of Hieronymus Bosch are interpreted through the work of Wilhelm Fraenger, although other plausible interpretations have been offered. The claim that the late Middle Ages was gripped by a fear of castration, when preachers spoke out vehemently against the practice, is stated without the citation of even one such preacher. Scholz's equation of *effeminati* with eunuchs cannot be clearly proven; the term has more often been taken to imply homosexuality.

This attempt to provide a broad historical sweep, linking together diverse cultures and societies, cannot properly do justice to such an unexplored theme. More monographic work is still clearly needed before it will be possible to explain the practice of castration and eunuchry, and this will need to be supplemented by

parallel work in psychology, anthropology, and other disciplines.

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DAVID ELTIS. *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xvii, 353. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$19.95.

This is a well-crafted, imaginatively constructed, complex account of why slavery in the Americas became exclusively African. Central to the account is David Eltis's belief that certain key ideological/cultural influences, operating through the idea and practice of freedom and the geographical span of the insider-outsider notion, placed Europeans apart from non-Europeans in the early modern era and help to explain the differing trajectories of the history of Europeans and non-Europeans during the period. Thus, the main reason Europeans expanded overseas and non-Europeans did not was not wealth and technology. It was the greater individual freedom of the Europeans. After conquest and colonization, prevailing high shipping costs required that production in the Americas be on a scale beyond family labor to reduce unit costs and find markets in Europe. This meant plantation agriculture and mines worked by coerced labor, given the high land/population ratio. But where would that labor come from, Europe, Asia, or Africa?

Eltis explains that transportation cost made the employment of Asian slaves in the Americas uneconomic in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. At the same time, the operation from the sixteenth century of a pan-European insider-outsider ideology among all Europeans, which permitted them morally to enslave non-Europeans but made their enslavement of other Europeans a taboo, eliminated Europe. This left only Africa. Europeans in the Americas could employ hundreds of enslaved Africans without any moral qualms but could not bear the sight of other Europeans working on their plantations as slaves. Africans could capture and sell other Africans to the Europeans, because unlike Europe a pan-African insider-outsider ideology did not exist among Africans at the time. Cultural factors also explain why proportionately more females migrated from Africa than from Europe during the period: Europeans placed less value on female labor than Africans. As for European material benefits, Eltis believes these were minimal. They were limited to lower prices paid by sugar consumers. While stressing that abolition is not the focus of the book, Eltis nevertheless links the central arguments to the origin of abolition. It was the extension by Europeans of their insider-outsider ideology to include Africans as insiders by the late eighteenth century that ultimately ended both the slave trade and African slavery in the Americas. A similar extension to Native Americans had ended much earlier the enslavement of Amerindians.

This elegantly written account is tantalizing, provoc-

ative, and, at the same time, problematic on several counts. What makes it even more problematic is the fact that the account is founded on a careful and extensive archival research. Very valuable evidence is systematically and felicitously marshalled. With the interpretive problems so well sweetened, the hasty reader may be easily ambushed and disarmed, leaving the problems undetected. It would take a review article to do full justice to a serious discussion of the interpretive problems. What follows is merely a note of caution inviting readers to be on their guard.

To start, recent work on comparative history puts in question the empirical validity of the cultural argument that Europeans expanded overseas and non-Europeans did not because of the greater degree of individual freedom from the state and elites, expressed in the "unique" European system of free wage labor and its market. It should be noted that very little free wage labor existed in Europe in the fifteenth century. It is, therefore, doubtful that Portugal and Spain (the countries that led European expansion overseas) developed wage labor and its market to a greater degree than the Lower Yangzi and other coastal regions of southeastern China did in the fifteenth century. If individual freedom from the state and elites was that important, how do we explain the fact that overseas expansion in Portugal and Spain was state-led? Generally speaking, the literature explaining why Western Europe expanded overseas and China did not employs factors other than culture.

More problematic still are arguments concerning various issues about slavery in the Americas. The ideologically based explanation of why it was exclusively African rather than European contains several incomplete counterfactuals. In particular, the long-term sociopolitical consequences of captive exports do not feature in the counterfactuals. Given the incorporation of European populations into more or less politico-militarily balanced states by the sixteenth century, a probable reason these states did not export their war captives was the high political cost at home. The realization that each of the states was capable of capturing the subjects of the other and exporting them must have acted as a mutual constraint that compelled the exchange of prisoners. This is why the slave trades in medieval Europe and in Africa were sustained by the combination of export markets and political fragmentation, with weakly organized communities whose members could be seized and exported at very little cost to the captors. Hence, the slave trade in Europe came to an end soon after these weakly organized communities were incorporated into relatively strong states.

It should be noted that it was the individual states in Europe, such as the Norman state in England, the Russian empire in the Black Sea region, and the Ottoman state in the Balkans, which protected their subjects from capture and export, not a pan-European insider-outsider ideology. The existence of an exclusive pan-European identity in the sixteenth century is

doubtful. African states such as Benin, Kongo, Oyo, Asante, and Dahomey also protected their subjects from capture and export. The major difference between Europe and Africa in the early modern era, in the context of the slave trade, was not the geographical boundary of the insider-outsider ideology. Rather, it was the fact that most people in Africa at the time lived in weakly organized communities whose members could be seized and exported at very little cost to the captors. It should also be noted that the African states mentioned rarely employed the judicial process to export their own subjects because of its great potential to weaken state institutions and precipitate sociopolitical crisis. That the European states refrained from doing the same was, in all likelihood, a matter of political expediency.

The counterfactual argument that population growth in England during the Atlantic slave trade era was "considerable," and exporting additional people over and above the 2.7 million who migrated voluntarily "would have had negligible effect" (pp. 67–68), is incomplete. We know that England's population growth in the eighteenth century was a function of expanding employment opportunities in manufacturing and commerce. Hence it occurred largely in the leading trading and manufacturing counties. For the counterfactual to be complete, it has to be demonstrated that even with a level of sociopolitical conflict comparable to that which accompanied the violent procurement of people for export in Africa, the internal and external factors responsible for the growth of manufacturing and commerce in England would not have been adversely affected. That is an uphill analytical task, and Eltis does not attempt it.

There are yet other interpretive problems. The explanation for the differing proportions of females in the populations that crossed the Atlantic from Europe and Africa is based on the differing values which Africans and Europeans placed on the labor of women: Africans placed higher value on female labor and allowed more females to be transported; Europeans attached less value to female labor and permitted fewer females to be transported. Now here comes a contradiction. Eltis claims that the Igbo of the Bight of Biafra, like the Europeans, attached less value on female labor. But, instead of this cultural factor producing the same outcome among the Igbo, we are told that it led to the export of even more females than other African peoples allowed. This inconsistency seems to arise from the reversal of an earlier argument by Eltis and some other historians, which claims that the preference of African slaveholders for female slaves kept them away from European buyers; hence, fewer females than males were purchased and transported by the European traders. The volume of empirical evidence produced subsequently now makes it difficult to sustain that argument. The logical inconsistency of the new argument suggests that it, too, cannot stand scrutiny. This scrutiny starts with the fact that all captors, from bandits to warriors, would be expected to

take all captives whose market value exceeded the cost of capture and transportation to market. Thereafter who got transported from Africa depended on the competitive market bidding by domestic and export buyers. We are, therefore, back to the earlier market-based debate with all the empirical evidence it generated. The difference between migration from Europe and Africa during the period, which Eltis dismisses, lightly, is the role of the family in the European case, which is totally absent in the African one. If the comparison is with voluntary migration in Africa, in which the family played a major role (such as in southern Africa in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries), the relative absence of females would be seen to be similar. The explanation is still cultural. But the operating cultural factor is a different one: the universal value of protecting female virtue, which families take seriously but is of no concern to captors and traders dealing with non-family members.

Arguments concerning European plantations in Africa or the Americas and the overall impact of the slave trade and slavery on Europe and Africa also contain interpretive difficulties. Eltis argues, in agreement with a section of the literature, that several of the commodities produced by Africans in the Americas could have been produced in Africa. Ecology was not a problem. But, again, the counterfactual constructed is incomplete. The question posed and answered by Eltis—why Europeans preferred to develop plantations and mines worked by enslaved Africans in the Americas rather than in Africa—though important, cannot explain the opportunity cost of transferring Africa's relative advantage in manpower to its rival, the Americas, in the development of commodity production for Atlantic commerce, a development that could have depended on African-owned and African-managed plantations and mines, with the support of European merchants, as happened in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Furthermore, the argument on the capacity of African states to contain the European traders is unconvincing. Does Eltis really want us to believe that the British, who defeated the Spanish Armada in the sixteenth century, the Dutch in the seventeenth, and the French in the eighteenth, could not have done the same to the disunited forty-three autonomous political units on the Gold Coast in the seventeenth century (each numbering only a few thousand people), were that judged beneficial to business?

It is clear enough that once the Americas were "discovered" and colonized by Europeans, the exploitation of American resources was seen generally by European political and economic entrepreneurs as offering the best opportunity for material gains. Hence, the export of African captives to Spanish America and Portuguese Brazil began quite early in the sixteenth century. From then on, any interest some Europeans expressed periodically in the development of commodity production in Africa for Atlantic commerce took a backseat to the ongoing expansion of

production in the Americas. It is this preoccupation with the American resources, whose large-scale exploitation ultimately depended on the continuous supply of African captives, that explains the failure of Africa to develop commodity production for Atlantic commerce during the period. Clearly, the shift of European demand from products to captives was not caused by Africans, some of whom merely responded to changes in a trading system controlled by the Europeans. The decline of gold production on the Gold Coast was caused by the relative price change brought about by the growing European demand for captives, to which some captive takers responded, contrary to the causal sequence presented by Eltis (p. 178). Also, the point that the local population stole crops from European plantations on the coast (p. 148) is a misreading of the sources, which refer to the slaves employed in that activity and not the free local people.

The discussion of European benefits centers on England, and the argument is developed within the narrow geographical limit of the relationship between England and the British Caribbean, very much like the Eric Williams argument. The literature on the subject has transcended this mode of analysis. The relationship between England's development and slavery is now analyzed on a much broader front: that of the entire slave economy of the Americas in its operation across the Atlantic and within the Americas. The counterfactual argument that wages in British America would have been higher in the absence of slavery (pp. 261–62) is at variance with the fact that it was the specialized slave plantations that offered the market opportunity for large-scale production requiring labor beyond the family. However, the long-term consequences of the Atlantic slave trade for African development have no place in the book. Instead, the argument of "[s]ome scholars," wrongly attributed to me (citing an article that has everything to do with England and nothing with African impact), is casually mentioned (p. 163).

Finally, the stress on African agency in explaining the origin of the Atlantic slave trade is problematic. It is valid to note that, apart from Portuguese military operations in Africa south of the equator, Europeans were not directly involved in procuring the captives exported. There is nothing new in this; historians have said so repeatedly for decades. But to say that enslaved Africans were not victims because they unsuccessfully resisted enslavement, or that African societies as a whole were not victims of European "imposition of slavery on non-Europeans"—to use Eltis's own expression—because some Africans responded to European demand for captives and others struggled, largely unsuccessfully, to cope with the crisis it engendered is to miss the historical sequence of causation. One more small point: just as the dowry in European culture is not regarded as the purchase of a husband, Africans do not consider it the "purchase" of a wife (p. 91).

Clearly, this book is a serious contribution to the literature on the slave trade and Atlantic world history.

The interpretive problems noted mean that it has to be read closely and interrogated. In general, these problems do raise serious methodological issues concerning the strengths and weaknesses of cultural explanations in history. Above all, they point to the need for more comparative history.

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FREDERICK COOPER, THOMAS C. HOLT, and REBECCA J. SCOTT. *Beyond Slavery: Explorations of Race, Labor, and Citizenship in Postemancipation Societies*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 198. Cloth \$34.95, paper \$15.95.

The elegant essays in this volume explore the social and political changes that took place in colonial African and New World societies after slave emancipation. The authors approach their geographically separate case studies in different ways, but, as their joint introduction argues, all three essays are concerned with the theory and practice of citizenship, race, and labor in a historical context of liberal ideology and evolving capitalism.

The shortest of the three, by Thomas C. Holt, looks at how British ideals of creating a new, egalitarian society in postemancipation Jamaica led to a sort of Reconstruction experiment. As in the American South, however, liberal ideals of political and social equality collided with white planters' desires to control black labor and their growing fears, deeply tainted by racism, that the black majority would gain political power to the detriment of cultural and economic progress. The experiment ended in 1866, when Britain aborted the political struggle by rescinding self-government in Jamaica.

In a much longer essay, Frederick Cooper summarizes his earlier studies of postemancipation Zanzibar and colonial French Africa. Wider ranging in the issues it raises (if a bit rambling), the always insightful essay comes closest to Holt's when it addresses the contradictions in French colonial theory and practice. The imposition of European rule in Africa had been justified in part by a mission to end African forms of slavery, but in practice the French colonies were more distinguished by the slowness with which slavery was abolished and the growth of other forms of coerced labor than by the construction of more equal societies. Only in the wake of World War II were forced labor abolished and African subjects granted rights of citizenship, coincidentally at much at the same moment when Jamaicans regained self-government.

Holt and Cooper's essays provide intriguing accounts of evolving Western ideas about freedom and about the capacities of black people for steady work. They are more successful as explorations of the introduction's theme that "freedom is not a natural state, [but] a social construct" (p. 9) from the perspective of those in power than they are in evoking the complementary aspirations of the newly freed. Both essays

provide clearer ideas of the racist constructs of the whites than of the struggle of blacks to work out their own views on labor, identity, and their places to the dominant institutions around them. Cooper regularly argues that African actions were important in changing colonial structures and policies, but he offers only a little more substance than Holt of evolving African ideas and actions. In places, Cooper's concern with exposing and excoriating the duplicity and insincerity of French officials seems constrained by postmodern sensibilities from probing the underlying "realities" as seen by Africans.

Even though the paucity of evidence from below may have hindered Holt and Cooper in that regard, Rebecca J. Scott provides a richly textured account of newly freed people's agency and ideas in Cuba and Louisiana. Her finely crafted essay details multiracial collective actions in the labor struggles of Louisiana parishes and in revolutionary movements in Cuba, showing why race relations evolved in opposite directions in the two societies. Elite interests succeeded in dividing an emergent working-class along newly constructed racial lines in Louisiana, while the common struggle for independence in Cuba sustained an idea of citizenship that transcended racial differences.

The authors are to be congratulated for putting together a useful and stimulating volume. Their collaborative effort not only demonstrates the utility of comparative history but provides specialists in one region a handy summary of the kinds of work being done elsewhere.

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JEFFREY N. WASSERSTROM, LYNN HUNT, and MARILYN B. YOUNG, editors. *Human Rights and Revolutions*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2000. Pp. xii, 253. Cloth \$69.00, paper \$19.95.

This is an excellent collection on an important topic. The contributions cover an admirably diverse set of times and places. The volume is not tightly unified, but most of the essays speak to at least one other and are good enough to stand alone if necessary.

David Zaret, Michael Zuckert, and coeditor Lynn Hunt trace the emergence of an idea of human rights through the English, American, and French Revolutions. Zaret emphasizes that most rights claimed in the English Revolution—by Parliament and its enemies—were grounded in appeals to English liberties, not universal human entitlements, and to tradition rather than reason. Moreover, most were rights for corporate bodies rather than individuals, and many were matters of procedure (e.g. for levying taxes) rather than of the ultimate ends of political or social life. But Zaret sees in the Levellers some of the distinctive ideas of modern human rights theories: rights that were claimed for individuals, derived by reason from human nature, and that went beyond guarantees of freedom from harm to embrace positive rights to political

participation. Zuckert starts from a historiographical debate over whether the American colonists were guided by notions of natural law and human rights or were claiming their rights as "free-born Englishmen." The colonists were engaged in a transatlantic debate about the English constitution, he argues, but they read this "document" as they did because they saw it as a means for implementing natural rights. Hunt's wide-ranging essay on the French Revolution (which also serves as an introduction to the volume) roots the emergence of human rights in both a revolutionary political moment and the broader cultural movement of the Enlightenment. Hunt acknowledges the "traditional" origins of many of these rights, but she argues that the revolution was critical to reconceptualizing them as universal. She also emphasizes that despite some profound limitations, the revolutionary regimes often took this universalism quite seriously: granting full legal rights to Jews well before most American states, abolishing slavery in France's colonies, and emancipating adult children from the legal authority of their parents. Far from being a marginal issue, she argues, curbing excessive parental authority was central for the revolutionaries, and to modern ideas of *human* rights, as it was crucial to granting individual autonomy to each (male) adult.

Six more essays take up post-1870 venues in which various kinds of colonialism have accompanied the spread of Enlightenment ideas. Coeditor Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom's essay on China poses the common problem of these essays very usefully, arguing that, despite important and continuing arguments about what rights humans should have, the crucial historical question has more often been who counts as human. Thus, Wasserstrom notes, the sharp decline in the use of the category "non-person" in China since the 1970s constitutes an important step toward a regime more respectful of human rights, despite continuing abuses. He also argues that while references by Beijing's defenders to discrimination against Chinese in pre-1949 treaty ports (epitomized by the probably apocryphal "no dogs or Chinese allowed" park entrance sign) cannot excuse post-1949 abuses, they are worth exploring. They show how Westerners have often undermined the appeal of Enlightenment values that they then complain others have failed to "learn," and how certain post-Enlightenment currents, including Social Darwinism and Leninism, have "taught" new ways to exclude people from the Enlightenment's universalist promises.

These themes recur in thoughtful case studies essays by Alice Bullard, Yanni Kotsonis, Alexander Woodside, and Florence Bernault. Kostonis shows that various early twentieth-century Russian thinkers and activists—from supposed liberals and democrats to absolutists and Bolsheviks—agreed that the Russian peasantry was not sufficiently mature or "rational" to handle its political or economic affairs. Kotsonis argues that this conviction, shared among Russians who were culturally quite "European," represents not a

failure of Western ideas to translate to the "East," or a revolutionary deviation from true liberalism, but a way in which "the idea of human rights and liberation was dual from its very inception and emerged with severe and open doubt about the inclusiveness of 'man' and 'human'" (p. 109). Woodside adds similar observations about the French legacy in Vietnam, including the ironic note that Ho Chi Minh, seeing how French bigotry had betrayed French universalism, argued that it was Asian revolutionaries who would complete and thus rescue the Enlightenment. Bernault also shows how colonialism compromised human rights rhetoric from the start in Africa, with lasting effects. Noting that under "indirect rule," colonial states took the object of their rule to be groups of Africans rather than individuals (the *sine qua non* of most human rights theory), Bernault notes that African states have tended to adopt that notion (and celebrate it as both culturally authentic and necessary for building "nations"). The Organization of African Unity, for instance, adopted in place of the U.N. Declaration on Human Rights the Banjul Charter, which added an obligation for each African to promote "unity" and "strengthen African cultural values," and has shied away from supporting human rights initiatives that might call into question fragile national borders. Bullard, looking at deported Communards and indigenous Kanaks in New Caledonia, shows how French exaggeration of the latter's otherness kept them perpetually unready for rights in French eyes, even long after most of the despised Communards had been readmitted to "civilization."

Timothy McDaniel's essay on radical Islam speaks less directly of either the Enlightenment or colonialism but nonetheless works along similar lines. He stresses the modernity of radical Islam, pointing to two fateful differences with traditional Islam. First, traditional Islam was neither completely universalistic nor completely exclusionary in its approach to rights: it was hierarchical, providing a subordinate but protected sphere for (for instance) Jews who did not resist it. Revolutionary Islam, like other modern revolutionary ideologies, has no such in-between category. Second, traditional Islam certainly had social ideals but did not expect that a society without (for instance) poverty could exist on earth. Today's fundamentalist revolutionaries promise utopia, McDaniel argues, but because they reject history (seen as a falling away from early Islamic purity) as a source of ideas, they have no institutional models for social transformation. For lack of anything better, traditional ideas of property have been upheld in Iran (for instance), and revolutionary transformation "becomes restricted to the sphere of individual conduct" (p. 227).

The four remaining essays, though interesting, are less historical. Polish human rights activist Adam Michnik reflects on Burma, and on how political compromise is more likely to secure human rights than either complete revolutionary triumph or defeat. Carlos Basombrío Iglesias tells how Peru's Shining Path guerrillas, rejecting all compromises (even, or espe-

cially, with the nonviolent left) created a human rights catastrophe distinct from others in Latin America (where the state and its allies were usually the worst offenders). David Rieff and Robin Blackburn argue about NATO intervention in the Balkans. Rieff explores the conflicts between humanitarianism, which often requires cooperation with odious local authorities, and promoting human rights, which often requires ousting those authorities; he finds numerous confusions and moral failures in NATO's conduct but defends the intervention as necessary. He also argues that NATO leaders found themselves unable not to intervene because we have truly entered a post-Westphalian age: one in which new "moral instincts" (p. 179) that place human rights above national sovereignty are sufficiently powerful to force leaders' hands. Blackburn replies that intervention neither aided human rights nor was intended to: as he traces events, they can only be explained by a desire for further NATO expansion. This debate, though contemporary, thus returns the book to issues raised by the "colonial" essays: ones about how not only revolution, but also conquest and liberal notions of "tutelage," can undermine the universal values the conquerors claim as a charter.

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STANLEY J. STEIN and BARBARA H. STEIN. *Silver, Trade, and War: Spain and America in the Making of Early Modern Europe*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2000. Pp. ix, 351. \$49.95.

In this densely written volume, Stanley J. Stein and Barbara H. Stein address a set of interrelated questions regarding the rise of Spain's Atlantic economy, fueled by remittances of precious metals mined in Spanish America, and the consequent development of an international economic system that shaped the economy and politics not only of Spain but of other emerging states in early modern Europe as well. As they tell this story, in acquiring huge territories in the Americas that included the phenomenally productive silver mines of Peru and Mexico, Spain in many ways determined the direction and nature of international trade, politics, and warfare in Europe and the Atlantic world in the early modern period. Yet its institutional and administrative capacities proved inadequate to maintain control over these developments, and Spain's territorial and diplomatic preoccupations and commitments in Europe absorbed vast amounts of its windfall of American-produced revenue. An unforeseen consequence of Spain's early success in the race to expand beyond Europe and across the Atlantic, therefore, was the forfeiture of a significant proportion of the economic and financial benefits that it should have derived from its rapidly developing colonies. Spain failed to foster an expansion of domestic production that would have brought it greater profits from the transatlantic

trade. Instead, ironically, the inflexibility and limitations of Spain's commercial system provided lucrative opportunities for ambitious merchants and financiers of other nations who participated, both legally and illegally, in Spain's colonial trade. The success of these foreign businessmen contributed in turn to the commercial and hence political rise of Spain's rivals, especially England and France. In addition, merchants based in Spanish America exerted a substantial degree of control over trade (perhaps most notably including the lucrative commerce with Asia via the Philippines, which Mexican merchants all but monopolized) and realized profits that seem considerably at odds with standard notions of colonialism and mercantilism. The authors, however, devote less attention to the American than the European side of the equation. Their bibliography omits some key works on the activities of Spanish American merchants, such as John E. Kicza's *Colonial Entrepreneurs: Families and Business in Bourbon Mexico City* (1983), and on the relationship between the Spanish empire and the rest of the Atlantic world, such as Peggy K. Liss's *Atlantic Empires: The Network of Trade and Revolution, 1713–1826* (1983). Given the similarities in subject matter, the lack of any reference to the latter is surprising, even though the time frame of the Steins' study carries through only to 1759 and the accession of Charles III to the Spanish throne.

The Steins offer a detailed discussion of the complex interrelationships among emerging European powers and the developing Spanish transatlantic empire that is principally based on existing scholarship. Their ability to synthesize a broad and disparate historiography on economic, political, and diplomatic developments in early modern Europe as they related to the new opportunities created by the opening of the American territories represents a significant achievement and contributes to our understanding of the relationship between economic trends and political formation. The authors do use some material drawn from several archival sources—most notably and perhaps effectively those in France—but the real strength of the study lies in its integration of a challenging historiography.

The book consists of two parts. The first examines the development of Spain's transatlantic system together with the growing participation of other European powers, the latter at least partly the result of Spain's diminishing military and naval power. With Spain unable to supply its rapidly developing colonies with necessary goods and forced by a series of treaties to make crucial commercial concessions, foreign businessmen became increasingly active in Spain's transatlantic commerce, constantly pressing for more privileges and a greater share in the trade even as they circumvented laws and engaged in a flourishing contraband trade. The second part considers the efforts of a new generation of statesmen and thinkers associated with the establishment of the Bourbon dynasty at the beginning of the eighteenth century to rectify Spain's international situation and to try to regain the com-

mercial and political advantages that had been lost to other powers. Despite considerable awareness among contemporary economic and political thinkers in Spain of the sources and nature of the problem, thoroughgoing reforms were not implemented and very little changed. Given that it was during the reign of Charles III—not covered in the present volume—that the most ambitious reforms affecting Spanish America were undertaken, this examination of Spain and its empire seems somewhat truncated. I suspect it will be of interest primarily to economic and diplomatic historians of the early modern period.

IDA ALTMAN

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GLENN J. AMES. *Renascent Empire? The House of Braganza and the Quest for Stability in Portuguese Monsoon Asia, c. 1640–1683*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. 2000. Pp. 262.

When Dom João, the duke of Braganza, was placed on the throne of Portugal in 1640 instead of the Habsburg kings who had ruled there from 1580, the expectation was that the change would relieve the hard-pressed Portuguese empire to a fair extent. The Dutch, after all, were declared enemies of Spain and not of Portugal, and it was thought that an independent Portugal would benefit considerably from its new place in the international alliance system. This view turned out to be more or less correct, although the process took time, and the reasons were not necessarily those that had been foreseen. Glenn J. Ames sets out in this compact book to examine the consequences of the "Restoration" of the House of Braganza in 1640 for the Portuguese empire in Asia. The period that is dealt with includes the reign of Dom João IV (to 1656), the regency of Dona Luisa, the period of direct rule of Dom Afonso VI (1662–1668), and, perhaps most crucially, the first half of the regency of Dom Pedro (1668–1702). The period treated thus overlaps in some measure with that analyzed in a fine but rather underestimated book, Carl A. Hanson's *Economy and Society in Baroque Portugal, 1668–1703* (1980), but Ames also has looked at fresh archival materials and offers some correctives to existing views.

The book is organized as seven chapters, which attempt to cover a wide gamut of administrative, social, political, and diplomatic questions. Beginning with two chapters on high politics and administration, the book moves to a consideration of Christianity in Portuguese Asia, then to chapters on trade on the Cape Route, intra-Asian trade, interstate relations in Asia, and a final chapter on Portuguese dealings with East Africa in the epoch. Ames knows the period well, as it was the subject of his earlier book, *Colbert, Mercantilism and the French Quest for Asian Trade* (1996). Besides the Portuguese archives of the period, he has looked into French and English materials in Paris and London (though unfortunately not the Dutch archives in the Hague) and has also trawled

through documents at Goa and Bombay. The result is a work that is heavily documented but perhaps not as innovative in terms of its argument as the author gives us to understand. The work of Hanson, and also that of George Bryan Souza (who appears in this book mildly disguised as G.B. De Souza) had made it clear that after further setbacks in the middle years of the seventeenth century, the years after about 1660 saw a recovery on the part of the Portuguese *Estado da Índia*. It may be true, as Ames observes, that "not a single secondary work has yet appeared on the post-1663 *Estado*," (p. 13), but only if what he means is works that are exclusively devoted to this period. Still, he is probably right to decry the relative lack of works and to attempt to correct the imbalance.

The major problem, however, is that Ames rarely goes beyond narrative history himself to offer fresh insights, or to construct clear arguments. Beyond a "Great Actors" view of history, it is hard to grasp what the real nature of the change in the period was. The chapter on Christianity is rather frustrating for the social historian or the historian of conversion. Nor does the unsure grasp that the author has of Asian history in the period help. Beyond the names of reigning monarchs, one is left uncertain whether the internal dynamics of states such as Golconda (treated in a rather cavalier fashion on pp. 160–63) or the Mughal empire really enter into the analysis. This is always a problem with writing books on European expansion, and Ames clearly has struggled to inform himself, but with uneven success. The view of Asia remains superficial, and it is very much a view from the viceroy's desk.

Nevertheless, the book remains a useful addition to a slowly growing literature in terms of the materials it treats and summarizes. The many typographical errors and at times infelicitous style should not deter students and researchers from dipping into this work. Those who do will find much rich detail, as often buried in the endnotes as in the main text. In Portugal itself, where the celebration of the "Discoveries" in the past decade has led attention to focus on the years from 1500 to 1640, this work will be read with interest and profit.

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RICHARD P. TUCKER. *Insatiable Appetite: The United States and the Ecological Degradation of the Tropical World*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 551. \$45.00.

Richard P. Tucker's book satisfied my appetite. This is a magnificent, sweeping history that examines about 250 years of Western expansion to uncover sources of food and raw materials or to discover sites for the plantation production of food and industrial raw materials. Since the eighteenth century, growing materialism combined with a swelling population to stress the earth's resources. Tucker examines the historic U.S.

relationship to six products fundamental to the modern world: sugar, bananas, coffee, rubber, cattle, and timber.

In fact, the story offers more than the introduction and table of contents promise. Tucker subordinates the histories of secondary tropical crops such as sandalwood, pineapples, tobacco, cocoa, nutmeg, cloves, and others to the six selected plantation products. Although the title singles out the United States, Tucker sketches the roles of other nations in the degradation of the tropical world. One subtheme of this study is the recurring conflict between thinkers (those who read, reflect, and study as long as it takes to respond to social needs or problems) and doers (freemarketers, technocrats, and developmentalists who respond in reflex to perceived problems or opportunities).

I hope that scholars of U.S. foreign relations will place this work high on the list of essential reading for their graduate students. The book presents a wide-ranging treatment of a major international point of contention, yet one seldom dealt with head on in the history of U.S. foreign relations: ecological policy and the natural environment. Diplomatic historians have skirted this issue, usually treating ecological matters as aspects of bilateral (or multilateral) disputes. Examples that come to mind include the sealing, whaling, and fisheries disputes going back into the early nineteenth century and the water rights controversies of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries over the Rio Grande, the Colorado, the Red, and the Saint Lawrence Rivers on the two borders.

Tucker sees things differently. For him, the war of 1898 initiated U.S. intervention in the tropical regions: "The decisive, formative era of the American ecological empire was ushered in by the naval victories in 1898" (p. 421). The war of 1898 (and its aftermath) introduced U.S. power and ambition into the tropics at Cuba, Puerto Rico, Panama, Hawai'i, Samoa, Guam, and the Philippines. Of course, a burgeoning economic growth and rising expectations contributed to that expansiveness.

In an ironic twist, the irrational McCarthyism of the 1950s aimed to secure future U.S. safety by shutting down a very promising *Hevea* rubber research station at Turrialba, Costa Rica, because many Costa Rican employees belonged to a labor union with Communist influence. An ever-changing world extracted a heavy price for this shortsightedness. The loss of the rubber germ stock, the records, and the plants was not considered a major problem then because U.S. firms used petroleum-based synthetic rubber. Soon, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries raised the price of oil and made natural rubber more attractive. Then Michelin Tire Company developed radial tires that worked best with natural rubber. The ill-considered decision to close Turrialba proved detrimental to U.S. security and well-being.

Perhaps the most pronounced battles between thinkers and doers occurred in the lumber-timber industry.

Since the nineteenth century, modern timber technology has often generated quick profits at the expense of the entire ecosystem. U.S. forest official Barrington Moore, laboring in East Asia, challenged the U.S. government's "habit of putting pressure on the Bureau of Forestry to maximize production and revenue while minimizing its management and research budget," yet he and others were seldom listened to "in the general enthusiasm for the new wealth" (p. 376). Tucker lamented that "the tools of timber extraction raced far ahead of the wisdom to use them with restraint" (p. 396). The long-term U.S. impact in the tropics is not promising, Tucker warns, because "as long as American political alliances remained tied to landlord regimes, U.S. policy could not consistently support environmentally sound resource management, for those regimes perpetuated a range of damaging land-use practices" (p. 50).

The story contains elements of irony and tragedy. The first couple of generations of forestry men were mostly dedicated to sustainable forest resources and production. Their labor, ironically, helped unleash "the forces of technological and corporate power in the rainforest, power that was backed by a development ideology that saw the exploitation of tropical timber management had grown out of experience in relatively simple temperate forest ecosystems" (p. 415). Robert Burns expressed the sentiment well: "The best-laid schemes o' mice an' men gang aft a-gley, An lea'e us naught but grief and pain, for promised joy."

Tucker's book provides a social history of the political economy in the tropical world with special attention to land use, exploitation of indigenous peoples, social relations, and long-term environmental impact. The locations of the basic materials for the world economy, the fabrication and processing of these materials, pricing and marketing decisions, and the consumers of these tropical products are separated widely in geography, culture, and economic order. The populations for these four different aspects did not necessarily share any social or economic values. U.S., European, Japanese, and other imperial expansionists have degraded, developed, and been insistent as well as insatiable.

Tucker's work is a fine starting point for the study of global environmental matters, the impact of modern imperialism, and the ethnic clashes growing in no small part from the North Atlantic areas' effort to reshape the cultural and physical world. Ten maps, extensive notes, and a full index supplement the author's impressive research. This book will serve upperclassmen, graduate students, academics, and the engaged citizen well.

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HARTMUT LEHMANN, HERMANN WELLENREUTHER, and RENATE WILSON, editors. *In Search of Peace and Prosperity: New German Settlements in Eighteenth-Century Europe and America*. Assisted by JOHN B. FRANTZ and

CAROLA WESSEL. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 332. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$21.50.

This book is a collection of fourteen essays that grew out of a conference held in 1992 at Pennsylvania State University. According to Hartmut Lehmann, who was the driving force behind this gathering, the goal of the conference was to counteract the influence of "national traditions" (p. xi) in shaping modern histories of internal and transatlantic migrations. Many of the essays in the volume depict striking similarities among Germans migrating to North America and within Europe. These similarities and other findings could indeed contribute to universalizing eighteenth-century migration history. However, the absence of an introduction to integrate the essays into a clearly defined thesis and to link the experiences and patterns of transatlantic and European migration undermines their value. Essays that emphasize, rather than reduce, nationalist perspectives also betray the goal of this book.

Thomas Klingebiel's essay, "Huguenot Settlements in Central Europe," contains several examples of significant discoveries that are virtually buried in this non-indexed volume. In his study of Huguenot populations that "settled permanently in German territories" (p. 50), Klingebiel uncovers social and demographic developments that are remarkably similar to those of British North America and the United States. Social mobility was common among Huguenots settling in German territories at the end of the seventeenth century, as well as among the seventeenth and eighteenth-century British, Irish, and Germans who migrated to North America. "Middle class" Huguenots, who constituted about thirty to forty percent of the approximately 43,000 refugees in Klingebiel's sample, exhibited "extraordinary social mobility." Initially Huguenot weavers and cloth manufacturers prospered in their German refuge, but those who lacked the independent resources necessary to purchase essential machinery and to market their productions, eventually fell into "wage dependency" (p. 55). Tradesmen serving domestic needs usually succeeded in establishing and maintaining their own independent shops. Ultimately, Huguenot refugees, who had often emigrated as congregations, experienced "a weakening in the close relations across different social groups," as "Increasingly, propertied Huguenots closed themselves off from their less fortunate brethren" (p. 56). Young adults (average age of twenty-five), married and unmarried, were prominent among both Huguenots who migrated to German lands at the end of the seventeenth century and emigrants to early modern North America. In Klingebiel's sample, young Huguenot refugee families, and newly married adults, produced "a birth rate of 5 per cent or more in the first three decades" in their German refuge (p. 57). These figures strongly imply that America's phenomenal eighteenth-century population growth was not due to American's

exceptionalism, liberty, or vast frontier but rather to its status as a land of youthful immigrants. However, these connections were not made in the book's introduction, conclusion, or in the essay itself.

Mack Walker's chapter, "The Salzburger Migration to Prussia," offers especially valuable, but underemphasized observations. Walker describes the migration of youthful Salzburger to Prussia in the 1730s as an offshoot of "the seasonal or otherwise temporary migration mainly of unattached . . . individuals" (p. 70), which was part of a "life-cycle experience of a large part of the population, occurring when they had outgrown family dependence but had not yet formed permanent attachments of their own" (p. 71). Such "temporary migrations" parallel indentured servitude among young adults in England, as a temporary interlude between childhood and full adult status. The prevalence of indentured servants and "undomiciled" young adults among British and German migrants to North America as well as within Europe suggests yet another transnational characteristic awaiting analysis and integration into migration literature. And, given Walker's conclusion that "the demographic, social, or economic circumstances of the migrants . . . commonly invoked to explain the push and pull of human migrations . . . seem neither necessary nor sufficient" (p. 70) in explaining the Salzburg migration, new approaches are essential.

The volume's first chapter, Hermann Wellenreuther's "Contexts for Migration in the Early Modern World," further undermines the book's stated goal by emphasizing German distinctiveness. On several occasions, he overlooks congruities among German, British, and American theorists. In describing German political and demographic theories, Wellenreuther fails to point out similarities between the writings of Johann Joachim Becher, Christian Wolff, and Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi and their British and American contemporaries. John Winthrop's seventeenth-century writings on paternalism, a divinely ordained society, and unchanging status differ little from those of Becher (see Winthrop's "Sermon on board the *Arbella*"). Similarly, Wolff's and von Justi's beliefs on the causes and consequences of just rule, as described in this essay, differ little from those of England's "radical whigs." Although these German and English writers diverge profoundly on a subject's right of resistance, they agree in prescribing emigration as, in some instances, the appropriate response to unjust rule. While failing to synthesize British, European, and American thought, Wellenreuther also emphasized, and occasionally exaggerated, national differences. His description of the alternative destinations available to eighteenth-century German migrants inaccurately depicts the colonies of British North America as "a 'European marchland' rolling in blood, oppression, war, and pestilence" (p. 34).

In the book's penultimate chapter, "Recent Research on Migration," Wellenreuther finally compares the migration patterns—impetus, process, and broad

cultural consequences—of various Old and New World countries and social classes. This synthesis illustrates many ways in which transatlantic studies can reshape national and ethnic histories. Here, for example, Wellenreuther's survey of disparate sources solidly supports his conclusion that "The often-observed high geographic mobility of early modern American society . . . seems to be less a product of New World conditions than an extension of European modes of behavior" (p. 303). Wellenreuther also points out that an awareness of the youthfulness of most eighteenth-century European migrants might mediate two opposite perceptions of premodern Europe as both mobile and sedentary—with the under-thirty crowd on the move as their elders not only stayed put but, in doing so, "defined" and perpetuated traditional "economic, social, political, and religious cultures . . . on the local, regional, and national levels" (p. 304).

Although Wellenreuther's second essay is a valuable synthesis and interpretation of a large body of literature on early modern migrations, it does little to bind the book's essays into a coherent whole. It is too belated and too broad a context for the volume's essays. Wellenreuther makes few references to the most significant findings of the book's authors and consequently fails to reveal the common threads (and differences) that link these chapters on German migrations on both sides of the Atlantic. Ultimately the book's editors were content to present "case studies on new settlements both in Europe and the New World . . . in a framework that allows—perhaps even invites—a comparative approach" (p. 308). This decision does not do justice to the work of the scholars whose essays clearly point the way to new and exciting approaches to the study of eighteenth-century migrations.

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ANDREI A. ZNAMENSKI. *Shamanism and Christianity: Native Encounters with Russian Orthodox Missions in Siberia and Alaska, 1820–1917*. (Contributions to the Study of World History, number 70.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1999. Pp. xii, 306. \$65.00.

In 1999, a brilliant indigenous Altai ethnographer, Svetlana Tiukteneva, explained to me that the Altaits have remained predominantly shamanist throughout a long history of contact with Russians. When they pray to spirits in sacred groves, they first pray for the well-being of the whole Altai and its people, then for their locality, then for their extended families, and, only last, for themselves. This ethnic and ecological sensitivity extends through the Altai region, encompassing several indigenous groups. The historical roots of these multilayered identities are, however, less clear, and subject to controversy.

Andrei A. Znamenski's complex and subtle monograph on the mutually influencing relations of Rus-

sians and indigenous peoples in the Altai, Chukotka, and Alaska sheds light on important issues of identity formation and religion in colonial and postcolonial contexts. Examining uneven indigenous responses to Russian Orthodox missions, he suggests several models of interaction. In Alaska, the marginalized hunting and fishing Dena'ina forged aspects of Russian Orthodoxy into an indigenous Christianity in the unstable and disruptive "gold rush" context of postimperial Americanization pressure. In remote Chukotka, many nomadic, reindeer-breeding Chukchi rejected missionary overtures and remained aloof, non-taxpaying shamanists. In the Altai, where enormous Russian Orthodox and tsarist resources poured in along with land-hungry Russian settlers, indigenous responses were more mixed and less consistently patterned along cultural group lines. Znamenski's comparative approach is reminiscent of Native Americanist anthropologist Fred Eggan's classic "method of controlled comparison," although his conclusions rely on sociologist Ann Swindler's more tautological, dualistic model.

Znamenski's strength is the rich detail of his historical profiles. Digging in American and Russian archives and obscure published sources has yielded the gold of missionary and indigenous voices, bringing shamans, native and "mixed blood" priests, teachers, and translators to life. Like "conversion" elsewhere, Orthodoxy initially was translated through the prism of indigenous world views. Znamenski provocatively argues that some cultural traditions favored innovation and ideological receptivity to Christianity. More familiarly, he suggests that shamans often needed innovation and eclectic absorption of outsiders' spiritual and political power to survive. Following Sergei Kan, he affirms that Russian Orthodoxy lent itself to a creative, indigenous-friendly Christianity with its emphasis on mortuary ritual, pageantry, holy water, and icons easily turned into amulets. Analyzing Christian "metaphors," he makes important distinctions among monk-missionaries, priests, and Russian settler-peasants.

A crux of Znamenski's comparisons is his interpretation of the fascinating but poorly understood early twentieth-century Altaian ethnoreligious revitalization movement called Burkhanism. Burkhan stems from a Mongolian Lamaist word for Buddha. In the Altai, it came to mean a supreme sky deity as well as objects related to his worship. Burkhanism, most agree, is a mix of Buddhism, Christianity, and Shamanism. Disagreements concern its ideological emphasis, its degree of anti-Russianism, and the causes of this dramatic messianic movement. Its founder was an Altaian shamanist, Chet Chelpan, whose religious dreams and prophecies blossomed into a new religion. Chet preached rejection of Russian trade goods and shamanistic "superstitions." Znamenski carefully balances the perspectives of many Russian (especially Soviet) scholars, who stress Burkhanism's economic protest dimensions, with others, who emphasize its internal "sacred revolt" cultural reform aspects. Embedding

the movement in its colonial context, Znamenski uses the theories of Anthony Wallace and James Gump to show Burkhanism was a valiant attempt at cultural revitalization born of social-economic-political-spiritual crises. Its failure was hastened by hard-to-fulfill millenarian prophecies, by the paranoia of tsarist police, and by an unfortunate epidemic that killed many of its preachers.

Znamenski misses or barely cites some sources (such as American anthropologist Lawrence Krader and Altaian ethnographer Liudmilla Sherstova) that would strengthen his arguments concerning the complexity of Burkhanism, its syncretic Christian influences, and its shamanic roots. He underemphasizes the role of Chet's virgin daughter, the mobilizing power of visions, and the significance of the movement as an attempt at ethnonational integration. While Znamenski makes a strong case for the interlinked social-political-economic dynamics that led to Burkhanism, he verges on historical determinism when claiming its millenarian doctrine was "the only possible strategy under these circumstances" (p. 259). Calling the movement a "cult" belittles it, although Znamenski appropriately valorizes indigenous agency throughout his book.

In sum, while I would prefer more recognition of indigenous and recent anthropological scholarship, better proofreading (especially for inconsistently spelled names), an improved index (including all cited scholars), and an alphabetical rather than compartmentalized reference list, this book is an excellent contribution to the history and historiography of Siberia and Alaska.

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ANDY BIELENBERG, editor. *The Irish Diaspora*. New York: Longman. 2000. Pp. vi, 368. \$14.99.

For more than a century after the Great Famine of the 1840s, the economic, social, and political history of Ireland was molded in crucial respects by systematic emigration, on a scale often exceeding that from any other European country. So long as the "hemorrhage" persisted, politicians and scholars alike found it difficult to respond objectively to a process that seemed to betoken structural failure, ascribed alternatively to Irish archaism or British misrule. The problem of attitude was compounded by contradictory impressions of the emigrant experience overseas, pride at Irish achievements being subverted by indignation at evidence of poverty, marginalization, and discrimination. Today, as Ireland comes to terms with prosperity, net immigration, and multiculturalism, the debate over the so-called "Irish diaspora" is losing much of its passion. "Exile" is easily reformulated as pursuit of economic rationality, "Anglicization" as enlightened cosmopolitanism, and anti-Irish sentiment as ineffectual bluster stimulating emigrants to reconstruct their Irishness as a cultural asset rather than an incubus. Despite sporadic protests against sanitized depictions

of emigration, the rapidly expanding body of scholarship both within and beyond Ireland is overwhelmingly positive in tone. In today's self-consciously mobile and "transnational" Irish culture, emigration seems a symptom of precocious modernity rather than crippling archaism.

Andy Bielenberg's edited volume of seventeen essays, mostly drafted for a conference to launch Cork's Centre for Migration Studies in 1997, is heavily influenced by the revisionist mission of the peripatetic Donald Harman Akenson. By gathering persuasive evidence of Irish rational behavior in most countries of settlement for which adequate records exist, Akenson has done much to undermine confidence in negative depictions of Irish settlement in the less thoroughly documented United States. In this volume, Akenson renews his campaign against the cherished assumption that most Irish Americans were Catholic and most of the residue Scotch-Irish and dismisses over elaborate psychological interpretations of emigrant behavior. His faith in Irish economic and social competence, when tested in "clean laboratories" outside the major northeastern American cities, is echoed in six chapters surveying Irish performance in Britain (Graham Davis), Scotland (Richard McCready), Argentina (Patrick McKenna), the British Empire (Bielenberg), India (Michael Holmes), and South Africa (Donal McCracken). Most of these synthesize previous scholarship, but some novel evidence is presented in McKenna's account of Irish economic success combined with communal cohesion in Argentina, and McCracken's depiction of the South African Irish (predominantly Protestant and male) as the odd men out.

The theme of Irish migration as rational behavior is further explored in four analytic chapters, beginning with Piaras Mac éinrí's pithy synthesis of recent interpretations stressing its diversity, complexity, and reversibility. Malcolm Campbell draws telling parallels between cases of successful Irish settlement in rural New South Wales and Minnesota, where the subsequent failure of Catholic colonization nevertheless helped generate the delusion that Irish peasants could not adapt to the unfamiliar demands of farming in the New World. Enda Delaney's sustained comparison with Spain, Portugal, and Greece after 1945 subverts the doctrine of Irish exceptionalism by depicting Irish movement to Britain as part of a broader withdrawal from "the under-developed agricultural economy" of the European "periphery" (p. 336). More innovatively, he explores the social and familial determinants of reverse migration to both Ireland and its Southern European counterparts. In a thoughtful analysis of structuralism versus voluntarism, Jim MacLaughlin portrays emigration as a symptom of "the radical openness of Irish society since at least the nineteenth century," being "a rational response to restructuring processes operating at the level of the Irish nation-state and at the level of global society" rather than merely the outcome of an "adventurous spirit" (p. 328).

As in so many volumes of conference proceedings, synthesis predominates over original research. In the absence of a statistical overview of the entire diaspora, three contributors assemble statistical profiles of sub-migrations (Tracey Connolly for World War II, Brendan Halpin for the Irish in contemporary Britain, and Damien Courtney for official returns of inward, outward, and net migration from the 1980s). Courtney also supplies rather unreliable estimates of net migration for the preceding century, without pointing out that the nineteenth-century figures are severely inflated by the underenumeration of registered deaths. Statistical returns, although essential, reveal nothing of the personal experience of migration or the multiple meanings of "Irishness." Breda Gray deploys interviews with Irishwomen in London to document a recent transition from "ethnicity" to "diaspora"; Ruth-Ann Harris offers an interesting analysis of advertisements for missing persons in the *Boston Pilot*; and Angela McCarthy presents a fascinating collage of the impressions of New Zealand expressed in letters from emigrants. Although "home" remained firmly fixed in Ireland, chain migration from particular communities (often in Protestant Ulster) brought an unexpected hominess to New Zealand's otherwise alien landscape: "Only for the look of the contry [sic.] when we go to a cattle show or any other gathering one almost forgets but that he is in Ireland. I was at one of Thursday last and there was any amount of people we all know . . . not one of which has cause to regret leaving Home" (p. 280).

Such personal testimony, although often compatible with models of rational action based on group dynamics rather than crude self-interest, carries an emotional charge that jars with the reductionist, complacent tone of much revisionist scholarship. Surely the finest chapter is Kerby Miller's exemplary analysis of "emigrants and identities in the Old South," drawing on an unmatched range of letters, official records and local histories with nuance, balanced judgment, and narrative skill. Miller's presentation of four Irish lives associated with Charleston, South Carolina, juxtaposes a black Irish-speaking loyalist, born in Charleston and reared in Cork, with a convert from Catholicism who founded a Methodist college, a devout Catholic who defied episcopal authority and mixed freely with his Protestant neighbors, and a Presbyterian slave-owner who carried the ideals of the United Irishmen to his grave. Unencumbered by excessive interpretation, Miller's essay exposes the fluidity of categories once regarded as secure, such as "Scotch-Irish," "Catholic," and "Protestant." This is the work of a master craftsman, a model for the host of scholars now aspiring to unravel the intricacies and paradoxes of the Irish diaspora.

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ALEXANDER PANTSOV. *The Bolsheviks and the Chinese Revolution 1919–1927*. (Chinese Worlds.) Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 324. \$23.95.

It has been almost half a century since Harold Isaacs, Isaac Deutscher, Conrad Brandt, and Robert North wrote their now classic studies of the role the Soviet Union played in the formation and development of the early Chinese Communist Party (CCP). The thoughtful and comprehensive work under review updates these earlier writings, taking advantage of new interviews with Chinese and Russian informants and, most importantly, the recently opened Soviet archives. Like his predecessors, Alexander Pantsov emphasizes the differences between Leon Trotsky and Joseph Stalin, showing how their schism affected the first years of the Chinese Revolution. Pantsov's sensitivity to theoretical issues and his intimate acquaintance with the debates and politics within the Soviet government help refine many previous interpretations.

His most surprising finding is on Stalin. Most writers have blamed Stalin for squashing whatever chances existed that the CCP's early revolutionary strategy could have been successful. Stalin was thought to have callously sacrificed the Chinese Revolution in order to protect Russian interests and to prevent his Soviet critics from gaining the upper hand in the debates against him. He pushed the CCP into remaining in the alliance with the Nationalist Party (KMT) even after Chiang Kai-shek's March 1926 coup removed his Communist allies from leadership positions in the nationalist organization. Trotsky was usually thought to have opposed the idea of having the CCP join the United Front from the alliance's inception.

Pantsov argues that after Chiang Kai-shek took over the KMT, Stalin schemed to have the CCP take over the KMT. The problem was that Chiang Kai-shek was one step ahead of him. There may have been other tactics, but none of the other members of the Politburo, including Trotsky, offered much in the way of an alternate strategy. One problem was that, during much of this period, Trotsky really did not know very much about China or feel very deeply about what was going on there. He "was still guided mostly by intuition." It was not until the second half of April 1926 that Trotsky urged the CCP to withdraw from the KMT, and he came into real disagreement with Stalin over policy toward the CCP.

Even though Trotsky took a while to get up to speed about the specifics of the situation in China, from the beginning, Pantsov shows, it was Trotsky's ideas that attracted Chinese intellectuals to Marxism in the wake of the October Revolution. Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution gave Chinese intellectuals the hope that a Chinese revolution could occur as part of a world socialist revolution. Stalin's "socialism in one country" not only backed away from V. I. Lenin and Trotsky's faith in world revolution (and democracy) but ultimately justified the Comintern's support for Chiang Kai-shek's rightist (and ultimately disastrous)

policies. Even before he began to focus on China, Trotsky's ideas were much more in line with those of most of the members of the CCP than were Stalin's.

Pantsov leaves few stones unturned. He uncovers the exact documents available to the early Chinese Communists, the precise Comintern policies that influenced them, and even the mistranslations from Russian that affected early Chinese ideas about Marxism. He provides the most detailed discussion in English of the debates between Stalin and his opponents on China. He discusses not only how the various disagreements within the Soviet Politburo affected China but the impact these disagreements had on Soviet politics. He even documents the number and names of the various Chinese students who went to study in the Soviet Union in the 1920s and shows how they were chosen and what they studied.

The last part of this exhaustive study is a discussion of the development of Trotskyist ideas among Chinese students in Russia. At the beginning of the Stalin-Trotsky split, Chinese students knew little about Trotsky. Their interest was aroused as a result of the actions of the Stalinists in criticizing Trotsky's ideas. Eventually, as they began to realize how much more compatible Trotsky's ideas were with their own, many became ardent Trotskyists (their numbers may have been greater than those conservatively documented by Pantsov).

This book was first published in Russian and was revised for its English edition. Pantsov's meticulous documentation brings valuable new information to light, creating a worthwhile addition to the literature.

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MARK PHILIP BRADLEY. *Imagining Vietnam and America: The Making of Postcolonial Vietnam, 1919–1950*. Foreword by JOHN LEWIS GADDIS. (The New Cold War History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 304. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$19.95.

This book will stand tall among the many studies examining the relations between the United States and Vietnam. Although it does not address directly the issue of the U.S. intervention in Vietnam, it does, nevertheless, give it more depth by offering a thorough survey, a clear narrative, and a cogent analysis of the "image" that the Vietnamese people formed of the United States and the American people of Vietnam from 1919 to 1950. To reach that goal, Mark Philip Bradley has read hundreds of books in several different languages, consulted archival depositories in Vietnam, the United States, Great Britain, and France, interviewed dozens of personalities, and examined tons of newspapers, journals, personal records, memoirs, and published documents.

This book reevaluates the origin of the U.S. intervention in Vietnam, which Western scholarly practice commonly places at the start of the Cold War. This was when the Truman administration decided not to heed

the appeals for help from the newly created independent Democratic Republic of Vietnam but rather to support the French attempt at colonial reconquest. Bradley's study suggests an earlier date for the beginning of the American entanglement in Vietnam that stemmed from the knowledge the American people had of Vietnam and the judgment they formulated about the Vietnamese people from 1919 onward. That knowledge was scanty, inadequate, and defective; American judgments were biased, prejudiced, and unverified. The French, indeed, had so successfully isolated their Indochinese colony from all foreign countries that no American economic interests could be invested in the Indochinese market. Apart from some hundred missionaries, few Americans resided in Indochina. Up to the early 1940s, a sole consul in Saigon represented the United States in all of Indochina. American historians, researchers, journalists, visitors, hunters, and diplomats all have written about various aspects of Vietnamese society, culture, and civilization. Most of their observations relied heavily on their French guides, informants, and journalists. The Vietnamese man is unvariably characterized by a "natural laziness," a "total lack of initiative . . . of ambition," and an absence of any "thought for the morrow." Vietnamese living conditions belong to a period that comes "just slightly after the Stone Age." Virginia Thompson, who apparently did not know a word of Vietnamese, could yet write with authority that Vietnamese is a language "adapted to the mentality of a primitive people. The vocabulary is limited and lacking in words to express the major emotions and complex ideas." Vietnamese society is pervaded by a "flair for imaginative lying." Vietnamese popular legends glorify "graft, ruse, and lies." Vietnamese officials, in addition to being "venal" and "dishonest," have a "natural tendency" to say what is "agreeable to their superiors" (pp. 47-49).

Although influenced by the French in their perceptions of the colonized people of Indochina, American authors, nevertheless, did not refrain from criticizing harshly French colonial policy. It did not, however, ensue that they championed the Vietnamese nationalist opposition to colonialism. They judged that, in addition to the incompetence of Vietnamese leaders, their movements were rife with "mutual jealousies" and the "mismanagement of funds." Their anticolonial struggle was characterized as consisting of "acts of terrorism . . . brutal murders . . . acts of banditry." Naturally, all nationalist movements owed their existence and their activities to external agents, Soviet or Chinese (pp. 67-72). It is not surprising to find this kind of assessment of Vietnam if we remember the way the United States viewed the Philippines at the time of its "pacification." Filipinos were commonly rendered as "ignorant and superstitious," "nothing but grown up children," "one of the less advanced races," and "living in a tropical slough of ignorance and sloth" (pp. 53-54).

With the information we have gained, we can now

read Franklin D. Roosevelt's famous declaration about not returning Indochina to the French after the war with unequivocal insight. Writers seldom quote the second part of that document, which reads as follows: "Naturally they [the Indo-Chinese peoples] could not be given independence immediately but should be taken care of until they are able to govern themselves." From that assessment to Harry S. Truman's decision to boost the French colonial reconquest, there was no great distance to cover.

As for the Vietnamese people, they have always held the image of the United States in high esteem. This is the country of George Washington, Thomas Edison, and the American Revolution that places America forever in the anti-imperialist camp . . . or so they thought.

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BEN SHEPHARD. *A War of Nerves: Soldiers and Psychiatrists in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2001. Pp. xxiii, 487. \$27.95.

To my great delight, this turned out to be a history not just of "shell shock" in the British and American armies over the course of the twentieth century but of the role of psychiatry in military planning and of the general development of psychiatry and neurology from World War I until our own times. Ben Shephard writes fluently with plenty of anecdotes and detail, and the work as a whole is a tour de force that takes us from the desperation of being "blown up" in the trenches of the Great War—and the medical debates about how to handle it—to the much stricter army policies about psychiatric evacuation in World War II, then finally to the choreographed American routines for handling combat trauma in Vietnam. The Vietnam experience culminated in the illness label Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), a political diagnosis that arose from a systematic campaign of Vietnam veterans in the 1970s directed at official psychiatry. It is a diagnosis that today is spreading epidemically in the civilian population facing far lesser traumas than enemy fire.

Even though Shephard makes the occasional bow toward covering shell shock among French and German troops, he evidently reads neither French nor German (or at least cites few works in those languages), and the book is useful mainly as a careful troll through a century of British army psychiatry and combat experience. He has made great use of War Office materials in the Public Record Office, working also in a number of other British archives, and students of these matters in Britain will find much that is new. His American research, although extensive in terms of published memoirs and official papers, is not as archivally exhaustive, yet the book may suggest to other scholars what extraordinarily interesting material may be plumbed from this whole subject. For example, Shephard consults confidential army memos on the

issue of desertion in World War II, a problem that began in the North African campaign, then became a massive reality in the Normandy invasion. Since the army was no longer able to shoot deserters (as the British had done extensively—far more often than the French—in World War I), they had to try other tactics. The entire play among civilian public opinion, military instinct, and the sage counsels of such British psychiatric advisers as Dr. Tom Main makes for gripping reading.

The book is not just for medical history buffs. Shephard has an excellent grasp of weaponry, of what happens in combat, and of military tactical thinking. By mining vignettes from manuscript material he is able to make these exotic realities come to life better than almost any writer I can think of except perhaps John Keegan.

In the end, Shephard is able to resolve satisfactorily one of the great ironies of this subject: how it was that combat experience in Vietnam, monitored closely by military psychiatrists with a century of treating shell shock behind them, apparently produced a larger amount of delayed trauma than either of the previous world wars (themselves equal to if not greater than Vietnam in terms of trauma volume). According to Shephard, it was because, for the first war in U.S. history, troops felt guilty about their deployment. "After Vietnam, many American soldiers on returning home began to develop intense feelings of guilt about what they had done because it conflicted with the underlying Christian values of their society and because their society did not endorse what they had done" (pp. 371–72). There was no sense of absolution in victory parades. "The fact that they had derived pleasure from killing was often especially troubling later on" (p. 372).

Vietnam, however, represented the beginning of a new international problem in post-deployment syndromes: that everybody gets sick after combat. This happened to some extent to the British after the Falkland campaign, and in spades—thanks to alarmist media coverage—to several allied forces after the Gulf War. Currently, masses of enraged army veterans claiming to have been "poisoned" in the theater environment besiege the panjandrum of military medicine. The problem, says Shephard, is that PTSD-style thinking has now become incorporated into the culture: "Enormous changes in social values since the Second World War have redefined the role of emotion and stress in Anglo-Saxon public culture" (p. 396), a circumstance for which psychiatry can partly share the blame, or credit, depending on one's point of view.

In sum, the book raises the bar for writing about military psychiatry and the psychological consequences of combat by a couple of notches. In terms of sweep, style, and sheer volume of research, it should merit a wide readership.

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A. JAMES GREGOR. *Phoenix: Fascism in Our Time*. Foreword by ALESSANDRO CAMPI. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction. 1999. Pp. xiv, 204. \$32.95.

With this book, A. James Gregor revisits fascism after some twenty years of silence in print. From the late 1960s to the late 1970s, Gregor wrote profusely and controversially on the subject, making the case that fascism, rather than Marxism-Leninism, was the truly revolutionary doctrine of the twentieth century, that it was the true model for Third World dictatorships demanding liberation from foreign dominance and wealth redistribution, while appealing simultaneously to patriotic sentiments and national pride. The ideology of fascism, still according to Gregor, was a compelling and coherent synthesis of ideas generated by some of the most creative thinkers of our time. The key figure, whose political savvy transformed these ideas into a viable political program, was Benito Mussolini, who understood their relevance for a country like Italy when the fascists came to power in 1922. The country was struggling to overcome its economic backwardness and poor image, hampered by domestic problems and the hostility of greater powers. In other words, according to Gregor, Italy in 1922 faced the problems that all international underdogs face and was therefore an apt model for emerging countries.

Part of the present book covers familiar ground, with some minor new twists. Gregor reviews the scholarship intent on denouncing dismissals of fascism as an intellectual hodge-podge, the tool of big business, or a psychotic phenomenon. He has a relatively easy time here, because there are indeed many egregious examples of such simple-minded or wrong-headed accounts of fascism. At the same time, he hardly does justice to interpretations of fascism that seek to account for its inherently ambivalent nature and contradictory tendencies. Where others see at best a precarious balancing act, Gregor sees fundamental coherence and unswerving purpose. Hence his defense of the concept of totalitarianism as a valid tool for political analysis, for fascism as Gregor sees it is a truly totalitarian ideology seeking radical change in the most radical manner: the transformation of human beings into something other than what they are according to a predetermined plan. According to Gregor, we owe all this to Mussolini. Adolf Hitler, Joseph Stalin, and a host of post-1945 Third World dictators were Mussolini's disciples, whether they realized it or not. Gregor extends the credit to two other figures, who helped shape Mussolini's "paradigmatic fascism": the social scientist Roberto Michels and the philosopher Giovanni Gentile. No surprise that Gentile's name should crop up, for he is acknowledged to have been Mussolini's more or less official philosopher, and indeed a consistent one who paid with his life for his beliefs. Michels's name is something of a surprise in this context. He is generally known for his studies pointing to the dominance of elites in party politics. His work was useful to fascists in that it was understood to delegitimize both liberal

and Marxist politics. The regime certainly welcomed him and he it, but the problem with making Michels a key figure is that his influence on Mussolini is by no means clear, and Gregor provides little evidence to the contrary. Gregor insists on making Michels into a "corporativist" in order to connect him with another key element of fascist ideology, again on flimsy evidentiary grounds. It is not at all clear why Gregor chooses to emphasize Michels's contribution to fascist ideology within the logic of this book, except perhaps to draw attention to a figure of genuine intellectual stature associated with fascism.

It is only in the last chapter of the book and in the conclusion that Gregor goes beyond his earlier work in a significant way. There he advances the claim that post-Soviet Russia and Communist China are the two most likely places to see the emergence of true fascism in the twenty-first century. I do not know enough about either country to hazard a guess about the validity of Gregor's take on their ideological dynamics. I do, however, notice the same disturbing tendency to single out one or two figures as representative of an entire ideology. One key figure for Russia, according to Gregor, was Gennady Ziuganov, a Communist leader who challenged the party to acknowledge the revolutionary nature of nationalism and the importance of spirituality and moral conviction. The other is the esoteric and cryptic author Lev Gumilev, whom Gregor sees as the Russian counterpart to Michels, who upheld the idea that ties of national community take precedence over those of social class. China is discussed only in a few pages of the conclusion, but for some reason Gregor feels almost certain that "a Chinese fascism will impact on Western policy throughout the early years of the twentyfirst (*sic*) century" (p. 185). Having already claimed the twentieth century for fascism in his earlier books, Gregor now extends its claim to the twenty-first. Will there be anyone at the beginning of the twenty-second to remind us (them) of Mussolini's prophetic genius and the remedy of "developmental dictatorship?"

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SEPTIMUS H. PAUL. *Nuclear Rivals: Anglo-American Atomic Relations, 1941-1952*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 2000. Pp. ix, 266. Cloth \$42.50, paper \$18.95.

Otto Hahn and Fritz Strassman's discovery of nuclear fission in 1938 unlocked a source of unimaginable heat and power and also raised the remote possibility that this could be harnessed to produce an explosion of inconceivable destructiveness. In the spring of 1940, two refugee scientists at Birmingham University produced a paper outlining the theoretical basis for a fission weapon. Five years later, the destruction of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki bore terri-

ble witness to the fact that science had turned theory into fact. The atomic age had begun.

Despite the fact that the wartime collaboration between the Allies succeeded in producing a bomb, the gestation and infancy of this deadly source of power were far from harmonious. It took the findings of the British Maud Committee—set up to verify the work of the Birmingham scientists—to galvanize both Britain and, soon after, the United States into establishing separate atomic energy programs. By the time the two countries agreed to pool their efforts in mid-1942, Britain, which had initially led the field and successfully resisted American requests to join forces, was clearly the junior in the huge Manhattan Project. One year after the close of the war, the United States Congress passed the McMahon Act, which abruptly ended Anglo-American atomic cooperation.

Septimus H. Paul's book usefully examines the course of Anglo-American atomic energy cooperation from 1941-1952. Drawing on British and American archival material, the volume explores in some detail the dynamics of Anglo-American atomic relations, the confusion and controversy over the secret wartime Quebec Agreement and Hyde Park Aide-Memoire, as well as the complex structure of forces in the United States both for and against nuclear collaboration. Discussion of the latter is one of the strengths of the book and offers an interesting insight into the role played by bureaucracies in the formulation of foreign policy. Paul also argues that it was not the Klaus Fuchs scandal in 1950 that destroyed one of the most significant opportunities for renewed atomic collaboration but rather the Donald Maclean-Guy Burgess affair, some eighteen months later, that persuaded American officials to reconsider reestablishing closer ties. Finally, the book contends that the United States played a more significant role in keeping alive the idea of nuclear sharing in the postwar world, more often than not, the author concedes, driven by a desire to secure crucial British-controlled uranium supplies.

As one would expect, Paul makes extensive use of two of the most notable works concerned with this subject matter: Margaret Gowing's excellent official history of the British atomic program and Richard Rhodes's account of the making of the atomic bomb. Somewhat surprisingly though, the author chose not to consult pivotal works by authors such as Andrew J. Pierre, John Baylis, Ian Clark, and Lawrence Freedman. Also notably absent are studies of Anglo-American relations in this period by specialists such as Alan P. Dobson, Ritchie Ovendale, and Randall Bennett Woods. This curiously fragmented bibliography highlights an obvious weakness of the book: a lack of convincing contextualization. Paul's contentious argument that the United States "clearly lost what little respect it still had" for Britain—which, he claims, was a "spent power" (p. 6)—is a case in point. While many in the United States undeniably felt this way about their weakened wartime ally, the complexity of Anglo-

American relations prevented this, at least for some years, from becoming official policy.

Also problematic is Paul's portrayal of the British government. Remarking that "their prime minister was forced to grovel at the feet of the American president and literally beg for a resumption of collaboration," he concludes that "It is doubtful whether the British ever regained the respect of the American atomic energy policy makers or recovered their self-confidence in atomic energy research after this period of supplication" (p. 32). These and other quotations hint at an American perspective that occasionally threatens to lapse into a "them and us" mentality and intimates a somewhat skewed appreciation of the nuances of postwar Anglo-American relations. Indeed, regardless of how the British were perceived by those controlling atomic secrets in the United States, the fact is that partial collaboration did resume in 1954 and was followed four years later by full atomic cooperation. Moreover, the evidence (not least of which must be the successful testing of an atomic bomb in 1952) would suggest that British self-confidence remained sufficiently intact to permit the continuation of the national program.

But perhaps the most disappointing aspect of this volume is its failure to outline convincingly where the author disagrees with other assessments or, indeed, introduces new evidence. A reader unfamiliar with the excellent work produced in this field has little opportunity to compare Paul's findings with previous accounts and would be advised, therefore, to explore the topic by consulting this book in conjunction with a range of other texts on the subject.

DONETTE MURRAY
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DOUGLAS A. FARNIE *et al.*, editors. *Region and Strategy in Britain and Japan: Business in Lancashire and Kansai, 1890–1990*. (Routledge International Studies in Business History, number 7.) New York: Routledge. 2000. Pp. xviii, 322. \$100.00.

Comparative history has resisted fulfillment. Many have called for the achievement, but few have met its demands or realized its promise. Shortcomings arise because requirements are so high. Successful comparative history calls for substantial linguistic, empirical, analytical, and literary expertise as well as time and maturity. Individual historians possessing such requisites have been few and far between. Reliance on teams of researchers offers one way of circumventing these obstacles. Therefore, a review of this edited collection offers an opportunity to assess the status of comparative history today.

The volume edited by Douglas A. Farnie *et al.* is the product of a long-term, cooperative research endeavor between scholars in Britain and Japan. Thirteen authors have contributed to the final, published account, seven from Japan and six from Britain. Nearly all of the authors are either business historians or economic

historians, usually associated either with university economics departments or schools of business. The Japanese authors are best known for their highly focused research on topics in Japanese business history, while the British authors are experts on British economic and business history. Each of the chapters is coauthored by a binational team consisting of one or more British scholars and one or more Japanese scholars.

To render their undertaking feasible, the authors focus on one region in each country, the Manchester-Lancashire region in Great Britain and the Kansai (or Osaka and Kyoto) region in Japan. They cast a wide net in addressing their topics. Two substantive chapters are of a general nature. One provides an overview of the modern economic history of both regions and the other sketches the development of big business in the two regions between 1900 and 1990. Six further chapters examine more specialized topics. Two trace the evolution of the textile industry in these subregions, while four others examine electronics, shipbuilding, management education, and industrial research—in each case through a paired comparison. The book also includes a short introduction and an equally short conclusion. Lists and tabular information are both generously employed, and there are extensive notes to most chapters, although there is no comprehensive bibliography. Many sources on Japan (in Japanese) are cited, but the vast majority of citations are to works in English on Great Britain.

Summarizing the conclusions from such an eclectic study is hazardous, but these are some of the major findings. Essentially, the prevailing view that Japan has been the more dynamic, successful nation economically is confirmed and reinforced. However, most authors modify this view with the qualification that Britain retained more strength and dynamism through the 1920s, or perhaps as late as the 1940s. All of them concede that Japan has far outstripped Britain's economic achievements since 1945.

The sources of Japan's relative success are numerous. Financing has been more readily available for Japanese firms in the Osaka area than for British firms in the northwest. Managers have been better trained, more highly skilled, and more entrepreneurial in Japan. They have displayed their aptitudes through bolder risk taking, longer time horizons, and superior achievements. Workers in Britain became increasingly more defensive, individualistic, and uncooperative as time wore on, while Japanese workers tended to be far more compliant. Business firms in Japan pursued strategic, multifaceted objectives that took into account markets around the globe, while British firms adopted short-term perspectives that were hampered by a risk-averse, parochial outlook. Finally, in the Manchester-Lancashire area many key firms reverted to safe, cost-plus provision for the military, whereas Japanese firms took a much broader and more risk-aware view of markets, old and new, local and global.

Scholars who have some familiarity with the modern

economic histories of Japan and Great Britain will not be surprised by these findings. Many of them, although perhaps not all, have been common currency in the specialist literature on Japan and Great Britain since the early 1970s. We can therefore applaud this book and its authors for some achievements. They have provided fairly comprehensive coverage of two important subregions in Japan and Britain over a long time period. They have given us a book that is well written and well edited. And they have derived some astute, informative comparisons. But they fall far short of what they believe their achievement to be, as they articulate it (p. xviii) in the preface.

Where do the shortcomings arise? First, neither the British specialists nor the Japanese reveal a familiarity with a large body of English-language scholarship on their topic done by (mostly) American scholars. A few Americans whose works the writers ignore are Andrew Gordon, W. Dean Kinzley, Simon Partner, Herbert Passin, Thomas P. Rohlen, and Robert M. Uriu. Some reference is made to the work of the prominent British specialist on Japan, Ronald P. Dore, but far more could have been done. Recent work by the Australian scholar Tessa Morris-Suzuki also goes unmentioned. Second, the editors neglect some major subtopics that bear strongly on the issues in this book. One of these is the financial system. Although it attracts some attention between the lines, finance is so fundamental to the different developmental paths of Japan and Britain in the twentieth century that it deserves direct attention. Little is said in a systematic way about national government policy, especially toward industry. And one chapter on the pharmaceutical industry, and one less on textiles, would have been most valuable. Third, the book displays a kind of timorous analytical approach. In large measure, this may be a by-product of national academic styles, whereby British authors still retain a kind of woolly approach to matters while Japanese scholars tend to be overly deferential.

Comparative history demands risk takers who are bold, energetic, and incisive. This book suggests that scholarship by committee is not the solution to a paucity of good comparative history. Individual scholars, investing time in language learning, solid preparation, extensive research, generous reflection, lucid analysis, and elegant writing, are the only ones who can satisfy the taxing demands of a highly professional mode of comparative historical inquiry.

GARY D. ALLINSON
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JUNKO TOMARU. *The Postwar Rapprochement of Malaya and Japan, 1945–1961: The Roles of Britain and Japan in South-East Asia*. (St. Antony's Series.) New York: St. Martin's, in association with St. Antony's College, Oxford. 2000. Pp. xiv, 317.

Historians Michael Schaller, William S. Borden, and Andrew Jon Rotter have extensively studied the role

the United States played in encouraging Japan's post-World War II economic reentry into Southeast Asia, but Great Britain's attitude on the issue has received little attention. Also, Asian perspectives on postwar Japanese-Southeast Asian reconciliation generally have received short shrift in English-language works. Junko Tomaru's study of Japan's relations with Malaya (now peninsular Malaysia and Singapore) through 1961 goes far in filling these gaps. Malaya remained under British colonial rule until the late 1950s, permitting Tomaru to examine fully British, Japanese, and Southeast Asian perspectives.

Tomaru argues that the British, who recognized both Japan's need for trade and the benefits Japanese economic involvement could bring to the region, initially regarded the prospect of Japanese-Southeast Asian trade more favorably than did the Americans. Iron mines developed by Japanese firms in remote rural areas during the prewar era provided the initial venues for a renewed Japanese presence in Malaya. This mining activity threatened no British economic interests, created jobs, and generated tax revenues. The British also welcomed the import of cheap Japanese textiles immediately after the war because of a serious shortage of cloth in Southeast Asia.

The British, particularly the Board of Trade in London, subsequently grew wary of competition from Japanese imports, particularly during the Korean War, when Japanese trade with Malaya sharply increased. British resistance to Japanese economic activity gradually faded, however, in part due to London's acceptance of Washington's view that trade was essential if Japan and the Southeast Asian countries were to be prevented from gravitating toward the communist bloc. Also, British officials were painfully aware that their government lacked the resources to fund needed development in Malaya. Desirous of maintaining a degree of British influence after the granting of independence, they did not want the people of Malaya to perceive Britain as a "dog in the manager," selfishly protecting its own economic interests at the expense of Asians.

Once Malaya and Singapore attained independence, they were quick to reestablish amicable relations with Japan, despite lingering resentment about Japanese conduct during the wartime occupation. Each side hoped for economic benefit, the Japanese desired a degree of separation from the Americans in their foreign policy, and newly independent Malaya was seeking to find an "Asian way" that would represent a clear break from past subservience to the British.

Despite diplomatic relations and booming trade, the leftover problems from the war did not go away. Although Britain had unilaterally signed away Malaya's rights to reparations when it accepted the 1951 San Francisco Peace Treaty, the discovery of the bodies of wartime massacre victims in mass graves in Singapore in the early 1960s sparked calls for Japan to pay its "blood debt." Japan did eventually negotiate financial settlements with Singapore (1966) and Ma-

laysia (1967), but Tomaru finds these deals grossly insufficient, and she criticizes Japanese leaders for their general unwillingness to deal forthrightly with war responsibility issues.

Tomaru's book developed from her Oxford doctoral thesis and remains in a dissertation-style format. This leads to some repetition and makes for less than exciting reading. The effort is worthwhile, however, as Tomaru's arguments are clear and well supported by data from an array of Western and Asian sources. Her study sheds much new and interesting light on the immediate post-World War II history of Southeast Asia.

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OLIVER BANGE. *The EEC Crisis of 1963: Kennedy, Macmillan, De Gaulle, and Adenauer in Conflict*. Foreword by PETER CATTERALL. (Contemporary History in Context.) New York: St. Martin's. 2000. Pp. xv, 291. \$65.00.

Harold Macmillan's application to join the European Economic Community (EEC), announced in the House of Commons in July 1961, and Charles de Gaulle's veto of that application, announced at his celebrated press conference of January 14, 1963, frame a crucial episode in postwar European history. The British bid marked a sea change from Commonwealth to continent, and although that shift has endured, the failure of the initial negotiations shapes British policy to this day. Had de Gaulle failed to block Britain, it is likely that the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) would never have been created, transatlantic commercial tensions would have been reduced, French prominence in world affairs would have waned even more quickly, the Franco-German relationship would have had far less resonance, the domestic British view of Europe would have been far more positive, and the European Union (EU) would today be a less fully developed international institution. No surprise, therefore, that the episode has spawned lively historical debate in recent years.

This book by Oliver Bange contributes important new empirical insights concerning the rhetorical tactics of various governments during the British accession negotiations. Bange makes two broad interpretive points. First, the British bid for membership did not fail, as many argue, due to tactical errors on the part of the British government, but because of fundamental interstate conflicts of interest. Second—his “main thesis”—the underlying national interests engaged in this crisis did not involve “insoluble economic or organizational problems” but the “irreconcilability of the goals behind ‘Grand Designs’” elaborated by Konrad Adenauer, de Gaulle, Macmillan and John F. Kennedy, (pp. 7–8). Bange stresses in particular the Anglo-American Nassau agreement of December 1962 as precipitating de Gaulle's veto.

These claims are hardly new. Most analysts empha-

size both British errors and the geopolitical roots of Gaullist opposition. Bange simply sides with one part of the conventional wisdom against the other. Yet he does break some new documentary ground. His major contribution is to detail how the governments of West Germany, Great Britain, the United States, and France manipulated public information and impressions, an aspect of this historical episode hardly touched upon by other scholars. Every government sought to spin the issues for domestic and foreign consumption, and Bange offers a gripping account of the resulting cynical “blame-shifting” in the endgame of the negotiations. The British cooperated with the Kennedy administration to pin the blame on de Gaulle. British officials leaked false (exaggerated, if not wholly fabricated) intelligence suggesting that de Gaulle's aim was a genuinely independent Europe that would reach a separate accommodation with the Soviet Union. Moving to the continent, Bange shows that de Gaulle schemed throughout the episode to appear more conciliatory than he actually was.

Bange is one of the few, for example, to give “la note Peyrefitte” of August 1960—the strategy document penned by de Gaulle's later press secretary, Alain Peyrefitte—its full due. He presents convincing rhetorical evidence that de Gaulle read and implemented its cynical plan for appearing to negotiate in the EEC as a “good European” (albeit one with a certain idea of Europe) in order to secure substantive benefits while obstructing the construction of supranational institutions and British membership. Adenauer, too, dissembled. The old Rhinelander cultivated public ambiguity, thereby seeking to satisfy the demands of both “Atlanticists” and “Gaullists” within his governing coalition.

While the negotiations were thus doomed from the start, these efforts at disinformation meant that the specific breakdown in January 1963 was the result of a complex and often tacitly collusive behavior by the major governments involved. Once various leaders realized that the negotiations were certain to collapse (at the latest at the time of de Gaulle's press conference), each sought to pin the blame on the other, even at the expense of continuing efforts to reach a compromise. Stung by criticism from the other five members of the EEC (“the Five”), de Gaulle had succumbed to Adenauer's “compromise proposal” to continue negotiations. Yet the British and Americans sought to precipitate a clear break, so as to cast blame squarely on the French, and Adenauer was not displeased to have the negotiations out of the way. In the endgame of a hopeless negotiation, the rhetorical edge came to matter more than anything else.

In reconstructing these tactics, Bange reports a considerable amount of valuable archival research focused on West Germany and the Anglo-American relationship. This is welcome, since the existing literature has accorded the calculations of the Adenauer and Kennedy governments far less attention than the calculations of Macmillan and de Gaulle. In analyzing Adenauer's Germany, Bange adds subtle documentary

detail to the well-known story of how Adenauer's constant efforts to balance conflicting domestic demands. He reminds us also that Adenauer's collusion may have been critical to de Gaulle's success, since it helped to block a potential counter-alliance of the Five with Britain and the U.S. against France. In addition, he offers intriguing glimpses into the motivations of key German decision makers, describing how Foreign Minister Gerhard Schroeder constrained his criticism of Adenauer's European policy to assure the old chancellor's continued support for his own political career, and how Economics Minister Ludwig Erhard's opposition to de Gaulle was muffled by his own previous support for European integration.

Bange's emphasis on rhetorical manipulation is of more than antiquarian interest. He renders modern scholarship on European integration a real service by seeking to distinguish rhetorical tactics from underlying objectives. Many rhetorical positions have been uncritically accepted by scholars as expressions of true underlying national preferences. Many of the most important books written immediately after the episode were penned by journalists (or based on their reportage). Bange succeeds brilliantly in demonstrating why one cannot be too skeptical of such public justifications.

To be sure, Bange's analysis suffers from some very specific weaknesses. First, as its title indicates, the book covers a very short period. Whereas most such works trade the extended process from 1957 onward through which the British and French moved toward their positions on membership, Bange reaches the fall of 1962 in a few short chapters; almost the entire book is devoted to the three-month period up to the end of January 1963. Second, whereas Bange cites German archives and interviews in detail, as well as some from Britain and the United States, he pays relatively little attention to French sources. There are no interviews and only cursory attention to archival sources, ignoring even published primary sources—for example, the *Documents Diplomatiques Français* or the massive, now indispensable three-volume memoir by the late Peyrefitte, *C'était de Gaulle* (1994), based on the press secretary's verbatim notes at confidential cabinet and personal meetings with the general. Bange tends to take Anglo-American speculations about what sort of compromises with de Gaulle *might* be possible as evidence that they *were* possible. Third, Bange appears to have stopped researching sometime in 1995 and includes almost nothing that became available since that time. Many obvious archival and primary sources are absent. In addition, the bibliography ignores the lively scholarly debate relating to this episode over the past five years. Bange does no more than does drop a couple of citations to his own work and one to his mentor. He does not cite, let alone engage, the evidence and interpretations found in recent (and indispensable) volumes written or edited by Richard Aldous, Anne Deighton, Paul-Marie de La Gorce, Wolfram Kaiser, Richard Lamb, Sabine Lee, N. Piers

Ludlow, Alan Milward, Gustav Schmidt, Georges Soutou, Jacqueline Tratt, Maurice Vaisse, John Young, and myself, as well as Peyrefitte.

Bange's neglect of the scholarly debate suggests a deeper weakness, namely a lack of overall interpretative focus. While brilliant in his reconstruction of diplomatic tactics, Bange tells us far less about underlying national interests than he claims—thus rendering the main thesis of the book, namely that competing geopolitical visions rather than economic interests or policy mistakes blocked agreement, speculative at best. Any serious effort to distinguish rhetoric from interest must analyze both. Bange's book contains a severe mismatch between evidence and interpretation. His best empirical analysis documents rhetorical tactics that, even in his own interpretation, are epiphenomenal. Without a firm sense of the underlying domestic structures and pressures that give rise to the "national interest," we cannot know what effect tactics had—that is, whether de Gaulle, Macmillan, or Adenauer might have accepted a particular compromise, had it been on the table. By contrast, his central claim that interests involved competing "geopolitical visions" is backed by little more than a few pages, largely containing the type of uncritical analysis of personal beliefs that recent scholarship has rendered obsolete (e.g. "The roots of . . . de Gaulle's . . . certain idea of Europe . . . can be traced back to the 1940s" [p. 22]). He reasserts, for example, the central importance of the Nassau Agreement in de Gaulle's calculations—an interpretation that has been rendered almost untenable in light of scholarship demonstrating that de Gaulle took the decision to veto days, if not months or years, before Nassau. Bange discusses the ongoing EEC and the Multilateral Force (MLF) negotiations in parallel, as if the connection between them was self-evident.

In doing so, Bange ignores the revisionist claim that the underlying Anglo-French conflict of interest was driven by conflicting export interests, not completing geopolitical "grand designs." Neither Macmillan nor de Gaulle could credibly compromise these commercial interests, notably French support for and British opposition to the CAP (not competed until 1971, whereupon the British were permitted in). Bange reasserts the conventional geopolitical view without acknowledging—let alone refuting—this economic account. While this assumption of the "primacy of geopolitics" is perhaps reasonable for Adenauer, it severely distorts any balanced understanding of British, French, and American policy and therefore of European integration as a whole in this period.

The omission from this book of any serious analysis of underlying national interests is regrettable, above all, because Bange misses a unique opportunity to marshal this evidence in what could perhaps have been a major contribution to the broader debate about national motivations. The results might have surprised Bange himself, for much of the evidence in this book is strikingly consistent with the revisionist emphasis on

commercial concerns. As we have seen, Bange documents that many assertions of vital national interest were in fact rhetorical tactics, and this manipulative rhetoric tended to emphasize either geopolitical concerns (as in Macmillan's inflated warnings about the future of the Western alliance and his effort to buy off de Gaulle with military cooperation) or European ideology (as in Peyrefitte's note and de Gaulle's consistent effort to cloak the pursuit of narrow commercial interest in the language of transatlantic politico-military conflict). Even Adenauer seems to have viewed the Franco-German treaty as much as a means of maintaining his domestic political coalition as an instrument of concrete foreign policy. By contrast, little evidence supports Bange's presumption that concerns about NATO and the MLF decisively influenced the course of the EEC discussions. If we properly discount the tactical manipulation of "grand designs," their importance wanes. In their place emerges what many scholars view as the true underlying continuity of postwar European integration: namely, the conflict among Anglo-American, French, and German commercial interests. For all its insights about rhetoric and tactics, Bange's book leaves most fundamental interpretative issues in the early history of the EEC to others.

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ASIA

YUNG SIK KIM. *The Natural Philosophy of Chu Hsi (1130-1200)*. (Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society Held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge, number 235.) Philadelphia, Pa.: American Philosophical Society. 2000. Pp. xii, 380. \$30.00.

Known as the great synthesizer of neo-Confucian philosophy, Chu Hsi provided a comprehensive understanding of the world, from its personal and moral to cosmic and natural dimensions. Like other Sung philosophers, he expressed many of his views in commentaries, letters, and conversations. Yung Sik Kim's study brings together Chu's dispersed ideas and describes the system of concepts and categories that Chu assumed but did not present systematically. Limiting his aim, Kim focuses specifically on the natural or cosmic dimensions.

Strictly speaking, and as Kim recognizes, Chu Hsi did not have a natural philosophy. Unlike Western thinkers, Chinese thinkers did not distinguish sharply between culture and nature, animate and inanimate objects, or matter and spirit (or mind). For Chu Hsi and neo-Confucian philosophers, the cosmos was a continuum constituted of *ch'i* (configurations of energy), ordered by means of *li* (patterns, principles), and characterized by constant change. Although moral, social, and political issues were Chu's primary philosophical concern, they were not separate from his ideas about the cosmos, for the *li* of particular things

and affairs were all interrelated and were manifestations of the one *li* of the cosmos. Specific concepts, such as *li* and *ch'i*, applied to all spheres of activity, human or otherwise.

Like the ideas of many of his contemporaries, Chu's ideas were in part a response to Buddhist and Taoist challenges to Confucianism, a response that incorporated, without acknowledgment, aspects of those rival traditions. Staying true to the Confucian emphasis on the reality of all things, Chu assumed, unlike Buddhists, that everything was real, even though not all things could be experienced through the senses. From this viewpoint, Chu can thus be seen as responding to Buddhist metaphysics with a neo-Confucian natural philosophy. Still, his natural philosophy was intertwined with his moral and social philosophy.

In part one, Kim discusses the fundamental concepts in terms of which Chu and others understood the world. Belonging to the system of beliefs textually based in the *Book of Changes* (*I Ching*) and deriving from varied sources, these concepts include *li*, the "investigation of things," *ch'i*, *yin-yang*, the five phases, the numbers, the images, the spirits, Heaven, the sages, and several concepts of change. Part two addresses the content of Chu's knowledge of the natural world. Here Kim uses the Chinese categories of heaven and earth, the myriad things, and man (i. e. human beings) to organize his discussion. Part three deals with two different issues. The first is Chu's attitudes toward the various kinds of specialized knowledge, such as calendrical astronomy, harmonics and music, geography, divination, alchemy, and medicine. Like many neo-Confucians, Chu acknowledged that such specialties had varying degrees of importance, but ultimately they were "lesser ways" and lacked the supreme value of moral knowledge. Kim compares Chu's thought with ideas in the Western scientific tradition regarding such concepts as motion and change. Kim makes clear that certain problems arise or do not arise depending on the basic assumptions with which one begins.

Kim brings to our attention many fascinating aspects of Chu's ideas, but his concern is not the kinds of problems of interpretation and translation that now interest many leading contemporary scholars. For instance, he translates *ren* as man or men, meaning all human beings, and so continues a Sinological tradition that has both blurred important social distinctions and offered an ahistorical reading of Chinese philosophical texts in certain respects. Sometimes Chu did specifically mean "men" (i. e. elite men), but other times the reference was to all human beings, including women. Using a traditional approach, Kim acknowledges that he is attempting to present the ideas from Chu's perspective.

This study contains numerous quotations from Chu's writings, many useful tables, a character glossary of Chinese names and terms, extensive notes, and a good bibliography. The notes are especially helpful for those who read Chinese but who are not overly familiar with

Chu's voluminous writings. In addition, Kim often indicates the textual sources of Chu's ideas, but he does not attempt to do this in all cases. Thus the reader should not assume that Chu is not paraphrasing or quoting from another text when a source is not identified. Primary source materials are emphasized, but Kim also selectively uses secondary research. As a clear and comprehensive resource for neo-Confucian concepts about the cosmos, this volume will be of interest to those who are not specialists in Chinese history or philosophy as well as to those who are.

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VICTOR CUNRUI XIONG. *Sui-Tang Chang'an: A Study in the Urban History of Medieval China*. (Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies, number 85.) Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 370. \$50.00.

This monograph on one of the most important capital cities ever built in imperial China is a welcome addition to the recent proliferation of writings on Chinese cities. Developed from Victor Cunrui Xiong's doctoral dissertation, the book reexamines Chang'an in terms of its urban and socioeconomic development rather than simply the physical and royal aspects of the city. Based largely on traditional scholarship of Chang'an, modern archaeology, and contemporary studies of the city, the book also integrates secondary studies on historical, institutional, ritual, monastic, economic, and social issues in order to provide a comprehensive account of the capital.

After an introduction, the volume is organized into ten chapters. The story begins with an account of a totally different city of the same name from the Han to the Northern Zhou. Though Xiong explains that both cities were located in close proximity and that "old Chang'an had many physical links and intangible ties to its Sui-Tang successor," the relevance of this account to the subsequent Tang capital could have been made more apparent. Chapter two focuses on the origin of Chang'an's urban form and layout. After revisiting the Naba-Chen theories and a thorough discussion of the location of critical components of the city as well as the canonical prescriptions of *Kaogongji*, the author attributes the layout of the capital to its chief architect Yuwen Kai's preoccupation with geomancy. Given the importance of Chang'an's layout as a prototype that inspired the plans of many other East Asian cities, this aspect probably deserves some mention if not elaboration, either in this chapter or elsewhere in the study.

The ensuing seven chapters deal with the essential components that made up the Sui-Tang capital. Over and above the functional zones of palace compounds, administrative compound, markets and residential wards, the author examines the important ritual aspect and monastic communities of the city in separate chapters. Chapters three and four are devoted to the

Palace City and Daming and Xingqing palaces, while chapters five and six focus on the central and capital administration and ritual centers. All these are related to the emperor and his administrative and imperial apparatus. In these chapters, Xiong reaffirms the Sui-Tang innovation of a separate imperial city and the importance of the southern suburban ritual center of the Round Mound. Beyond describing the formal layout, physical characteristics, and political and cosmological symbolism of the various zones and their structures, the narrative also interweaves accounts of political intrigues, administrative structures, ceremonial activities, and ritual procedures, giving the reader an understanding of the multidimensional aspects of imperial life at the Tang capital.

Chapter seven concentrates on market activities conducted in the capital but goes beyond the confines of the major official markets. Xiong asserts that, based on their nature, commercial activities in the city could be classified into two broad categories—hence accounting for the continuous presence of one category of business within residential wards even before the subsequent relaxation of trade controls and restrictions and the opening up of the wards. The residential wards that made up most of Chang'an were rigidly planned and severely controlled. Chapter eight begins with a detailed discussion on the city's population and proceeds to examine its network of streets and canals before focusing on the structure, management, and subsequent erosion of the ward system. Like Seo Tatsuhiko, Xiong divides the wards into six sectors to clarify their character and content. Chapter nine provides an account of the rise and fall of the main religious communities in the capital known for monastic diversity. Daoism and Buddhism were the major religions of the city. Their presence not only impacted the lives of imperial family and common folks alike, but the extent of the monastic properties made them important components of Chang'an's cityscapes. Once again, Xiong enriches the study by providing details and anecdotes of the capital's social, economic, and cultural life. The book closes with an epilogue that recounts the political upheavals that beset the empire, particularly the Huang Chao rebellion and its aftermath, which led to the destruction and abandonment of the city.

This painstakingly researched and vividly written study distinguishes itself in its comprehensive coverage of the city. It fills a lacuna in publications on the city in Western languages and constitutes an important addition to the many Chinese and Japanese publications on Sui-Tang Chang'an cited in the introductory chapter and listed in Xiong's bibliography.

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PHILIPPE FORÊT. *Mapping Chengde: The Qing Landscape Enterprise*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2000. Pp. xviii, 209. \$32.95.

Philippe Forêt's book is a highly original and creative study of a city and its environs in northeastern China. Designed and built by two of the most influential rulers of China's last dynasty, Kangxi (r. 1662–1722) and Qianlong (r. 1736–1795), the city was, Forêt argues, unique in conception, design, purpose, function, and symbolism, and in its relationships to the terrain it occupies and its historical past. The author attempts to convince the reader that these extraordinary aspects of Chengde are manifest by and thus understandable through the landscape on which it lies.

This complex explication of the cultural geography of a city at China's border is further complicated by the profoundly multicultural world of eighteenth-century China, particularly in this region formerly known as Manchuria. Even the name of the city is confusing. Chengde, its Chinese name today, was known as both Chengde and Rehe during the Qing dynasty (1644–1911). The prefecture in which it lies was and still is known as Chengde or Jehol. In the first part of the twentieth century, Chengde's province was also known as Jehol or Rehe. Today, Chengde is in Hebei province, the same province of China that surrounds the city Beijing; and former Manchuria includes that part of Hebei as well as today's Liaoning, Jilin, and Heilongjiang. Forêt provides a map with English labels (p. vi) and a chart of names (p. 153). There are lists of emperors, temples at Chengde, landscape elements, and a chronology. The reader should be prepared to consult these frequently, because the book contains so much theory it is possible even for a sinologist to lose track of the pertinent data.

The overriding purpose of this study is to understand the sociological and cultural forces that brought about the construction of a "mountain resort to escape the heat" (translation of yet another Chinese name of the city) in China under Manchu rule. The location the Kangxi emperor chose for this summer capital placed it at the hub of transcontinental movement by almost every competing race with imperial aspirations in North Asia, including Tibetans, Torguts, and five different branches of Mongols. Pacification and unification under the Great Qing were part of the agenda of the Manchu grandfather and grandson in the layout of Chengde. The landscape and placement of each natural and man-made feature were means of recognizing the religions and nationalities of their competitors in the form of temples modeled after those of foreign lands, entertaining foreign dignitaries from Lord Macartney to the Panchen Lama, keeping a watchful eye on their own Manchu Bannermen, and displaying Qing power over all of them through symbolic Chinese palace architecture. Qing imperialism at Chengde was manifest through palace buildings and adjacent gardens, eleven groups of religious architecture, seventy-two scenic views designated by the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors with inscriptions in their own hands, and hunting grounds. The terrain is a composite of lakes, plains, marshland, and mountains, some natural, some the result of human intervention.

Few sites and few circumstances of construction could be more complex.

Was this landscape the same for the disparate groups who traversed it or lodged in it, Forêt asks, or was it a composite set of views, perhaps symbolic ones? Was even one section of the landscape uniform in its presentation and view or was it subject to interpretation in every instance? These are difficult questions even for a cultural geographer. The inherent complexities of Chengde intensify the layers of meaning and nuance through which the author and reader must wade.

Forêt attempts to answer his questions with different kinds of evidence in each chapter. Following the introduction, in which the author introduces the field of Chinese geography to the reader and sets forth his reasons for writing the book, is the real introduction to the problems of the city: chapter two. In it, Forêt discusses the Manchu background to the Qing dynasty and policies of capital city building at the time. The focuses of chapter three are the imperial residence and twelve temple complexes north and east of it known as Waibamiao (eight outer temples). Chapter four is an exploration of the landscape, specifically gardens and the immediate wilderness. Forêt suggests that certain of the temples and their gardens were laid out as architectural mandala. The next chapter deals with the idea of frontier, both the practical defense buffer between the imperial retreat and the tribal world outside and the proposition that at Chengde the frontier offered unique possibilities for the propagation of the emperor's virtue, the *de* in the name Chengde being the Chinese character for virtue. Forêt moves from here to suggest more lofty yet elusive constructs of Chengde's landscape as symbolic, geomantic displays of Chinese concepts of the cosmos. This is one of the few unillustrated chapters, truly challenging the reader's ability to visualize the author's argument and be convinced. Chapter seven is a summary chapter in which Forêt proposes primary and secondary layers of landscape at Chengde as well as parts of the town and environs that do not fit into either rubric. The final chapter is a survey of three centuries of scholarship about the city.

There is no book with which this one can readily be compared. Rather, Forêt is defining the issues and scope of a geographer's study of a Chinese city as he writes, and he has chosen for this first exploration a city remote even by Chinese experience—one that was, moreover, constructed during one of China's most complex centuries. One can anticipate this will not be the last we hear from Forêt on the construction of urban landscapes in China. One might also anticipate that as new voices enter the field, the ideas he advances here will not remain unchallenged.

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THOMAS M. BUOYE. *Manslaughter, Markets, and Moral Economy: Violence Disputes over Property Rights in*

Eighteenth-Century China. (Cambridge Studies in Chinese History, Literature, and Institutions.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xvi, 283. \$59.95.

How did the long eighteenth century of rapid population growth, commercialization, and pressure on land affect China? In this ambitious application of the theoretical insights of Douglass C. North, R. Bin Wong, and others, Thomas M. Buoye proposes a nuanced theory of structural and economic change, linking developments in the country's legal and social institutions and commercialization. Based on a careful reading of 630 homicides (out of over 56,000 extant case files, although some Chinese sources reported over 58,000) resulting from contractual and noncontractual disputes, the author argues that the violence stemmed from the frustrations of a rural society as commercialization and rising population pressure and property values eroded traditional norms and customs. The author analyzes disputes over rent, evictions, redemption, land boundaries, water rights, and debt from Guangdong province in south China. Growing profits from commercialized crops and rising land prices meant that tenants competed furiously for land, contradicting earlier arguments that emphasized class struggle and solidarity. Tenants and landlords tangled over demands for higher rents and the clarification and enforcement of obligations, in the process breaking long-held expectations or implicit understandings. Even-handed local officials did their best to administer justice, resulting in the rationalization and elaboration of the relevant state codes concerning redemption and supplemental payments for conditional sale of land, standardization of land deeds, and criminalization of rent default. As rural society reconciled itself to these institutional changes and incorporating the transactional costs, homicide cases declined.

Buoye further supports his case by contextualizing the homicides spatially and temporally with G. William Skinner's regional analysis paradigm. In the core of each region, fewer cases were found because land prices had always been high and property rights consequently well defined. Presumably under less population pressure and commercialization, the periphery appears to have experienced comparatively less violence and homicide. It was in the semicore/periphery, the author argues, that we encounter most of such cases. Comparing homicides related to property rights and other types of disputes with a careful sampling of extant files from Guangdong, Sichuan, and Shandong, Buoye finds that the former, while relatively stable in number, as a percentage of the total number of homicide cases for the sampled years began to decline after 1750.

The circumstantial evidence assembled by Buoye is strong, but issues linger. The pressure of economic development might be sufficient as a general explanation of rising violence, but resources are always assumed to be scarce, competition does not in most cases result in violence, and accidents do happen. While

acknowledging that it was necessary to examine local conditions more carefully, the author curiously did not do so. The prefectures of eastern Guangdong and Sichuan identified by the author as the most "violent" are coincidentally those that Leong Sow-theng and Skinner have identified as either part of the Hakka (ethnic Chinese migrants from north and central China) heartland (but macroregional periphery in Skinner's paradigm) or districts receiving much of the Hakka out-migration. A quick check of the cases used by Buoye and available genealogical sources reveals the involvement of such well-known Hakka surnames as Deng, Ning, Ye, Zeng, and Zhong. While the intensified competition for resources between the Hakka and Cantonese (Punti) and among the Hakka themselves certainly reinforce Buoye's economic argument, could deep-seated subethnic hostility and sub-cultural tradition of violence also be necessary to understand why these disputes ended in homicide? In addition to the "variable impact of economic change," did Hakka and other migrants insist on their different expectations and concepts of property rights as well as their speech and customs? Moreover, while the code was elaborated to clarify property rights and guide that competition, the continued practice of a great variety of local customs (complicated by migrants who may or may not have shared the expectations and embedded values) in these regions, the limited ability of local officials in enforcing the code, and divergent regional economic cycles raise the possibility that the violence and homicides might have continued and even intensified, especially if we include the notorious Hakka-Punti wars of the mid-nineteenth century engulfing the semicore of the Pearl River Delta and elsewhere.

Resolving these issues requires another book, and the need to do so does not detract from Buoye's achievements. The field benefits from this theoretically and methodologically sophisticated work. It joins a fast-growing body of scholarship on the complex process of modern social and economic development without privileging Western experience.

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LYNDA S. BELL. *One Industry, Two Chinas: Silk Filatures and Peasant-Family Production in Wuxi County, 1865-1937*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1999. Pp. xvi, 290. \$49.50.

Lynda S. Bell's monograph breaks new ground on a key industry in modern Chinese economic history in a number of important ways. It focuses on Wuxi, a leading silk-producing region not emphasized in earlier research on the silk industry. With access to a 1929 rural survey of the Wuxi silk industry undertaken by the Social Science Research Institute (SSRI) of the Academia Sinica, Bell is able to conduct microeconomic analysis, seldom possible with available data for modern China. Bell also addresses various substantive

issues beyond the question of China's underdevelopment.

Bell's central premise is that "elites built on an evolving cultural repertoire in the local setting in Wuxi, enabling them to actively, and successfully, promote modern development" (p. 6). Rather than challenging the state by claiming autonomy or creating a new public sphere of bourgeois action (as William Rowe and others have argued), elites collaborated with the government to gain legitimacy and favorable state policies. *Combining time-tested techniques* (such as elite intermarriage, networking, and merchant guilds) with knowledge of new commercial and production methods acquired in Shanghai and abroad, Wuxi merchants and industrialists succeeded in establishing a thriving silk industry that joined modern factory production of raw silk with peasant-family production that supplied the raw materials.

One traditional technique adapted for the filatures producing raw silk for export markets was layering: a system of "split ownership/management" emerged. Owners who built the filatures did not use them for production directly but rented them to managers who did. This system (also found in Shanghai and elsewhere) has been blamed for making China's silk industry speculative and uncompetitive, as managers who operated on an annual basis had no incentive in capital reinvestment. Bell argues, however, that this system was a rational choice by filature owners who spread the risks of management to less powerful operators.

Vertical integration would not begin until the late 1920s, when Xue Shouxuan, the son of one of the founders of the Wuxi silk industry, switched from split ownership/management to direct control, whereby managers became his hired employees. In the 1930s, the Nationalist government worked with Xue and a few favored capitalists to deal with the crisis in the silk industry brought on by the Great Depression. New regulations worked to the advantage of Xue, who gained control over most of the Wuxi filatures. Bell suggests that this collaboration between the Nationalist Party and the Wuxi filaturists represents a rational model of state-directed economic development rather than corrupt "bureaucratic capitalism," the charge so often directed against the economic policies of the Nationalist government. While vertical and horizontal integration might have been necessary for the viability of the Wuxi silk industry, Bell admits that the virtual monopoly attained by Xue was at the expense of other filature owners, cocoon-firm operators, and especially the peasants, who were forced to accept lower prices for cocoons.

By applying econometric analysis to household data in surveys by the SSRI in 1929 and by the Southern Manchurian Railway Company (Mantetsu) in 1940, Bell elucidates peasant economic behavior at the microlevel, particularly gender differences in work and decision making on the mix of economic activities. Because of the fragmentation and small size of land-

holdings, peasant households engaged in sideline employment out of economic necessity. Labor became increasingly gendered, with women engaging in silk-worm raising and housework while men sought artisan jobs and other wage-earning work. Although sericulture yielded slightly higher average returns to land than rice/wheat farming, its returns to labor were much lower. The reason why peasants accepted lower returns to labor and higher risks in sericulture was that the opportunity cost of female labor was very low. Nor did women benefit personally from their labor in sericulture, since earnings were collected by male household members for family needs.

These conclusions tend to support Philip C. Huang's paradigm of an involuted peasant economy rather than the much more optimistic views of rising peasant incomes held by Loren Brandt, David Faure, and Thomas Rawski. Yet despite the care and sophistication of Bell's quantitative analysis, her findings cannot be conclusive, since they are based on cross-sectional rather than longitudinal data (as she herself points out). The SSRI surveys were undertaken in 1929, when cocoon prices had been declining for about a decade. Is it possible that, in an earlier period, sericulture might have been much more profitable to the peasant household?

Although some of Bell's conclusions may be questioned, her book is a most stimulating and wide-ranging work that throws light on a number of significant problems in modern Chinese history.

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SHERMAN COCHRAN, editor. *Inventing Nanjing Road: Commercial Culture in Shanghai, 1900-1945*. (Cornell East Asia Series, number 103.) Ithaca: East Asia Program, Cornell University. 1999. Pp. 252. Cloth \$28.00, paper \$17.00.

Shanghai's Nanjing Road was one of the very few urban streets in former Western concessions or settlements in China whose name did not change to become more politically correct during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). The name Nanjing *lu* (road), which distinguished the commercial heart of the largest commercial city in China, was simply too famous to be altered.

The articles collected in Sherman Cochran's new book came out of a series of conferences sponsored by the Luce Foundation, at Cornell, Shanghai, and Berkeley. Cochran has assembled a very effective team, combining the work of established scholars like himself and Wellington K. K. Chan with the efforts of an exciting new group of young Chinese and American scholars from several U.S. institutions. This volume focuses on the development of commercial culture in and around the nucleus of Nanjing Road during the first half of the twentieth century—a politically tumultuous period. Nanjing Road was created in the mid-nineteenth century as the major east-west road of what

soon became known as the "International Settlement," an area reserved by treaty, populated mainly by British but also American and a few French foreigners. (The French had their own, separate concession just to the south.) By the latter part of the century, it had become the retail center of the city, second only to the famous waterfront Bund as a place of commerce.

In the early twentieth century, Nanjing Road emerged as the locus of a burgeoning commercial culture that combined both Western and Chinese elements. The two articles making up part one of the book are by Chan on the development of the first major department stores on Nanjing Road and by Cochran on the British American Tobacco Company's advertising strategies. These papers establish the evolution of a mingled Chinese and Western culture whose major features were imported from the West, with adaptations to the Chinese ambiance, in a process that elsewhere in the book is likened to "dubbing" a film in a foreign language (p. 244). Tobacco advertising is a quintessential example: the techniques of mass advertising, a direct import from the West, were directed by Westerners and implemented by Chinese subordinates. Only when familiar Chinese art and images were introduced into the ads did they become successful in the Chinese market. Department stores, by contrast, were developed by Chinese entrepreneurs from Guangdong (Canton) who had become familiar with western prototypes in Hong Kong and Australia. Thanks in part to intensive advertising, they became enormously popular and economically successful.

As Carrie Waara demonstrates in a chapter on art magazines of the 1930s that leads off part two, art, images, and advertising became intermingled in Shanghai's commercial culture during the republican period. One hallmark of the newly integrated culture was the image of the "modern" Chinese woman, wearing a traditional dress and Western high-heeled shoes, who exemplified the consummate consumer.

The essays in the book are divided chronologically into three sections. Part one focuses on developments in the first two decades of the twentieth century; part two is situated in the republican period (1924–1936); while part three deals with the Japanese occupation (1937–1945). These articles depart from a strict adherence to Nanjing Road as a geographic location and discuss commercialization more broadly. The creation of a consumer society in Shanghai in the 1930s is the focus of an article by Carleton Benson that carries on the themes established by Chan, Cochran, and Waara. Here Benson discusses the effects of Chiang Kai-shek's "New Life" movement and radio broadcasting, using. Radio ads used popular songs to advertise articles for mass consumption, while at the same time preaching conservative restraint. Consumers embraced consumption and rejected "New Life" morality.

A unique architectural style of mass housing known as the *shikumen* is the subject of an investigation by Hanchao Lu on typical Shanghai domestic architecture. The two-storey houses, loosely based on tradi-

tional architectural styles, were built in alleys throughout the city for mass housing. Originally intended for residences, many housed schools, publishing houses, small manufacturing, and even became the location for the early meetings of the Communist Party. Attitudes and ideas imported from the West had, by this time, become thoroughly internalized, in no way limited to the population of the foreign concessions. They spoke to a mass audience of Chinese.

Part three examines Shanghai's commercial culture during wartime under the Japanese occupation and shows how canny Shanghai entrepreneurs negotiated for survival under trying circumstances. Movies, examined in a fascinating article by Pochek Fu, were clearly based on Western technology but were adapted to Chinese needs and tastes. Fu shows how a film featuring the tale of the woman warrior Mulan became popular in 1930s China, facing imminent war with Japan, by appealing to patriotism. But producers, directors, and film actors were severely affected by the Japanese occupation shortly thereafter, and despite valiant attempts to revive the film industry, it ultimately failed rather than collaborate with the Japanese.

Milk also was a foreign product, one that served mainly the foreign community in Shanghai (most Chinese are lactose intolerant). The local dairy industry survived and even expanded under the Japanese by negotiating favorable terms for taxes and the electricity needed to keep milk fresh, while currying favor with Japanese officials. This was a strategy that milk producers prepared to repeat when the Nationalist forces took over again in 1945.

The focus of this collection is on the creation of a new, integrated, modern consumer culture that combined Western technology with Chinese innovations. As a whole, the book gives substance to Claire-Marie Bergère's concept of Shanghai as exemplifying the "other China," a place and culture less integrated with the Chinese hinterland than with the Western foreland. While some items such as radio, films, and dairy products were clearly direct imports from the West, others, including department stores, advertising, and local architecture, evolved in a Chinese setting with greater or lesser influences of foreign prototypes. Proof of the success of Nanjing *lu* consumerism can be seen today, more than sixty years later, nearly everywhere in China, where billboards, construction, radio, and TV all preach new wealth and buying power.

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S. A. SMITH. *A Road is Made: Communism in Shanghai 1920–1927*. (Chinese Worlds.) Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2000. Pp. x, 315. \$45.00.

From a historical perspective, Shanghai certainly occupies a special position in the development of the Chinese Communist movement. It was here that the First Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP)

was held in July 1921, and, in the following years, it was from this city that a handful of Chinese Communists secretly operated their Central Executive Committee. In May 1925, Shanghai workers went on strike, which soon induced the outbreak of a sixteen-month-long general strike and boycott in Guangzhou and Hong Kong. In late 1926 and early 1927, Shanghai labor radicalism reached its climax when three abortive armed uprisings were staged under the Communist leadership. Although the Chinese Communists had to retreat to the countryside after these uprisings, they continued to promote underground activities, trying to recapture their influence among the workers, students, and intellectuals of Shanghai until they gained power in 1949. In retrospect, then, it was in Shanghai that the Chinese Communists took their first tentative steps along the long and winding road to power.

S. A. Smith's book is a welcome addition to the current Western historiography of local urban case studies of the Chinese Communist revolution. As with Patricia Stranahan's *Underground: The Shanghai Communist Party and the Politics of Survival, 1927-1937* (1998), and Chan Lau Kit-ching's *From Nothing to Nothing: The Chinese Communist Movement and Hong Kong, 1921-1936* (1999), Smith's research relies to a great extent on recently released Chinese Communist documents. Both Smith and Stranahan made extensive use of the Shanghai Municipal Police Archive, but, in addition, Smith has also used the newly published materials from the Comintern archives of the former Soviet Union. Access to these documents means that Smith has been able to reassess the role of the Comintern in the Chinese Communist revolution as well as presenting us with a highly detailed local study.

But Smith's work is more than a local study. He adopts a narrative approach to interpret the events in Shanghai and articulates its experience in the context of the Chinese nationalist movement. The book begins with a detailed discussion on the early development of Communist influence in Shanghai among the urban populace, noticeably the workers, merchants, youths, women, and members of secret societies. In discussing the political aspect of the Shanghai Communist movement, Smith skillfully interprets the political mechanism within the First United Front (1924-1927), highlighting not only the conflict between the CCP and the Nationalist Party but also the differences among the Chinese Communists. Smith concludes his study with a detailed discussion of the problems faced by the Shanghai Communists in mobilizing the radical workers during the three abortive armed uprisings in 1927, which were followed by the Nationalist Party's military suppression.

In addition to positioning Shanghai in China's national political arena, Smith also gives considerable attention to relations between the Chinese Communists and the Comintern agents. He challenges those historians who have recently downplayed Moscow's influence in the Chinese Communist movement during the mid-1920s. Using newly released materials, Smith

provides many new details regarding the Comintern's dominant position among the Shanghai Communists. But, as many other studies have shown, the policies favored by Moscow and the Comintern agents were not in harmony with those of the Chinese Communists. Furthermore, the level of political division within the Comintern, according to Smith, was higher than is conventionally suggested.

The achievement of Smith's book is the author's highly successful attempt to offer a narrative political account of the Shanghai Communist movement from social and cultural perspectives. Rather than focusing on the much-studied ideological and strategic issues of the Chinese Communist movement, Smith's main objective is to interpret the party's activities among the different sectors of Shanghai society. Here he presents the reader with a vigorous account on the Communists' attempts to mobilize the urban populace. The result is a narrative of the Chinese revolution in Shanghai not merely as a political movement, but also as a social movement.

In highlighting the social aspect of the Communist-led labor movement, Smith pays special attention not only to the social origins of the leading strikers, but also to the problem of the city, especially the influence of secret societies over unions. As with other current interpretations, he attributes the failure of the Communist labor class movement in Shanghai to traditional social issues such as localism and guild mentality. But Smith further argues that "any explanation of failure [of the Communist labor movement] in terms of errors of policy misses the point, since it was rooted, ultimately, in the realities of a divided workforce, of labor unions obstructed by foremen and secret society bosses, and above all, of a balance of military and political power" (p. 219).

Not surprisingly perhaps, this detailed study of the relations between the Communists and workers in Shanghai reveals that the same problem occurred here as occurred in Guangzhou during this period: local labor radicalism was sacrificed to national interest. For instance, when the Shanghai Communists planned to stage a prolonged strike during the Third Armed Uprising in March 1927, Moscow stepped in and denounced the plan.

Smith also sheds light on the social life among urban Chinese Communists and the formation of a party culture. He highlights the fundamental tensions between the local Communist leaders and the political participants, especially between the Marxist intellectuals and workers within the party, due to differences in education, social status, and cultural background. Perhaps Smith could have elaborated further the problem of different perceptions of revolution as held by the local Communists and workers due to their social and cultural differences.

There can be no doubt that Moscow gave shape to the development of the Chinese Communist movement. In the case of Shanghai, Smith has clearly demonstrated the strong Comintern influence. But the

extent to which Moscow successfully exercised its control over the Chinese Communists in different localities and at different times remains an important topic for future study. For example, in the mid 1920s, the Guangdong Communist labor movement enjoyed a relatively high degree of autonomy without much Comintern interference. In fact, Smith also agrees that "the CCP proved able to carve out a limited degree of political autonomy" (p. 211). With the availability of both Comintern and Chinese Communist documents, historians are now in a position to reassess the influence of the Comintern in revolutionary China at the local level, so that a thorough and comprehensive understanding of the topic can be achieved.

On an editorial note, a glossary of the major historical figures at the end of the volume providing brief biographical references would have been a welcome addition. Overall, however, Smith's book offers many new perspectives on the Chinese Communist revolution and should become essential reading for students and experts alike who are interested in the social, cultural, and political aspects of the Chinese revolution.

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EDMUND S. K. FUNG. *In Search of Chinese Democracy: Civil Opposition in Nationalist China, 1929-1949*. (Cambridge Modern China Series.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xviii, 407. \$64.95.

Chinese understandings of democracy, human rights, and the rule of law are of great interest both to historians and to political scientists interested in China's political situation today. This book by Edmund S. K. Fung builds on Andrew J. Nathan's *Chinese Democracy* (1986) with a fascinating history of liberal and democratic thought in the 1930s and 1940s, combined with a detailed study of the various democratic parties and institutions of the period. Fung argues that Chinese intellectuals had a clear and plausible understanding of democracy even if they were unable to implement their ideas. He also claims that democracy was not always seen as being in contradiction with Chinese nationalism: for liberal intellectuals, democracy and human rights were essential to the building of a strong modern state even at the height of World War II.

The book begins with an excellent introduction to the period. Fung is at his best here: terse, opinionated, and interesting. He does not mince words, describing Nationalist Party ideology as "simplistic, incoherent, and incapable of being fully understood" (p. 40) and the regime as "military, repressive, corrupt and incompetent" (p. 50). And yet he is sympathetic to the pressures under which the party and government were acting: he takes seriously the various suggestions for "democracy within the ruling party" during the 1930s and can understand why some intellectuals who were deeply committed to liberal ideas felt that they had to

accept the Nationalists (and later the Communists) as the only plausible national government.

The core chapters of the book provide a history of the idea of democracy during the early twentieth century. The historians of the 1950s and 1960s who wrote the intellectual history of this period moved from ideas of modernization in the last years of the Qing to the new fashion for socialism in the 1920s, emphasizing the rise of the group at the expense of the individual. Liberal intellectuals, whose ideas seemed destined to failure, were, understandably, not at the center of their inquiries. For Fung, who is interested in the idea of democracy in China, those intellectuals are an important part of the story. He begins by looking at their ideas of human rights in relation to democracy. Human rights, freedom of speech, and the rule of law had become central issues because of the Nationalist government's repressive policies and therefore structured and focused intellectual debates about democracy. For this reason, Fung argues forcefully that those debates held a genuine concern with democracy as a procedural method closely linked to the rule of law, as well as a more traditional desire to find a government that would benefit the people. He sees the arguments in the context of the search for a political system that would work for China, with all sides trying to discern world trends toward democracy, dictatorship, fascism, or socialism on the basis of the economic and military success of the countries practicing those systems. At the same time, however, he argues that democracy was neither alien because it came from the West nor a component of traditional Chinese culture; instead it was simply one of a variety of political philosophies that were understood and debated by China's increasingly sophisticated intellectual elite.

Alongside this intellectual history is a study of democratic institutions under the Nanjing regime. This makes Fung's book one of a number of recent scholarly works that reassess the political structures of the Nationalist period. The focus here is on the development of an opposition movement with studies of the various minor political groupings, some of which eventually coalesced into the Democratic League and tried to find a middle way between the Nationalist and Communist Parties. There are also detailed descriptions of the two quasirepresentative national bodies that were established during this period to advise the government: the People's Political Council and the Political Consultative Conference.

This book is at its best as a work of intellectual history, since the minor parties and groups it describes were never powerful enough to influence the political process, whereas the ideas of the period helped shape later conceptions of democracy. As a major contribution to our understanding of democracy in twentieth-century China, it should be of interest to political scientists as much as to historians.

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JAY TAYLOR. *The Generalissimo's Son: Chiang Ching-Kuo and the Revolutions in China and Taiwan*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 520. \$39.95.

The story of the succession of Chiang Ching-kuo (1910–1988) to the generalissimo's power in Taiwan is well known. It is also well known that, thanks to the Cold War and American protection, father and son maintained a de facto separate state and imposed a harsh authoritarian rule on the island for about forty years. Yet Ching-kuo's controversial life remains a fascinating tale: Chiang Kai-shek's only son by a forsaken wife; early dabbling in communism as a young student in Russia; his patching up with his father after his return from the Soviet Union; his endless passion for attractive women and his futile efforts to save his father's Nationalist regime in Mainland China; the ruthlessness that helped the creation of the Chiang dynasty on Taiwan by eliminating potential enemies and suppressing political and intellectual freedom; collecting political capital by tirelessly visiting ordinary households to show his concern about people's well-being; the eventual willingness to loosen the reins of power in the final year of his life, when his health was rapidly deteriorating and pressures both domestic and foreign were mounting. All of this deserves telling.

The fast-moving democratization on Taiwan since Chiang Ching-kuo's death has inclined many to cherish his memory and remember him in a positive light. But those who sharply resent the forty years of the brutal Chiang regime, such as the intellectual Lee Ao, simply refuse to praise the last minute cleaning of a long dirty record. How should this man be judged by history? This central question makes a new study of the generalissimo's son fully justified.

With this question in mind, Jay Taylor has written a full-fledged biography of Ching-kuo, the first such in English. Using a wide range of sources and placing his hero in a broad context, Taylor's account is impressive and readable. His command of the American side of information, in particular, brings to light many more details of U.S.-Chiang anticommunist intelligence activities than any existing Chinese works have accomplished. Overall, he presents a fairly comprehensive story of the man with enormous sympathy, if not admiration. In many ways, it supersedes the popular Chinese biography of Chiang by Henry Liu (1984), even though the latter work is patently superior in analyzing the intricate infighting that brought Ching-kuo to supreme power with his father's blessing.

Taylor definitely tried to be objective; however, the long list of Chiang admirers whom he had interviewed inevitably colored his perception. He often took for granted the numerous legendary stories conveyed by admirers. He seems reluctant to implicate Ching-kuo whenever Nationalist agents committed politically motivated murders, including the murder of Ching-kuo's mistress Chang Ya-juo. He thinks that she might have been killed on the orders of the Communists (p. 108),

even though Ching-kuo's agents admitted the crime. And how dare any secret agent kill his boss's mistress without his consent? Taylor is also pretty sure that "Ching-kuo himself knew nothing of the plan to kill Henry Liu" (p. 390), even though Ching-kuo's top agents were caught and his son Alex was implicated in the assassination of the Chinese American in his San Francisco home. How is it possible that a capable secret police chief such as Ching-kuo knew nothing of his agents' plans to commit murder in the land of his patron?

Taylor believes that Chiang Ching-kuo was a true reformer who had the ambition to complete democratization on Taiwan step by step. He shares Ching-kuo's optimism that democracy in Taiwan establishes a model for mainland China. But Chiang's imperial presidency did not come to an end until its final hours; no real democratic step was taken for forty long years. The so-called "inertia forces," such as the Iron Blood Patriots Society and Wang Sheng's Liu Shao-k'ang Office (erroneously spelled as Liu Hsiao-k'ang by Taylor) were actually Ching-kuo's own creation and served his political interests. This is why the "powerful" Wang could be brusquely dismissed from his post with impunity. Ching-kuo fired Wang not because he hated the office but because Wang violated a taboo by meeting with representatives of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) while visiting the United States. Taylor even entertains the unconvincing argument that moving toward democracy sooner would have provoked "a military-rightist coup and possibly a civil war" (p. 427). How could this have happened in Taiwan, given Ching-kuo's control of the armed forces through the Soviet-style commissar system? As a matter of fact, he should have felt more secure to move democracy forward under the protection of the American defense treaty during the Cold War days than in the wake of U.S.'s switching diplomatic recognition from Taipei to Peking.

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DONALD H. SHIVELY and WILLIAM H. McCULLOUGH, editors. *The Cambridge History of Japan*. Volume 2, *Heian Japan*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. pp. xxiii, 754. \$120.00.

The Heian period (794–1185) begins with the move to a new capital, Heian-kyō (now Kyoto), and ends with a civil war and the abdication of rule over the eastern half of the country. The basic story of this period is rehearsed by the ten essays in this volume: the disintegration of a centralized bureaucratic state, the glittering and refined world of the aristocrats at court, and the rise of the warriors, who ultimately took over government.

In the first chapter, the late William H. McCullough recounts the political wrangles that led to the rise of the Fujiwara, who, as regents for child emperors (*sesshō*) and for adult emperors (*kampaku*) born to

Fujiwara women, completely dominated the court from 967 to 1068. McCullough's contribution is an appreciation of the nastier side of marriage politics: the Northern House Fujiwara were particularly adept at eliminating competition by means of staged plots, assignments to distant provinces, and outright humiliation of the emperor when necessary.

The story is continued in the ninth chapter by G. Cameron Hurst III. In 1068, the first emperor in 170 years without a Fujiwara mother came to the throne. For a hundred years and more, a series of senior retired emperors competed with the Fujiwara, weakened by fraternal squabbles, by issuing edicts and proclamations from their household offices (*in-no-chō*), by acquiring private estates, and by using their wealth to subsidize alliances with imperial cadet houses, clans, Fujiwara houses marginalized by Northern House Fujiwara, and warriors serving in the guard. As Hurst makes clear, however, government by the senior retired emperor (*insei*) only served, among other things, to exacerbate political tensions as senior retired emperor and junior retired emperors struggled to control the succession.

During the Heian period, the central government lost control of its financial base, rice land. In the third chapter and fourth chapters, Dana Morris focuses on taxation, while Cornelius Kiley focuses on the provincial administration to trace the developments that made the original system unworkable and forced the central government, in order to secure revenues, to give up direct taxation in exchange for quotas from provincial governors. These two chapters, however dense and difficult, are perhaps the most important in the volume. The development of private estates or *shōen* has been covered in the past; however, I have not yet come across such a comprehensive discussion in English of the exact process by which control over public land was lost and economic and political power shifted to the provinces.

The benefits of the privatization of public wealth are reviewed by the late Marian Ury and Helen Craig McCullough in the fourth and fifth chapters, by far the liveliest and most readable in the volume. In Ury's chapter, we can trace the gradual privatization of Chinese learning, first mobilized in the interest of the state (the position of the emperor, the structure of government and its legal codes). Although individual scholars like Sugawara Michizane (845–903) might be recruited by the emperor for political purposes, learning brought no rank and little income. Most aristocrats, as demonstrated by McCullough, amused themselves with music, dance, vernacular poetry, romances, and holiday customs and decorations. Most of these arts, like Chinese learning, became the preserves of certain families and, as a result, suffered the consequences of formalization.

Religion, too, was gradually privatized, as seen in the seventh and eighth chapters by Stanley Weinstein and Allan G. Grappard. While government sponsorship and control of shrine and temple were directed

principally at securing the protection of the emperor and the state, their services were gradually appropriated by clans and finally by individuals. Indeed, the rise of Pure Land Buddhism is seen by Grappard as the private, individual response on a mass scale to the simultaneous collapse of the state and outbreak of natural calamities.

The tenth chapter, by the late Takeuchi Rizō (translation by Patricia Sippel), examines the agent of the demise of the Heian period, the samurai. As long as Japan felt itself under threat of invasion from Sui and Tang China, a large conscript army seemed all too necessary. However, even in the middle of a military campaign in the north, conscription was abandoned (792), and local policing and defense devolved to local elites able to afford their own mounts and weapons. Recruited by landowners to police their lands, by officials to protect them, and by descendants of imperial cadets commissioned to crush piracy and open rebellions, they were eventually invited into the capital to restrain unruly warrior monks and to back the retired emperors in their confrontations over succession (1156 and 1159). The last left one warrior family, the Taira, in absolute control for the next twenty years. In 1180, an imperial prince bypassed in favor of Taira Kiyomori's grandson formally summoned another warrior family, the Minamoto, to defend his interests. Minamoto Yoritomo (1147–1199) took advantage of the chronic insecurity of warriors, including many Taira, in the north, whose lands were held by virtue of their positions in the government and subject to loss upon change of administration, to recruit them to his service in exchange for his personal guarantee of confirmation of land tenure. When the imperial court recognized his power to do so, it effectively abdicated jurisdiction over half of Japan.

The over seven-hundred pages of the text provide a wealth of information. Navigation is difficult, however. Political history and foreign relations are spread over two chapters and customs and culture over three, as are religion and ritual. And yet, the index is hardly exhaustive: there are, for example, no entries for *nin'yō*, *henushi*, Bifukumon'in or Ike-no-zenni. Not every term is scrupulously identified as contemporary or as a much later neologism (e.g. *sōhei* or *yugyō hijiri*). The text needs editing; there are typos and mistakes. Nevertheless, these are minor irritations. This volume remains an indispensable resource for all students of Heian Japan.

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MIKAEL S. ADOLPHSON. *The Gates of Power: Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors in Premodern Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2000. Pp. xvii, 456. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$29.95.

Mikael S. Adolphson provides us with a detailed analysis of the relationships among aristocrats, temples, and the emerging warrior class in Japan from the

eleventh to fourteenth centuries. Employing a modified form of Kuroda Toshio's *kenmon* ("Gates of Power") thesis, from which this work takes its title, the author introduces readers to the ways in which religious institutions complemented and competed with the gradually receding authority of the court aristocracy and the emerging authority of the warriors. Adolphson addresses a fundamental omission in our studies of medieval Japanese history: the degree to which the flowering of samurai influence replaced or complemented aristocratic rule in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries has been the subject of sometimes heated discussion in the English literature, but regardless of which position one examines, the role of religious institutions is strikingly underplayed.

Two fundamental problems result from this longstanding tendency. The first, which Adolphson notes, lies in the failure to provide political and social context for the development of religion in Japan, especially the development of particular religious organizations. The second, which he addresses in part here, is the role of religion in society and politics. His work gives us a clear view of how religious organizations functioned as political actors, but he is not primarily concerned with how religious ideas and faith functioned in society or politics more generally. (Adolphson had enough to write about in the contexts he does address, but the other dimensions constitute a significant deficit in premodern Japanese historical studies that needs to be addressed more fully.)

Through examination of courtier diaries and chronicles, the author undertakes three case studies, two close to the Kyoto capital (Enryakuji north of Kyoto, Kōfukuji to the south, in Nara) and one more remote temple removed from such direct opportunities to engage the court (Kōyasan, in Kii province). Kōyasan's position helped isolate it from battles and wars and allowed it to preserve the extensive documentation of its history on which the author capitalizes.

All three cases amply demonstrate the degree to which these temples sought, with increasing success, to control their own organizations (e.g. to appoint their own abbots) and to seek financial support by offering their allegiance to court and warrior factions, and, conversely, the extent to which factions at court and in the warrior class sought their cooperation as allies in contests with each other. In the midst of these tensions we also see the extent to which temples became venues in which individual courtiers sought to enhance their own social and economic standing and from which people of lower social standing sought opportunities for self-advancement through the temple hierarchies. The subjugation of the aristocracy is part of a transformation of warrior power that, by the reign of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, brought these temples into an entirely different political relationship with the bakufu, one in which they were replaced at the center by Zen temples and subjugated to stronger political domination by warriors.

While tradeoffs among warrior, courtier and temple-

based patronage, and the subject of mutual support among these three groups may not, in itself, strike readers as surprising, some of Adolphson's analyses of religious belief and the nature of temple protests (*gōso*) will. He portrays the protests as last resort tactics employed as part of an array of options (for example, closing temples, excommunication). He describes a protest structure that avoided blunt, surprise confrontation and instead created plenty of opportunity for response from the capital. Furthermore, he paints a picture of contest within the tripartite system of power that was accepted by all parties as legitimate rather than as a seditious attack on the aristocracy or military. Finally, he suggests that they were far less reliant on force than has been thought. Only in conflicts between temples (rather than in marches on the capital) does the presence of armed monks appear to have been substantial. Adolphson further suggests that images of armed warrior monks attacking the capital stem from later portrayals that explicitly sought to discredit major Buddhist temples. Finally, he concludes that the prominent use of Shinto symbols by these Buddhist organizations derived from the greater retributive potential of *kami* as opposed to Buddhist figures.

While Adolphson provides us with a great deal of value, the book is not a quick read, and both author and editor(s) should have paid greater attention to making the fruits of his efforts more accessible. Names cascade upon readers in long paragraphs in which the central ideas of specific sections of a chapter almost drown—even when the overall direction of the book's argument is clear. This is unfortunate, because Adolphson's ideas are often very interesting and deserve to be considered by those who teach survey courses in Japanese and East Asian history as well as by those who are specialists in the field. Nonetheless, readers who take the time will be rewarded for their efforts.

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GERALD FIGAL. *Civilization and Monsters: Spirits of Modernity in Meiji Japan*. (Asia-Pacific: Culture, Politics, and Society; Studies of the East Asian Institute, Columbia University.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 290. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$17.95.

This is a welcome addition to a growing body of works that have turned away from simple exceptionalist analyses of "Japanese culture" and toward more nuanced and theoretically informed approaches to culture and modernity in Japan. While some readers will find resonances with Harry D. Harootyan's writings on the "invisible" and Marilyn Ivy's discussion of the "vanishing," Gerald Figal makes several unique contributions. Most importantly, he presents a number of close readings of writers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who explored what they often called *fushigi*: the supernatural, the fantastic, or the mysterious. The great insights that he offers are that

during this period a range of thoughtful and prolific writers became obsessed with the fantastic—including ghosts, goblins, monsters, and mysterious things of all kinds—and that rather than consider these uncanny phenomena as scattered leftovers of a disappearing past, we ought to regard the discourse on them as a constitutive element in Japan's modernity.

Figal makes no attempt to disguise his preferences for certain of his writers. At the one extreme is Inoue Enryō, the ghostbusting, self-proclaimed Professor of Monsters, who sought to domesticate the fantastic through scientific reason and the eradication of "superstitions." At the other extreme are Izumi Kyōka, the writer of fantastic literature, and Minakata Kumagusu. Kyōka is presented as a brilliant critic of the modern Japanese enlightenment project who spun stories of monsters and the inexplicable in ways that exposed the arbitrariness of what was regarded as truth. Figal likewise praises Minakata for understanding the incompleteness of scientific reason and for exploring its gaps. He was the erudite scholar who worked freely across the human and natural sciences and used the growth pattern of mold cultures as a kind of nonlinear model for conducting research on all life forms. The most dominant presence throughout the book, however, is Yanagita Kunio. Often regarded as the founder of ethnology or folklore studies in Japan (an idea that Figal rejects as far too simple), Figal describes him as engaging with the fantastic in potentially disruptive ways, only eventually to serve the interests of cultural nationalism through his advocacy of "one nation folk studies." Tracing the well-known shift in the subjects of Yanagita's studies, from the indeterminacy and strangeness of "mountain people" and *tengu* goblins to the security and familiarity of *jōmin* ("abiding folk"), Figal makes the important point that this change was part of the process of constituting an imagined community of "Japanese" that was receptive to theories of racial purity.

There are a few places in the book that would have benefited from further discussion. First, there is only passing reference to Orikuchi Shinobu, despite the fact that he was undoubtedly one of the most important theorists of the fantastic in relation to a point that Figal makes—namely, that in several ways *fushigi* came to be regarded as part of the national cultural essence. It was Orikuchi, after all, who theorized on the mystery of the imperial household, particularly on the miraculous conveyance of the imperial spirit from one generation to the next. Furthermore, Orikuchi continued to develop ideas on "mountain people" as well as on "stranger gods," even as Yanagita abandoned these interests. Second, while Figal touches on the topic of colonialism, the connections he makes between colonialism and the fantastic are very general. He might have engaged more directly with such scholars as Murai Osamu, who have maintained that Yanagita's research trajectory from "mountain people" to "abiding folk" can only be understood within the context of his changing practical involvement with Japanese co-

lonialism. Murai argued that even the concept of the "mountain people" was derived from Yanagita's knowledge of the "mountain people" of Taiwan. Third, while the concluding discussion on race is provocative, I did not find the metaphorical use of "whiteness" and "blackness" to describe the constitution of Japanese self and other effective. This binary color scheme is not incorrect in a metaphorical way; but it does not help us address the ambiguous location of the "Japanese" within modern global discourses on race. Furthermore, recent research by such scholars as Oguma Eiji has begun to complicate an assumption suggested by Figal, that in prewar and wartime Japan dominant discourses on race subscribed solely to the idea of a pure race.

In any case, Figal has written an important and unique book that imaginatively juxtaposes a number of diverse thinkers linked together by their entanglements with modernity and what they called *fushigi*. There has been very little written in English about some of them, including Inoue, Kyōka, and Minakata. Others such as Yanagita have been written about before, but without such a sustained and contextualized focus on the fantastic. Finally, in addition to all of the above, the elegant yet accessible style in which the book is organized and written will make this worthwhile reading for anyone interested in modernisms of the fantastic throughout the world.

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WONG KWOK-CHU. *The Chinese in the Philippine Economy 1898–1941*. Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press. 1999. Pp. xvi, 279.

It has been recognized among economic historians that entrepreneurship was an important factor in the development of the market economy and hence market-driven growth. In the context of East Asian history, one group stands out prominently in this regard: the overseas Chinese. Indeed, this group has been crucial to postwar growth in countries such as Malaysia, Indonesia, and Singapore—so much so that the term "another China" has begun to be used to describe it. However, very few scholars have asked how overseas Chinese got where they did and why. Even fewer understand there is a long history behind the seemingly recent success story. Wong Kwok-chu's monograph tackles such tasks, using the Philippines as a case study.

The book consists of two interrelated parts. Part one, with four chapters, deals with the general business environment for the Chinese from 1898 to 1941, a period marked by Western colonialism and world trade. Part two, with three chapters, investigates the Chinese way of doing business: how they formed business networks, how they related to the rest of the economy, and in which sectors they chose to invest. The main thrust of Wong's book lies in his analysis of the delicate triangular relationship among the Chinese

immigrants in the Philippines, the ruling colonialists (first Spaniards and then Americans), and the indigenous peoples. This triangular relationship was closely related to the market conditions for the Chinese and, in particular, to the "state-market paradigm." Wong's study clearly reveals that, although the overall market conditions were unfavorable and often highly discriminatory (e.g. pp. 108–11), the Chinese maintained their position in the Philippine economy until the brutal Japanese invasion and occupation.

More importantly, Wong's findings demonstrate that instead of behaving like profit-hungry "economic animals," Chinese merchants showed incredible political solidarity and personal courage in boycotting Japanese goods in response to the Japanese invasion of China in the 1930s, although they were fully aware of the economic cost of their unilateral action. It is this rare combination of business entrepreneurship and political consciousness that made the Chinese what they were, a quality not shown by any other group in the Philippines. This new view seriously challenges the conventional view that the overseas Chinese were nonpolitical.

At the macro-level, Wong's aggregate data show rather convincingly both the structure of the Chinese businesses and the influence that the Chinese had on the economy (see especially pp. 74, 113, 116–17, 171, 176). At the micro-level, Wong's case studies of some prominent companies provide solid evidence of how some of the Chinese enterprises developed, specialized, and diversified in an ever-changing business environment. It is the micro-level analysis that reveals the author's skill and training. In addition, Wong tries to identify differences between overseas Chinese in the Philippines and those in other parts of Southeast Asia. Within the Filipino Chinese community, he also compares those who originated in Guangdong and those from Fujian.

In places, however, this book appears to be too descriptive, containing a lot of information without sufficient analysis (typically the biographies of some merchants, pp. 41–49, 75–80). Repetition is evident, and there is a clear tendency toward anecdotes rather than quantified evidence. Furthermore, no data is provided to support some important claims (e.g. pp. 54–59). Some data presented have nothing to do with Chinese (p. 52), or do not support the author's judgment (e.g. Table 11 on p. 90, showing recovery and growth instead of the alleged recession). Occasionally, ideas are self-contradicting. The best example can be found in chapter three, whose title ("New Opportunities in the Growing Economy, 1909–1929") does not match its conclusion. Likewise, the discussion of Chinese family-based and market-oriented small businesses is in its nature incompatible with that of lasting "business leadership" (pp. 38–49, 74–80, 101–102). Finally, no attempt is made to include Chinese immigrants to the Philippines in earlier periods (e.g. the seventeenth century).

Nevertheless, Wong's work marks an important step

toward understanding the overseas Chinese in Asia in general and those in the Philippines in particular.

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DAVID ARNOLD. *The New Cambridge History of India*. Volume 3, part 5, *Science, Technology and Medicine in Colonial India*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 234. \$59.95.

In writing this eminently readable book, David Arnold brings to this addition to the New Cambridge History of India the formidable expertise on famine, disease, tropical medicine, and environmental history already demonstrated in his earlier books on colonial India. Arnold begins with the laudable assumption that a history of science in India should also be a history of India. He goes on to describe Indian scientific traditions, colonial science, and the relationship between science and modernity in colonial India. He finds Indian science to be vigorous and outward looking in the centuries immediately preceding the colonial period and notes the continuous but selective absorption of technologies from Europe in various sectors of Indian economy and society during that period. Framed thus, the encounter between European science and its counterparts in India is not one of simple conquest and diffusion from West to East. In the same vein, Arnold argues that significant scientific discovery and invention occurred in the colonies.

The great strength of the book is the facility with which Arnold engages a wide variety of debates in India's colonial history and its theorization. He notes the important transitions in the colonial encounter with Indian science and the internal fractures that persisted in the constructed edifice of colonial science. The rule of the East India Company in India (until 1858) did not initiate scientific activity so much as it tolerated private pursuits of its talented employees. By the end of this phase of colonialism, Orientalist wonderment and selective appreciation of Indian ideas was fast being superseded by a more generalized contempt for them, evident in Arnold's deft case studies of astronomy, plant taxonomy, botany, and the great trigonometric survey. He rightly suggests that science became a tool of colonial dominance and provided intellectual justification for various social engineering projects. But the situation was complicated when India-based scientists helped to professionalize fields—like geology, tropical medicine, and forestry—and colonial scientific enterprises relied on indigenous expertise to succeed.

The colonial setting was hardly suited in resources and opportunity for long-term research and building up communities of scholars. Yet some people, especially officers of the Indian Medical Service, Indian Army, and Indian Forest Service, pioneered research, seeking satisfaction in intellectual pursuits while being supervised in the colonial government by the Civil Service and other senior political appointees. Arnold

develops his account of colonial science through a chapter on medical sciences dealing with individual diseases like malaria and cholera. Treatment of cholera brought colonial science into the domestic life of Indians and spurred the involvement of women in the medical professions. Another chapter on technologies of the steam age examines textiles, mining, and shipbuilding, among other sectors. In each case, Indian traditions declined for different reasons: economic competition in the case of textiles, military control of arms in the case of mining, suppression of Indian expertise leading to exacerbated technology gaps in the case of shipbuilding.

The latter part of the book illuminates the prejudices and biases at work in the development of colonial scientific enterprise. Certain fields were neglected in preference to others as they had less relevance to colonial government. Indian scientists were systematically excluded from others, or treated with skepticism, because of racist beliefs about their inability to contribute new knowledge in pure sciences like physics or chemistry. Discussing the way colonial science was organized—in isolated affluent enclaves in remote places like Pusa, Bihar—and describing the discrimination practiced against Indian scientists, Arnold shows how colonialism as a structure of government came to impede scientific innovation even when it might have proved beneficial to colonial government. The last two chapters go on to provide a fascinating account of the rise of an Indian scientific community, its tormented relations with colonial government and the national movement, and the ideological struggles encapsulated in the debates between Jawarhalal Nehru and Mohandas K. Gandhi on the role of modern science in free India.

Arnold provides both a valuable synthesis and some original arguments about the history of science, technology and medicine in colonial India. If I had a mild complaint it would be that his narrative stays close to official doings and accounts. Arnold pays less attention to Indian debates and their presentation of contradictory positions in the complicated cultural and political interactions that constituted the scientific world of modern India. We find little here about scientific modernity and its relations to social stratification and identity politics in India. In sum, however, Arnold has written a very good book that should be of great interest to historians, sociologists, and others interested in science studies or South Asia.

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ANTONY COPLEY, editor. *Gurus and Their Followers: New Religious Reform Movements in Colonial India*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xxii, 235. \$29.95.

This book is a collection of essays that were originally presented at a panel on "New Religious Movements in South Asia" at the Fourteenth European Conference

of Modern South Asian Studies, held at Copenhagen in August 1996. These essays are listed to convey to the reader an idea of the range of issues canvassed: "A Study in Religious Leadership and Cultism" (Antony Copley); "Educating Women, Educating a Daughter: Babu Navincandra Rai, *Lakṣmī-Sarasvatī Samvād* (1869), and Hemantkumari Chaudhurani" (Ulrike Stark); "Swami Akandananda's *Sevavrata* (Vow of Service) and the Earliest Expressions of Service to Humanity in the Ramakrishna Math and Mission" (Gwilym Beckerlegge); "The Ramakrishna Mission: Its Female Aspect" (Hiltrud Rüstau); "'Kindly Elders of the Hindu Biradri': The Ārya Samāj's Struggle for Influence and its Effect on Hindu-Muslim Relations, 1880–1925" (Harald Fischer-Tiné); "'Duties of Ahmadi Women': Educative Processes in the Early Stages of the Ahmadiyya Movement" (Avril A. Powell); "Theosophy as a Political Movement" (Mark Bevir); "Thinking Culture through Counter-Culture: The Case of Theosophists in India and Ceylon and Their Ideas on Race and Hierarchy (1875–1947)" (Carla Risseuw); and "The Error of All 'Churches': Religion and Spirituality in Communities Founded or 'Inspired' by Sri Aurobindo" (Peter Heehs).

As is obvious from these titles, the book belongs to the genre of modern Indian history devoted to the study of new religious movements in British India (1757–1947). It addresses at least most if not all of these new religious movements, such as the Brahma Samaj, the Ramakrishna Mission, the Arya Samaj, the Ahmadiyya movement, and the Theosophical movement. The old questions regarding these new religious movements—how new they were, how religious, and how much of a movement—are given a sidelong glance, although the last question receives a longer glance than others, for the excellent reason that public religious activity during this period is as much characterized by eminent men such as Sri Aurobindo (included in the book) and Mohandas K. Gandhi (not so) as by prominent movements.

It is customary to place these movements on a spectrum of responses to the Western presence ranging from indifference, through rejection or opposition, and selective adaptation or appropriation to acceptance. Thus a person or group that does not respond to the Western presence exhibits indifference, while those who, say, converted to Christianity fall in the category of acceptance. Most of the action, however, lay between the extremes, in the realms of opposition/rejection and selective adaptation/appropriation. The Indian Mutiny (whose religious component gets played down in British imperial and modern secular Marxist accounts) could be viewed as one convulsive, violent attempt at rejection from this point of view, while most of the movements and people listed earlier exhibit some measure of selective adaptation.

The merit of this book consists in bringing both greater conceptual sophistication and more minute historical detail to bear on this broad framework than has usually been the case. This conceptual sophistica-

tion is apparent in the nature of the questions asked, the problems recognized, and the wider perspectives proposed. For instance, such questions as the following are posed regarding these new religious movements: "Are they best understood in common, as a collective response to the stress of modernization and the challenge of foreign ideologies? Alternatively, should they rather be seen as distinct and discrete responses, often regional rather than all-India in scope, within different faiths? Should we, additionally, try to place them in a longer chronology looking at the causes and consequences rather than emphasizing their uniqueness in time?" (p. xi). It is pointed out, in the same spirit, that "There is inevitable tension in Hermeneutics between the historian, who seeks to contextualize or historicize . . . spiritual insights in their economic, social and cultural background, and those who argue instead for the autonomy of such systems of thought" (p. xv). Similarly, such a proposal as the following cannot fail to broaden the intellectual horizon: "Both Theosophy and Sri Aurobindo were seeking a spiritual answer to the challenge of the Darwinian theory of evolution" (p. xxi).

The historical details, which can only be alluded to and not fully shared in a review, pertain to case studies of female education in the Brahmo Samaj; the sources of service and female concern in the case of Vivekananda; female education in the Ahmadiyya movement; the Janus-like implications of the Theosophical Society's attempt to look at East and West simultaneously; and the paradoxical attempt by Sri Aurobindo to launch a movement to rise above religious movements, as it were. The detailed discussion of difference in the role *Śuddhi* played in the context of Swami Dayananda and subsequently the Arya Samaj confirms the reviewer's suggestion in this regard (see *The Concept of Universal Religion in Modern Hindu Thought* [1998]), leaving me with little choice than to recommend the book enthusiastically!

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JOSEPH S. ALTER. *Gandhi's Body: Sex, Diet, and the Politics of Nationalism*. (Critical Histories.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2000. Pp. xviii, 207. \$34.95.

The sheer quantity of academic and popular writing on Mohandas K. Gandhi makes it difficult to imagine that there could be any significant aspect of the subject that has not been adequately explored. Yet Joseph S. Alter contends that hitherto Gandhi has not been properly understood because one of the most fundamental loci for Gandhi's social, political, and moral experimentations—his body—has not received its due. To be sure, scholars have noted Gandhi's obsession with celibacy, diet, and health, but they have tended to regard these as incidental to his overall political and moral philosophy or as requiring another level of interpretation. Alter, instead, sets out to offer a reevaluation of

Gandhi and his place in Indian history through "what Gandhi said and did with regard to sex, food, and nature cure" (p. xi). The result is a fascinating set of essays that, while not quite unlocking all the complexities and contradictions of Gandhi's ideas and practices, go a long way toward rehabilitating the significance of what has been too often dismissed as "faddish" and inconsequential to an understanding of Gandhi's contribution. Although Gandhi provides the common thread that runs through all the essays, Alter admits that his focus on Gandhi is, in fact, coincidental: it ultimately serves as a case study for exploring the more general principles about the relationship among body discipline, power/knowledge, and truth (p. xiv).

The book is accordingly divided into two parts: part one, "Rethinking the Mahatma" deals directly with Gandhi; and part two, "Nationalism, Transnationalism, and the Embodied Self," deals with the broader discourses about the body that provided the context for Gandhi's experiments. The essays in part one demonstrate convincingly that Gandhi "conceived of morality as a problem in which Truth and biology were equally implicated" (p. 3). Hence Gandhi's nonviolence, as Alter suggests, was as much an issue of public health as of politics, morality, and religion. Gandhi's vehement advocacy of naturotherapy—his discussion of mud packs and friction baths—and his fastidious concern with nutrition become in Alter's analysis the primary domain for the realization of Gandhi's moral reform. Alter's focus on the "biomoral imperative" of Gandhi's practice allows for some original and provocative interpretations of, and justifications for, Gandhi's most controversial practices: his theory of fasting, for instance, and his experiment, conducted late in his life, of sleeping naked with some of his close women associates. Despite the originality of these interpretations, however, they ultimately fall short in conveying the complexity of Gandhi's practices. For all its emphasis on "embodied practice," Alter's reading of Gandhi seems curiously disembodied. Here Gandhi's "body politics" floats freely above all traces of social embodiments: its embeddedness, that is, in a rich and contradictory mixture of class, caste and gender prescriptions. Even so, Alter is to be congratulated for offering an original reading of the self-disciplining of the body—as in Gandhi's attempts at embodying the meaning of democracy and self-rule in personal considerations of holistic health and moral fitness—by way of a reversal of the usual Foucauldian understanding of the micropolitics of power.

The most interesting contribution of Alter's rehabilitation of the body as a category of analysis—a theme that first emerges in the case-study of Gandhi, but receives its fullest elaboration in the essays in part two—lies in his demonstration of the articulation of the national and the transnational with the most intimate details of individual self-discipline. Indeed, the essays in part two on the development of yoga since the last century as a peculiar amalgam of yoga therapy and late nineteenth-century German naturopathy, on

the unique experiment of the rajah of the princely state of Aundh who promoted the practice of *surya nama-skar* (salutation to the sun) as intimately connected to the principles of village democracy, and on the physical regimen of Gama, the early twentieth-century world wrestling champion and nationalist icon are some of the finest in the book. These histories not only deserve to be better known in their own right, but also, as in Alter's reading, for what they illustrate about the translation of "somaticity" in the public sphere, a process in which the national community is not only imagined but also "somaticized" (p. 149). For me, Alter's discussion of the somatic politics of nationalism, as constituted by the varied negotiations of the transnational with the personal and the public with the private, offers a highly suggestive historiographical intervention. Alter's reading of the somatic politics of nationalism as a site for locating what Partha Chatterjee identifies as the anticolonial nationalist imperative to elaborate a "modern culture that is non-Western" (p. 141) offers an expanded new agenda to contemporary scholarship on Indian nationalism. It opens up the way for a scholarship that is as attentive to the imaginative labors of the anticolonial nationalist project in the domain of traditional politics as in the domain of culture.

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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

GEOFFREY PLANK. *An Unsettled Conquest: The British Campaign Against the Peoples of Acadia*. (Early American Studies.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2001. Pp. 239. \$29.95.

On May 9, 1690, seven hundred New England soldiers descended on the Acadian capital of Port Royal, initiating two decades of sporadic confrontations among English, French, and Mi'kmaq peoples. In 1710, English authorities began a concerted plan of occupation, seized the capital (renamed Annapolis Royal by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713), and variously promoted policies of forced migration, missionization, and education in the hope of transforming the colony into a Protestant society. By the mid-eighteenth century, this outcome had not been achieved, and in 1755 a force of New England and British soldiers forcibly removed 7,000 Acadians from Nova Scotia for resettlement in English colonies elsewhere in North America.

Geoffrey Plank examines the complex factors that led to the Acadian deportation by exploring the impact of the conquest of 1710 on the region's English, French, and Mi'kmaq populations. He suggests that initial plans for restructuring Acadia lacked efficacy because they originated in England rather than the colony itself. Ineffectual political control, a French colonial presence, and Acadian and Mi'kmaq antagonism undermined initiatives also. Additionally, begin-

ning with Samuel Vetch (a Scottish adventurer chiefly responsible for the conquest), the English refused to cultivate an amicable association with the aboriginal population such as that which had developed between the Mi'kmaq and Acadians over the course of the previous century.

The difficulty ran deeper, however, involving a tenuous English adherence to ethnic and national delineations that were inappropriate to the context. Despite differences in individual proposals (some advocated expulsion of the Acadians and assimilation of the Mi'kmaq, others the opposite), officials uniformly maintained that the groups were sufficiently distinct as to warrant different treatment. The Treaty of Utrecht reified this perception by affording Acadians the *individual* right to determine their legal status, while requiring that appointed commissioners determine that of aboriginal *communities*; and the colony proceeded to maintain separate judicial systems for the French and Mi'kmaq.

In practice, however, these delineations were unstable. An intricate pattern of trade, intermarriage, and missionization in Acadia had created a community that, by the eighteenth century, lacked such distinct boundaries, a situation epitomized by large numbers of mixed-blood people who could not be disregarded, but for whom the English had no classification. Following a 1744 order placing bounties on Mi'kmaq scalps, for instance, an Acadian delegation asked the Nova Scotia council to rule on whether the order applied to mixed-blood peoples. Aside from ethnicity, ongoing bonds of loyalty between the communities were extensive, Acadians provided Mi'kmaq with supplies, strategic advice, and shelter during territorial disputes with the British in the 1720s, and Mi'kmaq soldiers joined in a French attack on Canso as France attempted to reclaim Nova Scotia during the War of the Austrian Succession.

Focusing on a few key individuals (Jacques Maurice Vigneau, Jean-Baptiste Cope, William Phips, Vetch), Plank explores a complex set of allegiances, alliances, distrust, and misunderstandings that presaged the Acadian deportation. There are, however, some troubling aspects of his treatment of the Mi'kmaq. A description of Cope's Catholicism, for instance, reveals a man whose outward piety impressed contemporaries, who chose to live near a Catholic mission, and who promoted the church's interests politically. "He called himself Catholic," writes Plank, adding that it is nonetheless "difficult to assess Cope's inner spiritual life" (p. 29). One wonders why the question of the legitimacy of Cope's religious conviction is raised, especially in light of an earlier discussion of Phips in which the authenticity of his inner religious life escapes the author's suspicion despite his un-Christian desire for plunder. Additionally Plank appears to be unaware of the differentiation Mi'kmaq peoples make between oral history (relating of past events) and myth (relating of originary meanings). The "Dream of the Floating Island" is a traditional myth that locates the arrival of

Europeans within a primordial Mi'kmaq context; it is not, as Plank suggests (p. 24), a historical account of first contact in Acadia.

Aside from these difficulties, and given the relative lack of primary source material relating to the Mi'kmaq during the period, the work is for the most part well balanced and judicious, providing a solid contribution to literature concerning the Acadian deportation and seventeenth-century British North America.

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A. J. B. JOHNSTON. *Control and Order in French Colonial Louisbourg, 1713–1758*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 2001. Pp. xlv, 346. \$54.95.

Historians of the British colonies in North America have recently placed more emphasis on differences between the colonies than on a common, distinctive Anglo-American experience. A similar trend has affected scholarship on the French colonies. On the basis of recent historical writing, it is easier to find contrasts than commonalities among the divergent French settlements in Newfoundland, Acadia, Cape Breton Island, Quebec, the Illinois country, and Louisiana. Louisbourg (the principal French town on Cape Breton Island) was built quickly following the removal of the French from their year-round settlements on Newfoundland in 1713, and from the outset it received an enormous subsidy from the government of France. Fishing and overseas trade were the dominant private economic activities, but the colony also had a powerful military presence, with soldiers making up a higher proportion of the population than anywhere else on the continent. As a result of these circumstances, Louisbourg did not evolve the way most other colonies did. Virtually none of the colonists left town to establish farmsteads, and only a minority established families. In 1752, nearly forty years after its founding, Louisbourg had a population approaching 4,000, and males outnumbered females by approximately six to one.

A. J. B. Johnson's book is a valuable, detailed, and accessible social history, organized appropriately around the struggles faced by the colonial elite as it sought to impose order on the town. After one chapter on the founding of the settlement and another on its growth, Johnson considers civilian society and the military in turn, before devoting his last chapter to the issue of "values and behavior," a tantalizing and difficult dimension to his project, assessing the extent to which a common sense of order was shared by the community as a whole.

"Order" can be defined in many ways, and Johnson identifies several (sometimes conflicting) ideals, religious and secular, civilian and military, that helped shape the development of Louisbourg. He considers a

range of issues, from town planning to the operation of the criminal courts. In his discussion of elite figures such as François Verville, the military engineer whose plans literally shaped the town in its early years, Johnson situates the Louisbourg experience within the cultural context of the French Empire and the broader eighteenth-century Atlantic world. He draws fewer connections and is generally more cautious in his analysis of less articulate figures such as the inconvenient and disorderly house builders who compromised Verville's plans. The elite expressed their views in writing, while most of the residents of the town left a more ambiguous record of their opinions in the way they behaved and organized their lives. This makes the analysis of the values of ordinary colonists difficult. As Johnson aptly points out, "It is easy to ascribe meanings to human actions; it is more difficult to be right."

By presenting life in Louisbourg as an effort to create and maintain order, Johnson's analysis reflects the preoccupations of the governors, judges, and officers who tried to impose their own sense of structure on the community. In one section of the book, he groups women, children, individuals with "loose morals or decadent ways," Protestants, and the Mi'kmaq within a single category: potentially "bad colonists" who fit poorly into the administrators' plans. Except perhaps in their relationship to the administrative elite, these groups had little in common with each other. They did not share a vision for an orderly society, and they may not have even sensed that they belonged to one community.

In 1745, an army from New England seized Louisbourg and deported most of its inhabitants to France. A large proportion of the old townspeople returned after French rule was restored in 1748, but they were deported again when the British retook the colony in 1758. In contrast to the 1755 removal of the Acadians, these mass deportations are barely remembered outside the scholarly community, because the inhabitants of Louisbourg never established a strong collective identity. With their relatively short and interrupted history, they did not develop into a community cohesive and stable enough to maintain a lasting folk-memory. Their story is unfamiliar now to most of us, which is reason to be thankful for this book.

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COLIN M. COATES. *The Metamorphoses of Landscape and Community in Early Quebec*. (Studies on the History of Quebec/Études d'histoire du Québec.) Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 231. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$22.95.

This book is one of the rare modern contributions to the history of the mid-St. Lawrence valley during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Colin M. Coates wants to show how the landscape in Batiscan and Saint-Anne seigneuries, east of Trois-Rivières, was progressively transformed from a deep forest to a

settled farmland, and how this transformation toward an agrarian landscape, which took place during the French regime, resisted later endeavors by the British to create an industrial and picturesque landscape. This study also demonstrates the continuity of a French-Canadian way of life revolving around the family and seasonal labor, despite pressures coming from successive new ideologies of organization. Coates makes admirable use of a wide range of sources, including notarial acts, local court records, census, maps, and sketches.

The first three chapters present the evolution of landscape appropriation by the French society, beginning with the displacement of the original Native inhabitants, the concession of seigneuries, and the distribution of land parcels to colonists along the Batiscan and Sainte-Anne rivers. Colonization really started in the 1660s, and Coates argues that even as the seigneur's control over the development of his seigneurie influenced the way its landscape was transformed, the nature of land use was ultimately defined by the needs of the family-oriented agricultural production. This trend was even reinforced after 1760, when seigneurs' authority and interest in the administration of their estates declined while a growing local French-Canadian elite began to take charge of the community's economy. Coates produces a sound analysis of the nature and evolution of agriculture in Batiscan and Sainte-Anne during the eighteenth century, showing that it "remained primarily, but not exclusively, oriented towards local consumption" (p. 41), even as it shifted from an emphasis on wheat during the French Regime to less marketable crops like oats and potatoes by the end of the century—a choice apparently "linked to a growing level of impoverishment in the area" (p. 54).

But the most interesting aspect of this study remains its cultural approach, as Coates manages to show how the people made sense of their own world, and how economic and cultural transformations were intimately linked. He begins by documenting the strong ties existing within the family, ties that grew even stronger as the initial will of the inhabitants to establish alliances with social superiors (seigneurs, militia officers) through godparentage was progressively replaced by intrafamily/intraclass alliances. As they became more self-oriented in their economic production, the inhabitants also became more localized socially, with the consequence that if "the concept of hierarchy implied a certain vertical ordering of the society, horizontal relations were less well structured" (p. 101). The inhabitants' conflicting attitudes toward each other in public places such as churches and courts, as well as the frequent difficulties encountered while carrying out public endeavors, lead Coates to conclude that the ideal portrait of a homogeneous intraseigneurial world based on a strong sense of unity is simply a twentieth century urban myth. Moreover, for Coates, the continuity in the French-Canadian way of life is fundamental to understand the growth of nationalist sentiment

in Quebec. While the persistent agrarian nature of the landscape favored a sense of uniqueness in front of the English different economic orientation, the emergence of a French-Canadian elite provided "the bases for increased political activity in the area" (p. 165).

My only reservation regarding the model of landscape appropriation proposed by Coates concerns the initial and determinant displacement of the Natives. Coates mentions that, by the end of the seventeenth century, the Algonquins were forced to withdraw "deep into a landscape" (p. 6) and "receded into the shadows" (p. 8), "where fur trade activities were the only option" (p. 11). Such statements appear too simplistic and Batiscan-centrist. Many testimonies suggest that throughout the eighteenth century, these same Algonquins were actively involved in the Trois-Rivières economy. As late as the 1790s, they were responsible for Trois-Rivières being the capital of canoe making in Lower Canada, and a decade later they were in search of land to practice agriculture. Thus, instead of retreating in the backwoods to practice a traditional way of life, many Algonquins were instrumental in the metamorphoses of Trois-Rivières landscape. But this is another history waiting to be written. A French translation of this book will be published this year in Quebec.

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ROBERT V. WELLS. *Facing the "King of Terrors": Death and Society in an American Community, 1750–1990*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 301. \$44.95.

In the preface to this book, Robert V. Wells wonders why someone would choose to study death and then remarks on the scant attention it has received from historians, whose very livelihood depends on resurrecting the dead. They are, in his own words, "curiously uninterested" in the attitudes and practices surrounding death—attitudes and practices that express, in a variety of cultural and social forms, core values operating in any given community (p. xi). This naturally leads him to a more pertinent question: "how does one avoid a topic so central to human existence" (p. xi)?

French historian Philippe Ariès put death on the historical map, so to speak, with his impressive survey of changing attitudes toward death in the West, but Americans have been slow to see the value of investigating this particular subject. When American historians do explore the terrain, however, they often produce some of the most refreshing and fascinating studies in American social, cultural, and religious history. Wells's book is no exception to this trend, and his contribution to the history of death will be appreciated for years to come.

Two specific elements of Wells's book stand out. First, it is an engaging, richly detailed local history,

and, by the end of this work, the reader is thoroughly acquainted with life in Schenectady, New York—the American community mentioned in the book's subtitle. By restricting his study to one town, Wells is able to draw from a tremendous reservoir of historical data—medical records and reports, city directories, diaries and letters, newspaper stories and notices, textual and iconographic material in graveyards and cemeteries, funeral sermons, fictional writings—and expertly crafts a narrative that explores the connections between biology, ritual, and collective attitudes. While Wells takes into account social and cultural trends affecting life and death in the city, he also pays attention to individual and familial experiences with death, which provides a nice balance between private thoughts and public expressions, specific actions and general patterns of behavior.

Second, Wells's book covers over two centuries, so changes in Schenectadian attitudes toward and responses to the reality of death can be charted with a great deal of precision. The author is quite careful to pay close attention to larger social and cultural contexts, allowing for a rather "thick" description of these changes over time. While Wells draws on categories employed by Ariès (an early chapter on the antebellum period is titled "Thy Death," for example), he presents a much more intricate, rigorous examination of "attitudes" than can be found in Ariès's impressionistic study. Indeed, this work has more in common with the other great French historian of death, Michel Vovelle, precisely because it is so thoroughly grounded in social history and attentive to economic and demographic data. It is clear that Wells has a solid grasp of the relevant materials for his historical analysis and is utterly familiar with life in Schenectady. By starting in the colonial period and finishing in 1990, Wells takes the reader on a long journey, but it is a journey that offers a valuable reward in the end: the historical study of death opens up new perspectives on social life.

Another benefit of Wells book is that it offers a test case, on the microlevel, for popular theories about death in America. Exploring such topics as the denial of death, the medicalization of death, the privatization of death, and the professionalization of death, Wells concludes his study by briefly stepping outside of this one community, reflecting more broadly on death in American culture, and asking whether previous commentaries, such as the famous essay by Geoffrey Gorer, "The Pornography of Death," make sense. His discussion is quite suggestive and anticipates many areas of research that are ripe for historians to pursue.

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JAMES DEETZ and PATRICIA SCOTT DEETZ. *The Times of Their Lives: Life, Love, and Death in Plymouth Colony*. New York: W. H. Freeman. 2000. Pp. xvi, 366. \$24.95.

The late James Deetz spent most of his professional life pioneering and popularizing the study of historical

archaeology, material culture, and living history, seeking especially to uncover the realities behind the myths of life in Plymouth Colony. In this book, written with his wife and colleague, Patricia Scott Deetz, a cultural historian, he seeks to dispossess the general public of myths about Plymouth, to educate them on the reality of life in the colony, and to show them how that reality has been arrived at.

Despite the extensive bibliography on Plymouth, this work is like no other, combining the results of rigorous, interdisciplinary scholarship on the colony with a style and content designed for popular consumption. In terms of interdisciplinary thrust, its closest rival is John Demos's *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony* (1970). But in terms of the kinds of new and unconventional disciplines employed, it is without rival. Aside from proclaiming the limitations of "historiographic" approaches to the past, it offers vigorous defenses of historical archaeology and living history. By the end of the book, first-person interpretation is revealed as "the closest thing to time travel that will ever be accomplished, as visitors encounter a very close approximation of the reality of life in Plymouth in the early seventeenth century" (p. 291).

If "myths proclaim great truths by telling great lies" (I. M. Lewis, *Social Anthropology in Perspective* [1976], p. 121), then the Plymouth story is America's greatest myth. The great truth is the English founding of America. The great lie is that in a single act—a landing—on a single day in November, on one spot—Plymouth Rock—through the efforts of a single, peaceful people, the Pilgrims, America came into being. After analyzing the various stories that evolved into the one "great origin myth" of the Pilgrim fathers and their first thanksgiving, the authors disclose the stark realities behind the myth. The settlement of Plymouth was a protracted process, from the early, tough years in Holland, through the arduous Atlantic crossing and extensive exploration of Cape Cod, to the fits and starts of establishing a viable village. In response to rapidly rising demand for trade goods and new lands to produce the goods (so much for the singular corporate, religious ideals of the Pilgrim fathers), the founders nearly abandoned their original village in 1630. They spread out across the countryside, beginning "a process known to historians as declension" (p. 79). By 1687, the inhabitants of the colony were dispersed across twenty towns.

Early on in the book, the authors "depart from the historiographic approach" (p. 81) for what they believe are more powerful tools of historical construction, namely historical ethnography, material culture, historical archaeology, and living history. "Change in the colony was slow and relatively inconsequential" anyway, they tell us (p. 82). What follow are an emphasis on "stasis" over change and an attempt to uncover as many layers of Plymouth culture as possible, so as to achieve "some sense of what the reality of life in the colony was like during the brief period of its existence" (p. 82).

Historical ethnography reveals aspects of Plymouth culture that should appear highly idiosyncratic if not shocking to modern readers used to viewing the history through mythic lenses. Plymouth was a world characterized by witchcraft, premarital sex, consumption of alcohol, and frequent death. It was also a world "of robust interactions between the sexes" (p. 133); of frequent appearances of women in court (as witnesses as well as accused and plaintiffs); and of instances of buggery, sodomy, rape, and adultery. While instances of child abuse and other such acts of domestic violence were rare, "the court records show that domestic violence did occur more frequently than the general images of family life in the small colony convey today" (p. 154).

While historical ethnography draws primarily on court records and wills for its evidence, historical archaeology relies heavily on inventories. But even inventories, the authors argue, suffer from severe limitations. They are really like secondary sources, in the sense that "there is always the slightest possibility of certain biases in them that cannot be detected" (p. 210). Excavated evidence is "the only true primary source," they say, "for only through it can a modern person come directly face-to-face with the past" (p. 210). And only through it can detailed knowledge of the material circumstances of people's lives be obtained. Based on archaeological evidence drawn from seven seventeenth-century Plymouth Colony excavation sites, the authors make important observations regarding house building and artifacts used by the early settlers. There was more widespread use of housefast construction techniques than hitherto thought, for example, and thus an impermanent building tradition in New England, as in the South. In addition, the ceramic artifacts uncovered were used less for preparation and consumption of food than for the production and storage of dairy products. This suggests that Plymouth had a much greater investment in dairying and in the cattle trade than the inventories indicate.

This is an important book that deserves to be read by the public and scholars alike. It does miss one opportunity. Contrary to the thesis stressing stasis, but by the authors' very own evidence, Plymouth Colony was an arena of rapid historical change. Traditional gender roles loosened, population dispersed, funeral practices became increasingly elaborate, a more lenient criminal system developed, and greater freedoms were accorded women and servants, among other key changes. Yet such changes are not fully integrated into the evidence unearthed from excavation sites. Instead, the authors use such overworked adjectives as corporate, traditional, and conservative to describe aspects of Plymouth culture actually the subject of considerable change. From scholars of the caliber of the Deetzes, who have been at the vanguard of radically altering traditional, "static" (p. 286) modes of presenting the

past, we would like to hear more about the ways in which history interacted with physical culture.

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ANN MARIE PLANE. *Colonial Intimacies: Indian Marriage in Early New England*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 252. \$39.95.

Recent years have witnessed the publication of a number of fine books exploring the experience of Indians living behind the New England frontier. In contrast to an older narrative that suggested the disappearance of Indians from early New England by the end of the seventeenth century, these works have stressed the creativity and resourcefulness with which Native peoples and communities responded to a world of rending change. Ann Marie Plane provides an important addition to this growing corpus of scholarship.

Plane focuses on the lives of New England's Indians at the most intimate level. If English missionaries and colonial magistrates tried to reshape Native peoples in their own image, she asks, did they as well bring changes to Indian marriage practices and Native family structure? To answer this question, Plane explains the tangled process through which the first English observers noted the differences between Native communities and their own. She examines how the first missionaries prayed for Indian religious conversion and, finally, how colonial magistrates molded a legal system that subordinated Indian notions of law and legality to those of the English. She argues that as English authorities incorporated Native laborers into their homes and as they developed and articulated an ideology of how these households should operate, they distanced themselves from Indian marriage practices, finding in these and in other differences justification for discrimination against Indians in the eighteenth century. In this sense, "the intimacies of native sexual and domestic life proved inextricably intertwined with the establishment, rise, and maintenance of English colonial authority" (p. 5).

Plane does a wonderful job of reading closely Indian conversion narratives and court cases for telling hints of how the Puritans transformed Indians into an immoral and inferior subclass residing on the periphery of New England society. Plane devotes nearly as much attention in her book to the colonizers as to the colonized. Yet even as Plane concentrates on those English people who saw in Indian marital customs the antithesis of what Puritans considered moral and civil, she never loses sight of the Indian husbands, wives, lovers, parents, and children whom the New England authorities sought to control. This is fine social history. Plane has found in the ordinary lives of obscure native peoples fascinating stories that shed light not only on how Indians organized their family lives before and after colonization but also on how the Puritans trans-

formed Indians into a colonized and, in English eyes, racially inferior people. Far beyond being strictly an analysis of Indian marriage, Plane has provided a revealing glimpse into the functioning of a powerful colonial system.

And Indians did resist this system. Puritan controls, Plane argues, "neither uniformly nor even extensively altered the practices of native domestic life" (p. 128). Indian marriage practices became creolized, reflecting "multiple influences—missionary teachings, slavery, servitude, intermarriage and the growing inequalities of colonial society—at the same time as they appeared to enact older strands of tradition unique to indigenous practice" (p. 132). The variety of marital practices employed by Indian peoples did tend to blur the distinctions between Indians and other poor people in eighteenth century New England. To strengthen the special protections that Indians had, Native leaders and their few English supporters turned to "custom" to promote a unique and sustainable Indian identity.

Plane might have strengthened this already impressive book by broadening her definition of "New England." She focuses largely on the Christian Indian communities of Massachusetts, to the neglect of Rhode Island and, especially, Connecticut. Records from the River Colony magistrates and the Connecticut towns could have shed considerable light on her subject. As Eric Spencer Johnson has shown, much can be gleaned from these documents about Indian marriage practices, particularly involving the strategic unions forged by effective Native leaders like the Mohegan sachem, Uncas.

This, however, is a small objection, and Plane's book contains insights that other historians can use as they study other locales within the region. This is an innovative and important work, and students of the ethnohistory of early New England will need to have a look.

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CHRISTINE DANIELS and MICHAEL V. KENNEDY, editors.
Over the Threshold: Intimate Violence in Early America.
New York: Routledge. 1999. Pp. viii, 296. Cloth
\$75.00, paper \$19.99.

Soliciting fourteen original essays in order to showcase the current scholarship on violence within families, households, and plantations in early British North America, editors Christine Daniels and Michael V. Kennedy settle on the overarching rubric "intimate violence." Using this "catchall term" rather than "domestic violence" allows the essays to address violence among "lovers as well as husbands and wives" (p. 4), parents and children, master, slaves, and servants. Indeed, these three categories define the major structural divisions of the anthology, after an introductory chapter and two essays cast as "overviews."

The premise of the volume is best articulated by

Randolph A. Roth, who writes that "domestic violence is situationally governed; its intensity and character depend as much on the culture and society of a particular time and place as they do on human nature, family pathology, or the institution of marriage" (p. 65). Daniels, in her introductory essay, positions the book as a response to policy makers and sociologists who have tended to view domestic violence and child abuse through ahistorical lenses. She promises that the anthology will explore three useful themes: the causes of household violence and thus perpetrators' motives, not just victims' experiences; the important context of how male roles and patriarchal arrangements were defined in particular places and times; and the false dichotomy between the modern period and a supposed era when women were more protected by blurred public/private boundaries. She directs two additional points at historians. First, current scholarship is challenging a simple regional North/South dichotomy in favor of emphasizing urban/rural differences. And second, as with early American scholarship in general, many authors are attempting to decenter middle-class subjects and standards.

Another, unspoken impetus behind this collection is the need for historians to develop antennae for the wide range of sources that can shed light on household violence. This stems from the fact that most longitudinal studies of criminal court records for the pre-Civil War United States yield a tiny number of spouse and child abuse prosecutions. The volume's essays largely break down into a handful that analyze a sizable run of legal cases and those that examine the social and cultural meanings of violence through readings of a single criminal case, novel, ballad, or diary (as in the essays by Jenifer Banks, Edward E. Baptist, Trevor Burnard, Ed Hatton, James D. Rice, Jeffrey H. Richards, and Merril D. Smith). Three essays (by Jacquelyn C. Miller, Christopher Morris, and Terri L. Snyder) occupy a middle ground by focusing on a small cluster of related cases or literary documents. Nearly all the essays have as a major theme *the local*, thus exploring for a specific region and juncture what were community perceptions of the line between the legitimate and illegitimate uses of violence.

We still have much to learn from historians' careful compilations and analyses of large databases of cases that relate to familial, household, and workplace violence. Three essays present findings from such quantitative studies, and all contain important and provocative findings and arguments. The essay by G. S. Rowe and Jack D. Marietta is a preview of their forthcoming book, offering statistical analysis of all violent crimes documented in surviving Pennsylvania court records. The collaborative data collection is impressive, and the promise for comparative analysis with other jurisdictions and time periods is high. I was disappointed by two features. First, the authors repeatedly use the phrase "laconic records," but they fail to include a discussion of the incompleteness of Pennsylvania (especially Philadelphia) records and the challenges of

building reliable databases. Second, in their eagerness to counter recent portraits of early Pennsylvania as peaceable (both within and without families), Rowe and Marietta offer a too-brief explanation of their finding that Pennsylvania "endured an extremely high crime rate by eighteenth-century standards" (p. 23) and that "the domestic and intimate violence" associated with today's society "was common" in the earlier period (pp. 37–38). They suggest that possessive individualism was heightened in Pennsylvania's pluralistic society, eclipsing cultural restraints on violence. Their longer treatment of this enormous research effort will afford scholars a better chance to assess both their comparative assertions and their interpretations.

Roth zeroes in on spousal murder in northern New England, compiling "a fairly complete count" by surveying court records, newspapers, and other sources (p. 67). His finding is that marital homicide was rare in his target years of 1776–1865 (thirty-six cases), but that in the sweep of New England's early decades of white settlement from the seventeenth century on, homicide rates manifested ups and downs. What makes this one of the strongest contributions in the anthology is Roth's thorough consideration of why marital violence in this period so seldom led to murder. He identifies five powerful forces that worked against killings. Husbands recognized that the costs of prosecution (even if they were acquitted) could amount to half a year's wages; thus, divorce and court documents reveal that abusers cannily made sure bruises did not show and no third-party witnesses were present. Spouses also knew that judges granted almost all divorce petitions for which severe cruelty was proven and that the spouse at fault would suffer serious consequences—loss of property and child custody. Additional economic disincentives were present: given that marriages were economic partnerships, one needed one's spouse alive. And reprisals by neighbors against abusers such as ridicule, daily monitoring, and vigilante justice could mean not just humiliation but loss of business and injury to property. Finally, Roth proposes that New Englanders utilized a range of nonviolent "ways of getting even," such as posting one's spouse in the newspaper, ridiculing him or her publicly, denying services, walking out. Note that both gun ownership and alcohol consumption rose in the same period in which marital homicide was at its lowest (p. 78). This discussion brings to the forefront the question of why spousal homicide became relatively more frequent and more brutal and intentional after about 1825, and Roth's answers are not entirely convincing. But he is able to show that the founding of state insane asylums in Vermont in 1836 and New Hampshire in 1840 contributed to a noticeable decline in spouse and family murders that involved mental illness as a major factor (p. 72).

Stephanie Cole examines 215 domestic assault cases that came before municipal officials in a short stretch of years in antebellum Baltimore. The common law process of seeking security of the peace from an abuser

worked for hundreds of working-class white women who "made their stories public" and saw husbands and lovers spend an average of five days in jail before they were released or managed to post bond (p. 156). To Cole, women's ready use of the legal system to challenge the legitimacy of men's use of violence in the household demonstrates that, among white families, "patriarchal power was made from the bottom up not just from top down" (p. 153). Her close attention to a single city permits the discovery that Baltimore women chose carefully among justices when bringing complaints: they knew which justices would assign steeper fines and longer jail times and thus could modulate the punishment meted out (p. 161). In contrast, African-American women were loath to invoke what they surely saw as a "racist legal system" against violent family members. And yet black men ended up being disproportionately jailed for assault, because white officials brought charges against them when breaking up what they perceived to be public disturbances (p. 158).

Cole's essay, paired with T. Stephen Whitman's, remind us of how endemic discrimination against people of color has been in the American criminal system since the early eighteenth century. Whitman's analysis of criminal pardons in Maryland from 1782 to 1830 tells a stark story: thirty-one percent of white men got pardons; eleven percent of black men; nine percent of white women; and three percent of black women (p. 257). Condemned black men occasionally won pardons, even for such felonies as killing an overseer or raping a white woman, but only if they had white patrons proffering convincing character references. In a climate of increasing revulsion to corporal and capital punishment, blacks' words counted very little and "black-on-black violence fell almost entirely beneath the purview" of the courts (pp. 265, 263).

In restricting all but two of these essays to fourteen pages, the editors and publisher allow a large number of scholars, many of them junior, to publish. But the result is something of a hodgepodge, with little dialogue among authors. Many of the pieces begin in a promising vein but fail to present persuasive evidence or a clinching thesis for why a particular case study deserves close scrutiny. Conclusions about periodization are impossible to draw, particularly as we learn nothing about early nineteenth-century reformers' discourses and strategies to combat alcoholism and domestic abuse. A more effective approach to shaping the scholarly discourse would entail publishing fewer but longer essays and jump-starting the collection with a conference, set of workshops, or essay exchange.

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LISA NORLING. *Captain Ahab Had a Wife: New England Women and the Whaleshery, 1720–1870*. (Gender and American Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 372. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$19.95.

This cleverly named account neatly evokes Herman Melville's masterpiece to raise the seemingly straightforward question of what transpired on shore, once men left in search of profit and nature's leviathan. In tracing the impact of the whalefishery on the lives of women in New England, Lisa Norling simultaneously chronicles the evolution of an important sector of the economy and the development of domestic ideals increasingly at odds with that industry's demands. The intersection between the two informs a complex and well-written work of social and economic history.

An examination of communities built around the whalefishery provides both organizational and analytical structure. Focusing on Nantucket, Norling sketches out the demographic, religious, and economic dynamics that accompanied the island's rise to prominence in the whaling industry. There, a predominantly Quaker population closely linked by faith and marital ties practiced a cooperative ethos and flexibility in domestic arrangements that translated into support networks. Quaker practices of group conformity and sociability sustained close community ties. Women and children engaged in flexible living arrangements, with extended families cohabiting for periods. Such residential patterns eased some of the loneliness and other burdens that plagued the wives of whalers. Lending economic support, shipowners extended credit to the families of their crews in anticipation of the portion of the catch each man might earn. "Industrial paternalism" on Nantucket provided dense underpinnings for whaling, enabling those on shore to survive in the absence of husbands and regular influxes of income. While sea wives contributed to their families' livelihood by sewing, keeping boarders, and performing a range of other typically female tasks, their work was seen as supplemental to the primary economic activity of their men's whaling. Their temporary status as virtual widows thus did not challenge patriarchal domestic relations. When they exercised personal agency, their conduct fit within the purview of "deputy husbands," whose actions revealed deep familiarity with the workings of the whaling industry and porous boundaries between work, home, family, and community. In making this case, Norling expands the applicability of the concept.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the elements of Nantucket's culture that sustained the whalefishery underwent a variety of stresses, some generated by the American Revolution and the expansion of the industry, that worsened the lot of sea wives. More important than the considerable economic or political developments were changes in the areas of religion and romance. Attempts to reinvigorate Quaker piety generated a spate of disciplinary actions and precipitated a decline in church affiliation. As the population of non-Yankee workers who came to the island to participate in the whalefishery grew, Quakers became a small minority. Diversity in religious practice and ethnicity replaced earlier uniformity.

As Quaker cohesion fell apart in the face of gener-

ational shifts and reform movements, and expectations regarding ideals of marriage placed growing emphasis on the primacy of romantic attachments between husband and wife, women found themselves increasingly isolated from neighbors and dependent on emotional ties to husbands gone for voyages that increased from months to years. Norling argues that "with the erosion of Quaker influence, more and more young islanders were susceptible to the radical new ideas and love and marriage" in imported reading material (p. 103). This assertion is a difficult one to prove. Drawing on what she can establish regarding reading habits and mining to good effect the correspondence between spouses, Norling makes a strong if not conclusive case for the cultural weight of these new models. One of the most engaging aspects of this work is the vivid prose with which Norling captures intimate bonds and their ebb and flow.

The processes Norling outlines for Nantucket were taking place elsewhere as well—notably in the other community she explores at length, New Bedford, the mainland town where the whalefishery became centered in the nineteenth century. As specialization and the global reach of whaling increased and voyages lengthened, men at sea became increasingly dependent on women to keep them in touch with and maintain their place in the community. Sea wives also aided whaling spouses by providing them with creature comforts, products of female work typically conceptualized in terms of their sentimental value. That symbolic linking of women's assistance with "love" rather than labor diminished the economic value attached to their endeavors, cloaking them in the language of domesticity. Yet women continued to perform a variety of tasks and income-generating activities throughout the period.

In charting the course of whaling voyages and the kinds of labor they entailed, Norling evokes a masculine world of hierarchy, class, and hardship that Melville would have recognized. In tying those men to the women on shore and establishing their emotional and economic connections to a world of women, she does more than populate the towns the men vacated. She offers a subtle and nuanced account of changing ideals and behavior, of the mutual dependencies of women and men united and separated by economic endeavor.

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ALLAN KULIKOFF. *From British Peasants to Colonial American Farmers*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 484. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.50.

Allan Kulikoff has given us a broadly conceived, synthetic account of the economic and social lives of early American farmers. He sees his study as parallel to but distinct from other "master narratives" of early

America: John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard's *Economy of British America 1607-1789* (1985), D. W. Meinig's *Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History* (1986), Jack P. Greene's *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture* (1988), and David Hackett Fischer's *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (1989). While the chapters are arranged chronologically, the focus of each is topical, and the result is one of the most distinctive aspects of the work: anecdotes and evidence from throughout the colonies (and, in some chapters, from disparate places in Britain and Germany) are lumped together in a way that challenges the regional analysis of most other synthetic studies. The approximately 300 pages of text are buttressed by more than 170 smaller-print pages of notes and bibliography, which will prove a gold mine for anyone trying to reference writing about the experiences of early rural Americans. Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and the like, of course, get hardly any mention.

Kulikoff argues that the capitalist transformation of European peasant economies lay behind most of the emigration from Britain and Germany, that most immigrants came in search of land and that most found it, that the search for land opened new frontiers in the eighteenth century just as it had opened tidewater areas in the seventeenth, and that land hunger lay behind the wars of annihilation waged against Native Americans. In his detailed description of the farm households that were the basic building blocks of the colonial rural economy, Kulikoff emphasizes two points. First, while most households sold crop surpluses in the market economy and provided for some of their own subsistence needs, the local exchange of produce and goods, what Kulikoff calls "the borrowing system," sustained most households most of the time. Second, he argues that households were organized around a central contradiction that assigned older men the status of patriarchs, even though the survival of the household depended on the labor of all family members, particularly the patriarch's wife. In his concluding chapter on rural areas during the American Revolution, he describes how the "farm economy nearly disintegrated" (p. 256) as both the borrowing system and labor markets were shut down by the fighting, currency inflation, and the attempts of black Americans to escape slavery. Kulikoff concludes the chapter with a dark restatement of the Turner thesis, worth quoting fully: "As long as unimproved land could be stolen from the Indians, the cycle of land development and land scarcity in older areas, Indian removal from their farms and hunting grounds, migration to new frontier, pioneer squatting, followed by purchase and development of land, could be repeated endlessly" (p. 288). Appropriately (keeping Turner in mind), in the afterword that follows, Kulikoff argues that all this set the stage for a "democratic class of small property holders" (p. 291).

Can we find much that is new in such well-plowed

ground? By frequently asking why some people emigrated from Britain or Germany when most did not, and by noting that many who left their homes did not come to British North America, Kulikoff has captured the precision with which questions about emigration and immigration are currently being asked by historians; some of his paragraphs, however, loaded with data from various localities, will leave readers longing for more maps or more careful regional distinctions. His description of the "borrowing system" elegantly finds a middle ground in the contentious debate over capitalist characteristics of the colonial farm economy. I read account books differently than he does and see much more evidence in them of market-related behavior. I think he downplays the importance of wage labor outside New England, and he spends far too little time on the role of consumption in encouraging greater market participation. Kulikoff's integration of materials from women's history into a general synthesis of economic life in colonial America is among the best yet written, but it will take more work to establish whether the contradictions between authority and responsibilities in the household created the tensions and anxieties he describes. The description of the effect of the Revolutionary War on rural America is better done than any previous account (and there are really no others that approach the subject as broadly as he does), although I think he overstates the case for the destruction caused by the war. Perhaps the most significant challenge Kulikoff faced was placing Native Americans and African-American slaves in a narrative about white householders of European ancestry, and writing a synthesis in which the absence or presence of Indians and slaves does not change the essential argument (most rural householders shared a common world, regardless of regional variations) without trivializing the role they did play in the colonial rural economy. He does this well and thus produces another distinctive "master narrative" of early America.

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PETER S. ONUF. *Jefferson's Empire: The Language of American Nationhood*. (Jeffersonian America.) Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 2000. Pp. xi, 250. \$27.95.

Peter S. Onuf's book is a collection of five essays, an introduction, and an epilogue, all of which have previously been presented either as papers, book chapters, or addresses. All of the chapters represent meditations on Thomas Jefferson's thought and include material on Jefferson's views on the Indians, a republican empire, the Revolution of 1800, the meaning of union, and African Americans and slavery.

Despite Jefferson's "generous assessment of the human potential of Indians" as "natural republicans," with a primitive "moral sense of right and wrong" (p. 19), he regarded Native peoples as stuck in a prehistory stage that gave them the bleak alternative of

extinction or adopting the culture of white society. Indeed, regardless of his feelings of sympathy and admiration, Jefferson constructed an intellectual rationale for the later removal policy of Andrew Jackson by arguing that Americans had little moral responsibility for the fate of the Indians, given the inevitable progress of civilization and the Indians' own choices.

The irony that characterized Jefferson's Indian policy was a constant of the Virginian's thought on many matters of public policy, at least according to Onuf's formulations. Yes, Jefferson was a localist, a loyal Virginian, but because he was "so prosperously and self-confidently situated on the imperial periphery . . . he could envision a republican alternative: an empire without a dominant metropolitan center that would expand across the continent, securing the rights of its member states and spreading its benefits equally" (p. 65). This bifurcated vision of empire "simultaneously served as the unifying, universalizing, nation-making myth for subsequent generations of Americans" as well as "a paradigm for a potentially divisive, increasingly sectionalized, nation-breaking politics" (p. 75).

The Missouri crisis and the following compromise endangered Jefferson's concept of union and threatened to destroy the handiwork of the revolutionary generation. Jefferson, according to Onuf, was committed to "the principle of equality, the foundational principle of his 'empire of liberty.'" Never retreating from defending civil liberties nor advocating states' rights merely to defend slavery, Jefferson stressed "the central importance of the autonomy, integrity, and equality of republics as corporate entities—as well as of the republican institutions that alone could guarantee the equal rights of self-governing individuals within the new states" (p. 113). The battle over Missouri statehood, therefore, left Jefferson deeply disillusioned and fearful that the "restrictionists," who would limit Missouri's sovereignty and were opposed to state equality, which was a fundamental tenet of republican union, would ultimately create a catastrophic geographic divide between an increasingly dominant North and a subordinate South.

Perhaps the best chapter deals with Jefferson's complex views toward slavery and blacks. On the one hand, he believed that slavery was "a crime against humanity," but he also asserted in his *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1784) that blacks "are inferior to the whites in the endowments of both body and mind" (p. 147). According to Onuf, Jefferson regarded Virginia slaves as a people who had no country and were in fact "a captive nation" (p. 149), a people that could only become free and independent through colonization in a new land. Failure to colonize American slaves, Jefferson feared, would lead to slave insurrections and racial warfare.

In his chapter on the "Revolution of 1800," Onuf argues that his intent is not to "challenge" the "libertarian narrative" of the 1790s that views Jefferson and as supporters were the champions of civil liberties "or to join the great constitutional historian Leonard

Levy" in questioning the constancy and depth of this commitment. Instead, Onuf points to a theme that runs throughout the book: that Jefferson's "libertarianism was inextricably connected to, and therefore contingent on, his definitions of citizenship and the collective body of citizens, the 'people' or 'nation.'" But—and this is the heart of the matter—the "vindication of individual rights" was dependent on the "jurisdictional autonomy of the state-republics that constituted the federal union" (p. 85). Thus, the Republicans defended states' rights and civil liberties, not as particularistic parochials but as champions of a larger vision of federal relationships.

Onuf does a good job in teasing out the national and states' rights elements of Jefferson's thought and constructing a complex but insightful understanding of the Virginian. However, this reviewer continues to harbor the belief that Jefferson's commitment to Virginia and states rights was more fundamental and can not be explained away by ironies and paradoxes. Jefferson and James Madison at the end of their lives were embarrassed by the sectional partisanship that had characterized their politics in the 1790s. One example of this was the alteration of a Jefferson letter to Madison in 1795 when someone, probably in the 1820s, crossed out "southern interest" in Jefferson's copy and replaced it with "republican interest." Most edited versions down through the early twentieth century contained the latter language. Jefferson's love "of affectionate union" was a union that evolved from Republican victory in 1801 and the continued hegemony of the Republican Party. It was also predicated on Jefferson's wariness of and "boundless hatred for his northern enemies" (p. 117).

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JOHN RESCH. *Suffering Soldiers: Revolutionary War Veterans, Moral Sentiment, and Political Culture in the Early Republic*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1999. pp. xiii, 319. \$40.00.

For quite a number of years now, historians have been arguing over the question of what sort of person actually served in the Continental Army. For some, it was the yeoman farmer of legend who willingly left his plow to defend the rights of Americans against their tyrannical English masters. Others argued an opposing view and offered that most men who served an extended term of service in the Continental Army were of a lesser sort and not even all that well connected to the communities from which they had been recruited. Indeed, eminent revolutionary era scholars such as James Kirby Martin and John Shy have long thought that the soldiers who formed the Continental Army were a more eclectic group than has previously been supposed. What John Resch proposes to do is take another look at a discrete group of individuals who have been positively identified as having performed some sort of military service during the Revolution.

Resch carries this mission even further by following the soldiers beyond their Revolutionary War years. Resch's main objective is to see if the image of the suffering soldier and the idea of the American Revolution as a popular war comport with fact or a mythologized sort of reality.

In order to answer this question, Resch decided to build on the pioneering work done originally by Shy and focused primarily on a sampling of soldiery from Peterborough, New Hampshire. While Resch's work is superbly researched, his survey is indeed founded on a rather shallow base for some of the broader assertions he eventually makes in his book. Moreover, throughout his work, Resch has the habit of extrapolating his findings from this one New England town to the rest of the Continental Army without much corroborative evidence.

As far as the study of Peterborough soldiers goes, Resch has developed some rather significant contributions to the postwar world of revolutionary-era veterans from this particular town and the country in general. Peterborough, unlike a wide variety of locations especially in the middle and southern colonies, has some remarkably extant sources on its citizens who fought and lived there following the war. As a result, Resch was able to conclude that a vast majority of adult males in Peterborough served in the military at some point in their lives during the first three years of the war. They did not avoid service and willingly served in some form. But what Resch does not do is to make a distinction about what sort of service these men actually performed. This is an extremely important difference. Recent work on the Continental Army soldiery has revealed that many white males who served actually did so for a period much shorter than the three years or more desired by George Washington and the Continental Congress. This is significant when one considers that the Continental Army remained in the field for nearly eight years. Moreover, enlistment terms of a longer duration were frequently characterized by resistance from the soldiery.

Was Peterborough representative of most New England towns or even towns of similar condition and size to those found in the middle and more southern colonies? Resch's research does not venture to answer this rather important question. Resch's argument that "claims made by modern historians, that the Continental Army was unrepresentative of society fails to materialize when all of Peterborough's soldiers are examined within the context of their households and community" (pp. 43-44) is also suspect. Resch rightly offers that "many townsmen served alternately in Militia companies, in state regiments, or in Continental units" (p. 44). This is a very broad distinction. Continental soldiers were offered only long-termed enlistment contracts after 1776, and most evidence from other historians has clearly demonstrated that this resulted in an annual manpower crisis for Washington's army and eventually caused a mutiny of the Pennsylvania and New Jersey lines. That the men of

Peterborough served in militia companies or state provincial units is a fact that reinforces the idea that if they were in these particular units, they obviously *were not* serving in the Continental establishment at that particular moment.

Resch really needs to study the Continental Army as an institution in an overarching way. As historian Charles Royster has pointed out, while many men served during the first year and a half of the war, considerably fewer did so afterwards. One only need recall the diary of that ubiquitous soldier, Joseph Plumb Martin of Connecticut, who confessed that he signed up for only one year's service out of fear of being "indentured" for a longer period of time. While Martin is eventually persuaded to sign for the "duration of the war," he was never considered a yeoman farmer or even of the middling sort in his hometown. And there were hundreds of others just like Martin, especially in the Continental lines of the middle and southern colonies. Thus while Resch's Peterborough work is very focused, he simply fails to provide convincing evidence that a wider spectrum of people served for long terms of service as Continental soldiers. Moreover, he compounds his error by failing to differentiate between local, state, and Continental service to any great degree.

Resch's work improves when he moves on from these sweeping and largely unsupported assertions to his work on the pension records. These records have long cried out for development, and it is the brave historian indeed who is willing to dissect the often crudely written and frequently moving appeals of America's revolutionary generation for financial assistance in their later years. Yet Resch does so with relish and investigates over 877 of them.

Resch's work from chapter four on is really quite good. His research indicates that the veterans of the Revolution began to achieve status as "republican-warriors" after the War of 1812. Indeed, "the groundswell of nostalgia for the Revolution" (p. 88) increased after 1816 and resulted in a series of Congressional legislative acts designed to improve the lot of the suffering veteran. His work on the pension scandal of 1818-1820 is an especially important addition to our understanding of the early national period of American history. Resch reveals the widespread fraud that appeared soon after the passage of a pension act. As a result, the government tightened eligibility controls, making it more difficult to prove that one had "served" during the War for Independence. For example, the pension law defined the Continental Army as "only those troops paid, clothed, armed and subsisted by Congress and whose officers were commissioned by Congress" (p. 126). Thus a vast number of part-time soldiers, militia, irregulars, and state troops were disqualified and excluded from the status of being a Revolutionary War veteran—an important badge of honor in those political times. To back up their pension claims, the government demanded that states "send copies of their enlistment records and payroll

records for those Continental Army regiments credited to their states" (p. 126). As a final act of humiliation, veterans had to swear out an affidavit of indigence or "reduced circumstances." Many veterans were not willing to admit their indigence and did not apply. Those that did and were disqualified became even more pitiable in the public mind, thus elevating the revolutionary soldier to an even higher plateau.

In conclusion, Resch's work on the Continental soldiery of Peterborough needs to be read with an understanding that Peterborough and its soldiers were not indicative of the entire span of those who served in the Continental Army—especially those of the middle colonies. His study of soldiers from one town in New England is simply too shallow to imply that a broad spectrum of American males served in the Continental Army. However, his work on the pension records and his idea that "partisan rhetoric, revisionist histories, and nationalist publications helped to create [the post Revolutionary war] image of the suffering soldier" (pp. 198) appears to be well founded. Nevertheless, Resch neglects to consider that the nation perhaps responded to these "heroes" of the Revolution not out of moral sentiment and a revised image but rather from a sense of guilt over their final lot in life.

CHARLES P. NEIMEYER
U.S. Naval War College

JOYCE APPLEBY. *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2000. Pp. viii, 322. \$26.00.

This concise, elegant study succeeds at almost every level. Joyce Appleby explores the sensibilities of the first generation of Americans, those who began coming of age in the 1790s with no personal memories of the colonial era and its monarchical roots and who remained active until about 1830. Although her mastery of the scholarship of the early republic verges on the encyclopedic, she draws primarily on over two hundred autobiographies published by members of this cohort, including several women and African Americans. Autobiographies, rare in the colonial era, became immensely popular in the early republic. Appleby's specific findings will not startle the experts in this period, but her synthesis is persuasive—indeed, compelling. No one else has pulled together a comparable range of materials with the impact and literary grace that this book carries.

The optimism of these people seems overwhelming, even though they knew that the republic was fragile. Why else, as Appleby wryly notes, would some of them in 1808 have created an Association of American Patriots for the Purpose of Forming a National Character? Yet the members of her cohort extolled their era as unique in the opportunity it provided for young people, and they attributed this good fortune to the political legacy of the American Revolution, including economic opportunities that no previous generation had enjoyed. The full pattern emerged after the Jef-

fersonian triumph of 1800–1801, an event that, for Appleby, transformed the republic far more decisively than the later victory of the Jacksonians. Ironically, the new Jeffersonian leaders then lost much of their moral authority to the preachers of the Second Great Awakening, an upheaval that, she concludes, "differed from its colonial predecessor by surviving the controversies it generated" (p. 204).

These new political and religious sensibilities took hold much more deeply in the North—that is, in states that had accepted either immediate or gradual abolition of slavery—than in the South. Southerners remained more committed to family than to "careers" (a new term, Appleby points out), and very quickly slavery shifted from an institution taken for granted everywhere in British North America as of 1770 to a "peculiar institution" confined to the Old South. Appleby's powerful yet sensitive emphasis on this question contrasts sharply with the near indifference she displayed towards slavery in her earlier celebration of the Jeffersonian achievement, *Capitalism and a New Social Order: The Republican Vision of the 1790s* (1984).

Appleby understands that the republic's first generation, by placing America's political and economic systems beyond meaningful debate, gravely constricted the policy options of its successors. She also grasps other negative implications of social change in the early republic, where life expectancy was declining sharply from what it had been during the previous century. On this point, she could be more consistent. Early in the book, she puts life expectancy for both white men and women who had survived to age twenty at only forty-five (lower for slaves). Later, however, she estimates it at forty-eight for white men and women who had survived to age ten, which would raise it to fifty or more for those who reached age twenty. That discrepancy hardly undercuts any of the book's central arguments. Yellow fever, tuberculosis, and later cholera took an enormous toll during the early republic. The wonder remains that these perils had almost no impact on the optimism of her autobiographers, unless, of course, we accept the most obvious explanation: all of these authors lived long enough to share the story of their own lives with the reading public.

On one point, Appleby's perceptions seem less certain, perhaps even misplaced. In her chapter on reform, she emphasizes the beginnings of the temperance movement, even though its impact before 1830 was slight. A more interesting issue might have been the enormous rise between 1790 and 1830 of alcohol consumption, a trend that Appleby notes but does not explore.

Why did men deeply committed to celebrating the American republic also feel compelled to drown their sensibilities in quantities of alcohol per capita that have had no parallel among earlier or later generations of Americans? Was the break between past and present too huge to absorb, despite the celebrational

mood? This discrepancy between public pronouncements and private behavior deserves more attention than the author realizes.

JOHN M. MURRIN
Princeton University

CAROLYN J. LAWES. *Women and Reform in a New England Community 1813–1860*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2000. Pp. x, 265. \$39.95.

This book traces the development of women's social organizations in Worcester, Massachusetts, from the period of disestablishment through the emergence of the women's movement during the 1850s. Paying particularly close attention to women's sewing circles and the Children's Friend Society, Carolyn J. Lawes argues that these organizations provided a feminist sensibility that was crucial to the formation of women's rights organizations in the city.

The first chapter examines the split that occurred in the First Church of Worcester in 1820. Three wealthy and powerful women, dissatisfied with the uninspired preaching of their new minister, left to form the Calvinist Church. Lawes examines the inner workings of the church, revealing, not surprisingly, that a majority of its congregants were women. More surprising is the power they exercised. At the Calvinist Church, women voted along with the men in the selection of ministers. While Lawes notes that they always agreed with the men in their congregation and thus did not challenge male decisions, this exercise of power in a religious congregation is particularly striking given the growing evidence in other works of the extent to which women's leadership in the Protestant churches of the time was being circumscribed.

Lawes then examines several of the sewing circles that developed in Worcester during the antebellum period. She argues that the sewing circles, in particular, were an arena wherein the lines between the public and the private blurred, as women used these gatherings for readings and discussion and eventually, as a springboard for political statements. Their commitment to politics became particularly clear in the formation of the Anti-Slavery Sewing Circle.

Examining the Children's Friend Society, founded in the late 1840s, Lawes argues that this society had more tolerant and flexible attitudes toward children than male organizations such as Charles Loring Brace's New York Children's Aid Society. The "maternalism" of the Worcester organization was rooted in empathy for the crises of those they aided, an empathy that derived from their own situations. While many of these women were beneficiaries of the emerging market economy, Lawes notes how unstable their lives could be in terms of everything from the bankruptcies of their husbands, to their frequent moves from one house to the next, to the painful deaths of young children.

Lawes also argues that there was a growing consciousness among women that the problems faced by

poor children were not the result of recalcitrant parents but of poverty. It was this realization that led to new forms of child protection, especially with boarding and foster families. These were alternatives that allowed parents to reclaim their children when their finances stabilized. The death of a spouse or the illness of a parent might render someone unable to care for his or her children briefly, and temporary placement of the children provided critical support.

In conclusion, Lawes looks at the women's rights conventions that were held in Worcester in the early 1850s and the emerging women's rights movement. She notes the way in which many women accepted the idea of women's sphere but refused to construe it in narrow terms. Feminists were interested in expanding ideas of women's work. Lawes sees an overlap in both ideology and membership between the growing feminist movement and women's participation in many of the reform groups she describes. This was particularly true with respect to support for female employment.

Lawes does demonstrate some overlap in membership among these groups, but, to a certain extent, her argument depends upon a recognition of shared concerns. Lawes's analysis of female activism, like that found in the work of Nancy Isenberg, stresses the multifaceted nature of the issues feminists took up in the early phases of the movement. By doing so, she is able to show the way in which women's groups that are not generally seen as having a high degree of political consciousness or agitating for social change did in fact contain elements of both. The women's movement was not just a struggle for the vote, and the women who participated in it had broader issues of social policy in mind.

TERESA ANNE MURPHY
George Washington University

PAUL WILLIAM HARRIS. *Nothing But Christ: Rufus Anderson and the Ideology of Protestant Foreign Missions*. (Religion in America Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. viii, 204. \$39.95.

1837 was a troubling year for American evangelicals. This was especially true for Rufus Anderson, corresponding secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), whose professional activism was bound up with the then twenty-year-long effort to export American Protestantism. After all, sustaining a missionary presence in the Sandwich Islands, Ceylon, or the Ottoman Empire was difficult in the best of times. That year's panic and its Great Schism only made matters worse. The severe economic contraction, for example, undercut the capacity of the ABCFM to raise funds to reinforce spiritual and educational outreach. A further hindrance was the growing power of northern abolitionism, against which southern Presbyterians rebelled. Wrote Anderson to missionaries in Bombay: "There is much radicalism abroad, political, religious, and

moral, and it is sometimes hard to keep our good ship on her proper course" (p. 81).

Anderson neither doubted what constituted the proper course, nor that he was the best navigator of it. As Paul William Harris makes clear in this first major study of Anderson's career, the financial setbacks confronting and ideological threats to the missionary enterprise did not deflect the ABCFM secretary. Rather, they emboldened him in his efforts to direct and control the transmission of God's word to those he believed were benighted heathens.

His certitude may have had something to do with his early life. Born in 1796, Anderson was raised in a household dedicated to Christ and buffeted by tragedy. As a child, Anderson lost his mother and two brothers to tuberculosis, a disease that would claim his minister father in 1810. Yet why this bereft young man should readily find a home within the fledgling missionary movement, quickly assume a dominant position within its workings, and adopt a paternal tone with its far-scattered employees are not issues that Harris probes. He acknowledges upfront that those interested in the intersection of the inner and outer man will be disappointed in his decision to "draw the background for understanding Anderson's point of view primarily from the public world of antebellum Protestantism" (p. 6). Given this narrative orientation, it is oddly fitting that Anderson is relegated to the book's subtitle.

For those missionaries who reported to Anderson, however, he occupied nothing but center stage. They had to ask him for any increases in financial support, justify the need for replacements and expansion of staff, and seek his permission to return to the states. He advised them of their mission's goals and chided them when they failed to conform to the standards he set. Because he was the conduit through which the missionaries spoke to the ABCFM's governing board, and the board in turn communicated their wishes through him, Anderson was perfectly placed to define each group to the other.

He took full advantage of his pivotal position. The exigencies of 1837, for instance, allowed him to clamp down on abolitionist sentiment within missionary ranks and to marginalize those who criticized the ABCFM's refusal to challenge oppression at home and abroad. Tight money reinforced another of Anderson's conservative impulses. Ever ready to cut costs, he reconceived the missionary agenda. Instead of promoting English-language boarding schools to raise up an indigenous ministry modeled after their American teachers, he advocated a policy emphasizing vernacular education; its outcome would later be called the "Three Self" program, in which local churches would become self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating. Harris does not read into Anderson's proposal to indigenize Christianity a "solidarity with the oppressed" and rebukes the corresponding secretary for his unwillingness "to identify with the socially disadvantaged and downtrodden groups in the mission fields" (p. 7). Through the conversion of Western

missions to indigenous churches, Anderson reasoned, the ABCFM would gain financial relief.

His reasoning carried the day and remains influential. It was Anderson, Harris concludes, who shaped the context of the still-ongoing debate about missionary ends by articulating "an ideology that appeared respectful of other cultures while remaining fundamentally Eurocentric in its orientation," and by advancing "a theory that sought to foster native agency by suppressing indigenous aspirations" (pp. 162-63). In so arguing, Harris clarifies why this complex and seminal figure deserves a full biography.

CHAR MILLER
Trinity University

GERARD T. KOEPEL. *Water for Gotham: A History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 355. \$29.95.

Gerard T. Koepfel's book chronicles the history of water supply in New York City from the earliest Dutch settlements through the mid-nineteenth century. By far, the bulk of the story focuses upon the period between the 1770s and the 1830s, during which time New York City desperately needed a safe and adequate supply of water. Repeated epidemics and devastating fires underscored the critical situation that existed. Nevertheless, New York City's government failed to provide an ample supply of water, and the efforts of the private sector proved similarly ineffective. In 1832, the tide began to turn when the state interceded and managed the construction of the Croton Aqueduct. Nevertheless, New York's continued growth in the succeeding years demanded that the search for new water supplies be continued. Koepfel sums up the succeeding one hundred and fifty years of New York's water supply history in a concluding chapter.

Koepfel tries to explain the failure of the public or private sector to introduce an ample supply of fresh water by citing political events and personal ambition for delaying the construction of a water supply system. New York's early fall to the British during the Revolutionary War prevented Christopher Colles from executing his plan. Then, in 1799, New York State approved the formation of the Manhattan Company "for supplying the City of New-York with pure and wholesome water" (p. 85). Although the Manhattan Company had exclusive rights to supply water, however, it had very little stimulus to do so in a responsible fashion. Inasmuch as the company had the right to invest its surplus capital in banking ventures (a testimony to the political savvy of its founder, Aaron Burr), maximizing profits remained its priority, and it did little to alleviate the thirst of New Yorkers. Moreover, the monopoly status of the Manhattan Company undermined the efforts of other private companies from executing any other initiatives that might provide the much-needed water. During the 1820s, numerous proposals challenged the Manhattan Company's exclusive

rights, but despite the initial flurry of interest, nothing materialized.

In 1833, the state established a water commission to supply New York with water, and they hired engineer David Bates Douglass to design and oversee the construction of an aqueduct to do this. Three years later the commissioners replaced Douglass with John Bloomfield Jervis, citing lack of progress for this change, though Koepfel suggests that personal animosity contributed to Douglass's discharge. Nevertheless, Jervis succeeded in bringing water to the limits of New York City in 1842. However, it would take still longer for a system to be built to distribute the water about New York City adequately.

Although this is an interesting story, Koepfel offers the scholar of New York City history little that is new. While it is clear that Koepfel used numerous primary sources (the Minutes of the Common Council, several newspapers, and the Burr papers, for example) to complement the secondary literature (including I. N. Phelps Stokes's classic, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island* [1915], and Nelson Blake, *Water for the Cities: A History of the Urban Water Supply Problem in the United States* [1956]), this book does not go much beyond the classic narrative that Blake chronicled almost fifty years ago. I think that Koepfel is all too satisfied telling a story rather than ask the more probing question of why political and personal ambition succeeded in preventing a much-needed water supply from being constructed. What were the political interests that drove public policy? Koepfel discusses several other cities that introduced a water supply before New York. Why did they succeed in this effort while New Yorkers failed? Some of the recent literature on New York has attempted to study this period and place it in a more analytical framework by addressing the larger questions of what drives public policy and why decisions, so apparently not in the greater public interest, were made. Koepfel comes to this subject from a reporter's background rather than that of a historian, and he clearly finds more comfort in reporting history than in explaining why it took the form that it did.

Nevertheless, Koepfel does bring a reporter's flare for story telling that makes this an extremely well-written narrative spiced with engaging anecdotes. Numerous maps, portraits, and cartoons illustrate the book nicely. For this reason, students of New York City history as well as the general public will find it an interesting read as well as an informative narrative.

JOANNE ABEL GOLDMAN
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CHARLES W. MCCURDY. *The Anti-Rent Era in New York Law and Politics, 1839–1865*. (Studies in Legal History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2001. Pp. xvii, 408. \$45.00.

REEVE HUSTON. *Land and Freedom: Rural Society, Popular Protest, and Party Politics in Antebellum New*

York. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. ix, 291. \$35.00.

In 1839, just as a prolonged national economic depression began, hundreds of farmers holding land under perpetual lease on the vast upstate New York manor of Rensselaerwyck began what Charles W. McCurdy calls "the most spectacular tenant rebellion in United States history" (p. xiii). Protesting the harsh terms and feudal encumbrances in their leasehold contracts, Anti-Renters withheld their annual dues and met landlords' efforts at compulsion or dispossession with armed resistance that led to three deaths. Settling into an ongoing impasse during the 1840s, the insurrection spread to thousands of tenants on other estates in eleven counties. For years, Anti-Rentism roiled New York's politics and confounded its courts.

Reeve Huston and McCurdy seek new meaning from this famous episode. Huston assimilates Anti-Rentism to the burgeoning recent literature on the so-called transition to capitalism. The New York rent strike exemplified a broader national conflict "over an issue at the foundation of the social order: the distribution of the means of production" (p. 5). As commercial intercourse infiltrated the traditional family farm economy, male heads of tenant households sought to establish their place in the emerging capitalist order. Their outlook ambivalently, even contradictorily, melded agrarian doctrines of the laborer's natural right to the land with impulses of individual self-aggrandizement; and accordingly their methods fluctuated between direct, sometimes violent, communal action and working for redress within the capitalist legal and political structure. Ultimately there emerged from Anti-Rentism an ideology of free labor that justified the tenants' revolt against landlord oppression and also joined with and buttressed the growing anti-slavery crusade. Yet in sanctifying market relations and commodity landownership, it excluded a truer egalitarian vision of every producer's right to the soil, of universal access to land as the guarantee of freedom. Anti-Rentism thus at once challenged, accommodated, contributed, and surrendered to the new capitalist regime.

Where Huston seeks to universalize Anti-Rentism, McCurdy particularizes it. He pinpoints the source of the insurgency in the uniquely archaic manorial land tenures in upstate New York—tenures that existed nowhere else in America and that had been banned even in England for five hundred years. Judges, lawyers, and politicians of both parties, including Whig Governor William Seward and Democrat Silas Wright, decried long leases and feudal obligations as repugnant to American values and at war with the improving spirit of the age—in Seward's words, as "oppressive, antirepublican and degrading" (p. 331). Yet the landlords' rights were enshrined in proper legal forms and protected by bedrock principles of property and contract. The very respect for security and fair treatment

that condemned manorial tenure frustrated efforts to get rid of it.

McCurdy sets his task as explaining the constraints that enabled a system detested by nearly everyone to survive for so long. In painstaking and at times excruciating detail, he narrates Anti-Rent's legislative and judicial ins and outs through its final collapse in the 1860s. In McCurdy's telling, Anti-Rentism foundered not on contradictions in tenant ideology but on legal and constitutional obstacles, partisan cross-purposes, and divergent tactics. Anti-Renters pressed variously to overturn the landlords' title, to strip them of compulsive legal process, to tax their estates out of existence, to prohibit their devolution through inheritance, or to extinguish them through the state's power of *eminent domain*. All of these strategies held flaws; each in part undercut the other. Armed defiance of civil authority dramatized the tenants' desperation but also discredited their cause. Party competition for Anti-Rent votes fueled insurgent sentiment yet blocked a consensual solution. The consequence was a long and demoralizing stalemate that in the end benefitted no one. McCurdy offers this sorry tale as a cautionary reminder of the limits of democratic decisionmaking.

Like other American rural insurgencies, Anti-Rentism ended inconclusively, with more clear losers than winners on both sides. As the depression eased and legal and political recourses dead-ended, organized tenant resistance fizzled. Restored cash flow from rising crop prices enabled many farmers to buy out their landlords. Others eventually paid up their rents, moved out, or were thrown off. Stymied and desperate, the Van Rennselaers sold their estate for a relative pittance to a buyer who himself went bankrupt.

The timing and setting of Anti-Rentism, as well as its anticlimactic ending, suggest questions about its essence that apply to other celebrated farm protests from Daniel Shays's Rebellion to Populism. How radical was the tenants' outlook? Did they contemplate changes that were fundamental or merely circumstantial? Were they, at bottom, as Huston clearly wishes to believe, agrarians struggling, even against their own leadership, to sustain a levelling vision of universal proprietorship directly at odds with capitalist assumptions? Or were they rather, as McCurdy implies, citizens driven by hard times and uniquely oppressive tenures to employ extraordinary means in seeking a conventional, and hardly radical, goal of fee-simple ownership? Did tenant purchase and conversion of manorial estates to owner-operated commercial farms mark the insurgents' incomplete victory (McCurdy) or their final defeat (Huston)? The two books under review raise anew these vital questions. It is perhaps no criticism that neither provides final answers.

DANIEL FELLER
University of New Mexico

ISABELLE LEHUU. *Carnival on the Page: Popular Print Media in Antebellum America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 244. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$17.95.

In this informed, thoughtful study of American antebellum print culture, Isabelle Lehuu considers some of the popular materials circulated between 1832 and the Panic of 1857. She is interested in the outpouring of uncopyrighted, non-book artifacts, which she interprets as signifying a transient, unique era of festive abundance. Combining Mikhail Bakhtin's theory of carnival as a licensed disruption of established norms with Victor Turner's theory of liminality, and applying this amalgam to the history of the book, Lehuu sees antebellum print culture as a carnivalesque disruption of the disciplinary, authoritarian culture of book learning.

She proposes that the proliferation of such ephemera as penny newspapers, mammoth-sized weeklies, gift book annuals, and ladies' magazines aimed to please rather than instruct a white population that was both newly literate and newly urban. Technological efficiencies of paper making, printing, and distributing allowed for large-scale production of inexpensive print objects but dictated neither the content of such objects nor the uses they would serve. Rather than being transformed by print into prudent, self-governing citizens—as republican ideology assumed would be the case—antebellum readers transformed print itself into a raucously transgressive cultural arena.

Accepting Pierre Bourdieu's contention that the literary field has its own structure but is also an index to the larger culture, Lehuu interprets the antebellum era in general as less orderly, more exuberantly festive, than it had been earlier and became later. Even the surly folk who castigated promiscuous reading habits testified to the reality of a print carnival, ironically using print to make their case. Rather than an anguished, riven nation ruptured by know-nothingism, class conflict, and frontier violence while sliding irrevocably toward catastrophic civil war, Lehuu's United States is a free-wheeling, high-spirited, experimental democracy characterized by careless, good-natured contempt for highbrow strictures.

The author's method is to analyze one leading example of four chosen print formats in terms of a key attribute of that format: crime stories for the penny paper as the genre is exemplified by the *New York Herald*; the gargantuan size of *Brother Jonathan* for the weeklies; idealized female portraiture for gift books like *The Token*; and the hand-colored fashion plates in *Godey's Lady's Book* for the women's magazines. Lehuu's analytic shift from text to illustration when she considers women-centered print artifacts implies, perhaps erroneously, that women were less interested in words than men were. Her point in the second part of her study seems to be that the proliferation of illustrations of women contributed to the feminization of

American culture through the publicity such depictions gave to scenes of domestic privacy.

Lehuh's final analytic chapter, on would-be reformers of reading, interprets advice about how to read as the lamentations of a learned elite as it lost cultural control. By mid-century, however, this "liminal phase of American print culture gave way to the reaggregation phase and the consolidation of cultural order" (p. 159). With a dominant Puritan-republican orthodoxy behind it, and a dominant market consumerism ahead of it, the antebellum era constituted a unique moment of popular power—at least in the print domain—for ordinary Americans.

Lehuh's four examples are of course only a sampling of the many kinds of popular print materials characteristic of the times, and each of her four types was itself far more capacious than her approach allows. *Godey's Lady's Book*, for example, has come down in history because of its fashion plates; but the publication in fact carried just one such plate in each monthly issue. It is impossible that the other 1500-plus pages every year contained mere filler. The fashion plates were necessary to sell the journal; but they could not have been sufficient to account for its huge circulation.

In that no evidence is offered for the alleged uniformity of print culture before and after the liminal period, one might query Lehuh's historical model, arguing both that elite culture never had the grip on reading practices that she imagines for it and that the antebellum carnival was decorous compared to what was yet to come. In short, the book's findings are insufficient to its claims. But it has the great strength of an alert receptivity to the variety of artifacts that ought to be factored into any responsible study of print culture. And one can only welcome its recognition of how much more there is to any culture than the iterated, joyless indoctrination into robotic citizenry supposed by adherents of ideological criticism.

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STACEY M. ROBERTSON. *Parker Pillsbury: Radical Abolitionist, Male Feminist*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 232. \$35.00.

In her thoroughly researched and well-written biography of Parker Pillsbury, Stacey M. Robertson explores the personality and career of a nineteenth-century perfectionist whom scholars have long considered a crank on the fringe of the abolitionist movement. While Robertson acknowledges that Pillsbury was an eccentric who consciously developed an outsider identity early in life, she argues persuasively that he was also a sensitive visionary and a committed idealist who sincerely advocated social justice, often at great personal expense.

Robertson claims that, although Pillsbury labored as a field agent far removed from the Garrisonian headquarters in Boston, he exerted real influence on the

radical abolitionists' strategy and ideology. Pillsbury, along with Stephen Symonds Foster, Abby Kelley Foster, and other American Anti-Slavery Society lecturers, mobilized a formidable grass-roots constituency in the West and in rural New England. Unfortunately, we never get a clear idea of who these converts were or how Pillsbury and other agents sought to connect them with the larger cause.

Robertson is more successful in exploring Pillsbury's odyssey from a youth characterized by poverty and limited educational opportunities to his role as a leading "come-outer" perfectionist who rejected organized religion yet remained committed to evangelical Christianity. Her study enlarges our understanding of the relationship between religion and abolitionism as well as the forces that led Pillsbury and other like-minded social activists to occupy the radical margins of American society.

Historians of the American antislavery movement have recently shed new light on the ideological diversity among opponents of slavery. While Robertson can be faulted for largely ignoring the moderate abolitionists who turned to political action, she deftly analyzes the complex mix of cooperation and conflict among the radicals. Her investigation of their relationships reminds us, once again, of the dangers inherent in making sweeping generalizations about these activists.

Pillsbury was most compatible with other perfectionists, such as the Fosters, and he both admired and was mentored by Nathaniel P. Rogers, William Lloyd Garrison, and Wendell Phillips. Yet he ultimately broke with Rogers, Garrison, and Phillips on matters of strategy and philosophy. His unwillingness to embrace Rogers's ultraradical "no-organization" philosophy especially underscores the fact that even the most uncompromising radicals could not agree on what constituted ideological purity. At the same time, notwithstanding his confrontational nature, Pillsbury frequently attempted to mediate conflict among his radical colleagues.

Robertson also devotes considerable attention to Pillsbury's views regarding gender. A man of enormous mental toughness and physical courage, he nevertheless rejected the prevailing association of masculinity with self-interest and domination. The author believes that Pillsbury sincerely advocated egalitarian gender relationships and conscientiously sought to apply his convictions to his private life. Yet based on her research in hitherto unused manuscript correspondence between Pillsbury and his wife and daughter, she concedes that his extended tours in the West and in Europe meant that much of the parenting and household management in fact fell to his wife, Sarah. At times this reader wondered just how committed Pillsbury was to the idea of shared domestic responsibilities.

One cannot, however, doubt his devotion to women's suffrage, even to the point of alienating abolitionist friends who insisted upon the primacy of black suffrage following the Civil War. In taking this stand,

however, he belied his avowed attachment to equal rights for African Americans; indeed, during the Reconstruction era, he was quite insensitive toward their struggle for justice. Thus, once again we see that the goal of ideological purity was elusive.

In her investigation of Pillsbury's connection with the rationalist Free Labor Association as well as vegetarianism, hydrotherapy, and physical exercise during the late nineteenth century, Robertson illustrates important links between pre-Civil War and postwar reform activism. Determined to remain active in the field of moral reform, he sought to integrate science with social agitation within the larger framework of the perfectionist philosophy. An outsider and a perfectionist to the end, he indeed came to criticize the women's rights movement for adopting an expedient course late in the century.

This study is a welcome addition to the literature on nineteenth-century perfectionism. It sheds valuable light on the complex relationships forged within the radical wing of the abolitionist movement and on the connections between the struggles for racial and gender equality. Robertson's study also enhances our understanding of the difficult choices that confronted radicals who challenged deep-seated beliefs and values in nineteenth-century America. Finally, this book is compelling evidence that, as the author asserts, "history is the story of individual lives" (p. 4).

HUGH DAVIS

Southern Connecticut State University

LARRY EUGENE RIVERS. *Slavery in Florida: Territorial Days to Emancipation*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2000. Pp. xvi, 369. \$29.95.

The study of slavery in Florida offers scholars many challenges but also opportunities. No other antebellum state had a more diverse population or a more diverse landscape, and this diversity poses difficulties for historians struggling to make sense of the state's slavery experience. Many factors, conditions, and circumstances helped shape the institution of slavery in Florida. Its heritage as a Spanish colony, its frontier status, its continued engagement with the West Indies, its peculiar tradition as a haven for escaped slaves: all provided for extensive interaction among Africans, Native Americans, and Spaniards. By building on the path-breaking scholarship of Kenneth Porter and the more recent work of Jane Landers, Daniel Schafer, and Canter Brown, Jr., Larry Eugene Rivers takes into full account these important features in his excellent work on the peculiar institution in Florida. Few other scholars have been better suited to undertake this work. For more than twenty years, Rivers has combed archival collections, county courthouses, and other repositories in and outside Florida. His seminal articles have explored various aspects of slavery at the county level.

Rivers's book represents the first comprehensive study of the institution of slavery in Florida to appear

in over twenty-five years. Julia Smith's *Slavery and Plantation Growth in Antebellum Florida, 1821-1860* (1973) was limited primarily to Middle Florida, the territory and state's plantation belt in the upper panhandle between the Suwannee and Apalachicola rivers. Moreover, at the time Smith undertook her study, examination of the institution from the bottom up was only beginning to move forward. Rivers's study continues the more modern trend of keeping the slaves themselves at the center of the story.

Rivers structures his study around twelve chapters covering different aspects of slavery in Florida. Placing his study within the context of national and even hemispheric trends, his chapters cover traditional subjects like slavery on large and small plantations, the slave family, slave religion, material conditions, physical treatment, resistance, and the interaction between blacks and whites and among the slaves themselves. This work also explores the role of women, children, and the elderly in slavery. Legal issues such as the sale, mortgaging, and manumission of slaves, as well as the criminal law, are also addressed. Other subjects such as African-Native American collaboration, the differing nuances of the institution in East and West Florida, as well as Florida's unique population demographics offer dimensions that will be less familiar to scholars. In Middle Florida, where cotton was king and population was most dense, patterns of settlement and work regimens mirrored traditional areas of the Old South. In East and West Florida, however, slaves toiled under a less rigorous system. Slaves in those areas harvested cotton, but they also herded cattle, cut timber, worked turpentine, fished, and sometimes hunted on their own account.

Few other subjects of American history have so many varying interpretations as the nature and significance of antebellum slavery. The mass of scholarship on the subject is daunting, to say the least. One of the many strengths of this work is that Rivers somehow builds on, masters, and addresses other scholarship without getting bogged down in what others have written. In so doing, Rivers places Florida directly within the context of other major political, social, and economic trends in the antebellum South. For far too long and for a number of reasons—ranging from the state's small population to a reluctance of the profession to consider the state's complicated demographic and social dimensions—the state's antebellum history has been largely ignored by historians. Rivers's work will likely go a long way toward remedying this situation.

This book contains many previously unpublished illustrations and several expertly constructed maps. Rivers's work is balanced, judicious, free of jargon and tendentious theories or overly drawn theses. He makes sound judgments and analyses based on copious research in secondary and previously under-utilized primary sources. The book's readability will make it accessible to general readers as well as scholars and will ensure that it reaches a wide audience. This book

will remain the definitive work on slavery in Florida for many years to come.

JAMES M. DENHAM
Florida Southern College

DICK STEWARD. *Duels and the Roots of Violence in Missouri*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2000. Pp. 286. \$29.95.

Dick Steward likens violence in antebellum Missouri to a pyramid. At its apex stood the formal duel between gentlemen. Next came "semi-institutionalized combat" at militia musters, court days, huskings, and other well-lubricated celebrations. "Slickings," vigilante-style whippings with a green hickory stick, ranked a little lower. Individual whippings, generally of those who had insulted a gentleman but who were considered to be of insufficient social standing to warrant a challenge, came next. The base of the pyramid consisted of everyday, noninstitutionalized forms of violence: the knifings, brawls, and gougings that common men used to settle their disputes and defend their reputations. Steward says little about these directly, although the larger thesis of his book is that upper-class dueling, the most high-profile form of masculine combat, subtly influenced and justified all forms of quarrelsome male violence.

Dueling was, of course, about the defense of honor. But it was also—and here the book is at its most incisive—about social advancement. A young lawyer looking for business or an aspiring politician courting public favor could do no better than fight a well-publicized duel. Thomas Hart Benton gained notoriety from his duels with Charles Lucas, an aristocratic young lawyer who fell mortally wounded during their second encounter. Abiel Leonard made his career in a single bold dueling stroke. Leonard was a homely Dartmouth graduate who suffered from failing eyesight and small stature—hardly the type likely to succeed in the southern-dominated Missouri of the 1820s. He failed as a circuit attorney, at one point becoming so dispirited that he considered drowning himself in the Missouri River. In 1824 Major Taylor Berry, a popular local figure whom Leonard had unsuccessfully prosecuted, added insult to injury by calling Leonard a "damn Yankee" and publicly lashing him. Leonard promptly challenged Berry to a duel. He put aside his legal affairs, spent nine weeks practicing, and, poor vision or no, put a bullet through Berry's lungs. Though convicted, fined, and disbarred for dueling, fourteen hundred citizens signed a petition for the restoration of Leonard's rights, which the Missouri legislature granted. "Southerners," comments Steward, "knew the code of honor gave Leonard little choice but to fight" (p. 106).

This reaction was entirely typical, at least during the antebellum period. Neither Leonard nor any of the other surviving duelists whose adventures Steward recounts seem to have suffered any lasting sanction. On the contrary, Leonard's legal star began to rise

after the duel. He attracted lucrative private and state business, married well, gained a seat in the legislature in 1834, and one on the Missouri Supreme Court in 1855. By the time he died, in 1863, he owned 60,000 acres and a porticoed mansion. Steward offers several examples of this sort of duel-based mobility. Missouri's lawyers, despite their nominal role as upholders of the law, took to the field of honor more often than any other group. By adopting the title "esquire" and the dueling code, young attorneys signaled their gentlemanly status and suitability for public office. Political opposition to dueling was weak or inconsistent, as was that from the press. Only the evangelical ministers, who condemned the practice from the pulpit and privately mediated quarrels, effectively opposed dueling.

Though based on wide reading in primary sources, Steward's study is resolutely nonquantitative. His disinclination to count makes it difficult to know how frequently duels occurred relative to an expanding population base, or how precipitously they declined after their antebellum heyday. Steward concedes that duels were rare in comparison to other forms of violence. Owing, however, to sensational press coverage and popular fascination—high-profile duels were often the main topic of conversation for weeks on end—he believes that they occupied a singular place in the state's violent past. Missourians learned from these spectacles that killing in defense of honor seldom resulted in conviction or even arrest. The lesson stuck. Well into the twentieth century, Missourians often applied the term "duel" to more pedestrian forms of combat, both as a means of deflecting the law and heightening the glory of the participants. Although the real article had essentially disappeared by the end of Reconstruction, its principal legacy, that men could kill one another over matters of reputation, lived on.

DAVID T. COURTWRIGHT
University of North Florida

CHRISTOPHER PHILLIPS. *Missouri's Confederate: Claiborne Fox Jackson and the Creation of Southern Identity in the Border West*. (Missouri Biography Series.) Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 342. \$29.95.

Published as a volume in the Missouri Biography Series of the University of Missouri Press, Christopher Phillips's study of Claiborne Fox Jackson sets ambitious goals. Focusing on the life of a relatively obscure state politician, Phillips explores the construction (and reconstruction) of regional identity in the Midwest. In particular, his book charts the process and the events that transformed Missourians from westerners to southerners.

Jackson was a central figure in Missouri's Democratic Party and in state politics during the antebellum era. His career peaked, however, just as the Civil War shattered the state's political system. Elected governor in 1860, Jackson served in office for a brief, tumultu-

ous period. He became a lightning rod for Missouri's secessionist movement, was exiled from office and from the state by federal forces in the summer of 1861, and led a rump assembly that drafted the state's secession ordinance in October 1861. By December 1862, Jackson was dead from stomach cancer.

But more important than the examination of Jackson's political life, Phillips analyzes the remaking of regional identity in Missouri. He argues that for Missourians, especially those living in central and western parts of the state, individual liberty formed the core of regional—western—identity. Slavery, however, became an integral component of the brand of westernness that Jackson and other Missourians embraced. Typically migrants from Kentucky and other slave states, these residents viewed the peculiar institution as a "social good" that symbolized democracy, liberty, personal authority, and the potential for (white men's) individual achievement. In short, for Missourians, the right to own slaves represented the essence of western liberty and democracy, according to Phillips. Thus, during the 1830s and the 1840s, slaveholding became a fundamental part of the western identity of Missourians.

As the sectional crisis exploded, Missourians defended their state, and specifically its commitment to slavery, against the rhetorical, political, and ultimately military attacks of Yankees. Phillips explains how the political events of the 1850s radicalized Missouri politics and culture, transforming a defense of western liberty into an increasingly powerful bond with the South and with southern political culture. In the minds of Missourians, Yankee attacks on slavery in the border region represented an assault on the democratic rights of westerners and a threat to their way of life. "As abolitionists within and without attacked Missouri's social good, its democratic right, an alarmed populace," Phillips argues, "quickly parroted proslavery arguments articulated by Calhoun and other positive good apologists" (p. 184). Jackson himself joined the torrent of Missourians who crossed the border into Kansas in order to cast (illegal) votes in the territorial election. The Civil War, and the accompanying internecine violence in the state, completed this metamorphosis, with Missourians feeling that a despotic federal government—and Union army—was invading the state and attempting to rob Missourians of their rights and liberties. No longer a western state in the minds of residents, Missouri became a fiercely southern state, and Missourians became southerners.

Developing this argument proves to be particularly challenging for Phillips because Jackson did not spearhead the Missouri's ideological and cultural transformation. To be sure, he assumed a central role in state politics, emerging as a kind of barometer for the political currents of Missouri farmers. But unlike figures such as Thomas Hart Benton and David Rice Atchison, Jackson followed or tapped rather than forged the ideological changes of the era. In fact, Phillips avers that Jackson was an opportunistic, cal-

culating "political chameleon" (p. 228). Put differently, Jackson's career reflected more than it produced the remaking of regional identity in Missouri. As a result, two themes of the book overlap but do not move in unison.

Nonetheless, Phillips explores these strands of his argument with skill. The chapters on Jackson's political career, for instance, are effectively grounded in careful research, and Phillips provides a clear, perceptive analysis of complex issues in Missouri politics, such as banking policy, currency reform, and redistricting. The chapters on regional identity focus only modestly on Jackson, but they are also well informed and thoughtful.

Although Phillips's effort to use Jackson's career to explore the recasting of regional identity in Missouri is not entirely successful, he still manages to recount the life of a little-known Missouri politician in a way that makes an interesting, highly readable, and valuable contribution to the history of the Midwest, the South, and the Civil War era.

JEFFREY S. ADLER
University of Florida

MATTHEW MOTEN. *The Delafield Commission and the American Military Profession*. (Texas A&M University Military History Series, number 67.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 2000. Pp. xvii, 270. \$47.95.

An issue that has long been a focus of interest for military historians is the professionalization of the American army. In 1959, Samuel P. Huntington's book, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*, established the norm for the subject, and historians since that time have accepted it as the standard to be contested. Numerous scholars—notably Russell F. Weigley, Allan R. Millett, John M. Gates, Edward M. Coffman, and William B. Skelton—have concluded that Huntington's argument about the chronology of professionalism and its characteristics is not accurate. Huntington argued that the American officer corps did not become professional until after the Civil War, when it was isolated in the West from American society as a whole. Other historians debate whether officers were indeed isolated and whether it was as late as the post-Civil War years that the American army became professional.

In this new book, Matthew Moten enters into the discussion. He provides a detailed and insightful account of a pre-Civil War military commission to Europe to assess the extent of professionalism in the American army before the Civil War.

The Delafield Commission, as it has been popularly known, consisted of well-known 1850s army officers: Richard Delafield, Alfred Mordecai, and George B. McClellan. The brain child of Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, the commission's assigned task was to travel to Europe in April 1855 (during which time the Crimean War was in progress) and gather data on that

continent's military weaponry and fortifications. Traveling throughout Europe for a year, the three men missed most of the Crimean War, but their separate reports still provided important information for the American military. Moten concludes that "The Delafield Commission was a mile-post in the history of American military professionalism" but "this milepost does not mark a significant bend in the road" (p. 204). The commission reflected the particularity, parochialism, army branch isolation, narrow vision, and search for a foreign paradigm that was the army of that day. Moten agrees with Skelton that "American military professionalism had grown prodigiously in the Jackson era" (p. 205), but he concludes that the Delafield Commission indicated how much further it had to go.

Moten has written a useful book that brings together under one cover the basic issues of the professionalism debate. His historiographical overview is to the point, and his discussion of the influence of West Point on nineteenth-century officers is convincing. He presents an apt description of the three men on the commission and the secretary of war who appointed them. He discusses preparations for the trip, the official instructions, and the tour itself, complete with French haughtiness, Russian helpfulness, and commission pettiness. Finally, Moten discusses the three reports, their meaning, and their significance to the professionalism debate.

This well-written book is worth reading, but there is a repetitive quality about its analysis that demonstrates a need for editorial tightening. Busy readers who want to know the gist of Moten's argument might profitably read the introduction, the summaries that appear throughout the book, and the final chapter.

JOHN F. MARZALEK

Mississippi State University

HARRY V. JAFFA. *A New Birth of Freedom: Abraham Lincoln and the Coming of the Civil War*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2000. Pp. xiv, 550. \$35.00.

Do we need another book on Abraham Lincoln? When the author is Harry V. Jaffa, the answer, most assuredly, is yes. Here is the long-awaited sequel to Jaffa's *Crisis of the House Divided: An Interpretation of the Issues in the Lincoln-Douglas Debates* (1959), which remains the best analysis of the ideas in that contest. The new book traces the political thought of Lincoln and his contemporaries from the Lincoln-Douglas debates in 1858 to the beginning of the Civil War in July 1861, though Jaffa sometimes strays back to the American Revolution and ancient Greece and forward to the twentieth century. As in his earlier book, he takes seriously the ideas of leading figures of the nineteenth century, and he holds nothing back about his own preferences.

Although ostensibly a book about Lincoln, Jaffa's main purpose is to bring the natural law principles of the Declaration of Independence into the mainstream of legal and political thought. The "truth," Jaffa

argues, is that the foundation of the United States is the Declaration rather than the Constitution or the rulings of the courts, and Lincoln's greatness lay in understanding this. The first two chapters exalt the "Laws of Nature and of Nature's God" mentioned in the Declaration and interrogate Thomas Jefferson and others involved in the making of the document. Jaffa then turns to James Buchanan, Jefferson Davis, and Alexander H. Stephens, easy targets for Jaffa's piercing criticism (perhaps too easy, as in the case of Buchanan, whose "moral imbecility" [p. 186] stands in sharp contrast to Lincoln's moral consistency). About midway through the book, Jaffa takes up Lincoln's thought directly in three meaty chapters, the first two of which examine the First Inaugural and the third of which delves into his July 4, 1861, message to Congress. In his final chapter, Jaffa focuses all of his attention—and ire—on John C. Calhoun, whose greatest sin, for Jaffa at least, was appropriating the "compact" theory of sovereignty from James Madison and pruning from it Madison's belief that the Declaration made the natural rights of individuals the antecedent of any agreement among the states.

Although Jaffa's approach is quirky and his tone often cranky, he has again delivered a powerful contribution to Lincoln scholarship. Never have the First Inaugural and the July 4, 1861, message received such intellectual scouring. He treats the speeches of Lincoln and his contemporaries as philosophical texts and gives Lincoln's opponents their full due before judging them wanting. Although he can be hyperbolic about the greatness of Lincoln's mind—"never since Socrates has philosophy so certainly descended from the heavens into the affairs of mortal men," he writes (p. 280)—Jaffa is also extraordinarily incisive. He makes a convincing case, for example, that Lincoln believed that abiding by constitutional limits to authority was as much a "moral duty" (p. 78) as was placing slavery on the road to extinction.

Yet, while Jaffa is fond of historical subjects, especially Lincoln, he has little use for the practice of history. Indeed, "historicism" repeatedly appears in this book as one of the four horsemen of the academic apocalypse ("positivism," "relativism," and "nihilism" are the others). Historians who read in Jaffa's preface that he means to follow Leo Strauss's method of trying "to understand a writer as he understood himself" (p. xii) will be disappointed to discover that Jaffa does not mean to contextualize these writers so much as to engage them on their own terms and then, if he disagrees with their ideas, to vanquish them. Some of the "revisionist" historians whom Jaffa criticizes are the same ones he had it in for forty years ago—most notably, James G. Randall—but he reserves his most toxic bile for Carl Becker, whose 1922 book on the Declaration exemplifies for Jaffa the way that "positivist" historians have led Americans astray by not examining whether principles avowed in the past are, in fact, "true." Later historians fare just as poorly: Garry Wills, who has written on both the Declaration

and the Gettysburg Address, is hastily dismissed for undervaluing John Locke and calling the Gettysburg Address a "swindle" (p. 502); David Brion Davis is accused of writing "from an abolitionist viewpoint" (p. 503) (not a compliment from Jaffa, who believes that abolitionists were too extreme in their moralism); and Pauline Maier, whose 1997 book on the Declaration is at least as important as Becker's, is omitted entirely. The book seems at times shaped by an artificial, Manichean framework. On one side stand the rational moralists—Lincoln, Socrates, Jefferson (and Jaffa?)—and on the other stand the relativist philosophers and historians—Immanuel Kant, Calhoun, Becker (and, occasionally, Adolf Hitler). Yet, even if Jaffa finds little that is redeeming in the work of historians, historians will find many riches in Jaffa's latest learned volume.

MICHAEL VORENBERG
Brown University

LINDLEY S. BUTLER. *Pirates, Privateers, and Rebel Raiders of the Carolina Coast*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2000. Pp. xvi, 275. Cloth \$28.95, paper \$15.95.

This volume's comic-book-like dust jacket reflects its contents, which, according to Lindley S. Butler, are "thrilling adventure stories" that "abound with action, suspense, and tragedy about flesh-and-blood historic characters" (p. xi). The book is a collection of biographical sketches of pirates Blackbeard and Stede Bonnet, privateer Otway Burns, U.S. naval officer Johnston Blakeley, and Confederate naval officers James W. Cooke, John N. Maffitt, John Taylor Wood, and James I. Waddell, all of whom were either North Carolina natives or sailed in North Carolina waters. The catchy title suits neither Blakeley, who won two single-ship battles and raided British commerce during the War of 1812 but was no rebel, nor Cooke, who commanded the Confederate ironclad *Albemarle* during engagements with Union naval vessels but was no commerce raider.

The sketches are long on acts of piracy, privateering, commerce raiding, and combat but short on biography. The backgrounds, motivations, relationships, and personalities of these eight historical figures receive only superficial treatment at best. Although the bibliography lists a wealth of manuscripts and published documents and includes some of the relevant secondary literature, the book says little that is new, nor does it engage in any of the debates surrounding the subjects it touches upon. Argument and analysis are absent. Consequently the text does little more than narrate "real-life sea tales" (p. xi).

Instead of probing the depths of his subjects' humanity, Butler stereotypes them. "These North Carolina heroes and rogues shared similar personalities and experiences," he says. "They were all skilled seamen and decisive, imaginative leaders who possessed a deep thirst for adventure . . . But once they had tasted the

excitement of high seas theft, raids, smuggling, or naval combat, they never again felt so alive as when they were on a quarterdeck sailing or steaming at full speed in a chase as hunter or prey . . . or confronting the awful power of the natural elements as they rode out an intense offshore storm" (p. 24). How Butler came to these conclusions without examining more of his subjects' lives remains unexplained.

Butler is uncritical of his sources. For example, he quotes from a book originally published in 1724 that Blackbeard, after sleeping with his new bride, would "invite five or six of his brutal Companions to come ashore, and he would force her to prostitute her self to them all, one after another, before his Face" (p. 41). Butler neither questions the authenticity of the statement nor substantively comments on it, except to say that "when the overbearing buccaneer went to sea," the community in which he lived "must have heaved a collective sigh of relief—none with greater happiness" than his wife (p. 41).

Butler gets some of the context wrong. Ironclads were not, as he declares, "designed to be impervious to the massive rifled cannon" but were, in fact, developed in answer to explosive shells fired from smooth-bores (p. 17). Butler also contradicts several of his own assertions. He says that Blackbeard, several weeks after taking a pardon, "relieved several English ships of their supplies" and captured two French ships (p. 41). Eight pages later, Butler declares that "Blackbeard committed no piracy after taking the pardon" (p. 49). If relieving English ships of their supplies after taking a pardon from an English colonial governor wasn't piracy, Butler fails to explain why not.

In establishing context for his Confederates, Butler repeats the myth that the South lacked a "heavy industrial infrastructure" (p. 18). While it is true that the South had little industry relative to the North, compared to countries outside of Europe, its industry was well developed. Butler points out that New Orleans citizens built the Confederacy's "first ironclad ram, the *Manassas*, and built a prototype submarine" (p. 19). He also notes that Richmond's Tredegar Iron Works rolled the armor plates for the CSS *Albemarle*. He doesn't mention that Tredegar produced roughly one fourth of the heavy cannon purchased by the U.S. Navy during the 1850s and that Norfolk possessed America's largest and most advanced navy yard on the eve of the war. The South couldn't have achieved all this without at least some heavy industrial infrastructure. Finally, Butler declares that the South "had little maritime heritage," when his point is to highlight North Carolina's rich maritime heritage (p. 18).

This bad pop history can doubtless be found in bookstores all along the Carolina coast, but you won't see it on scholars' shelves.

ROBERT J. SCHNELLER, JR.
Naval Historical Center

DAVID A. MINDELL. *War, Technology, and Experience aboard the USS Monitor*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins

University Press. 2000. Pp. x, 187. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$14.95.

It fought only one battle, and that was a draw. It went to sea, proved unseaworthy, and sank, taking sixteen crew to their deaths. Years later, one of its commanders committed suicide, distraught over allegations of cowardice. This is the story of the USS *Monitor*, next to "Old Ironsides" the most famous vessel in American naval history.

In the face of its limited accomplishment in battle, how is it that this ironclad commands such attention? Part of the answer lies in the fact that it was a central player in America's greatest dramatic production: the Civil War. Like the cavalry in a Hollywood movie, at the most critical juncture, when all seemed lost, the ship arrived in the nick of time to save the day. It also helped that, as the main character, the *Monitor* has a colorful supporting cast. Her brilliant designer, John Ericsson, for example, refused to acknowledge any shortcomings in his vessel while at the same time rejecting invitations to sail aboard her. Ericsson was the kind of engineer/designer who never allowed experience to stand in the way of theory. The *Monitor*, in fact, had serious design flaws. Ventilation below decks was so abysmal that her crew was at greater hazard from heat and stench than from enemy shot. It also leaked a great deal. Ericsson refused to admit any errors in design. He either denounced his critics as fools, or, in the case of men who actually served aboard the ship, he charged them with incompetence.

Thankfully, David A. Mindell spends little time recounting the famous battle off Hampton Roads. That event is well documented, and it does not need retelling. Instead his interest rests in juxtaposing the human experience aboard the ironclad with the views of engineers, constructors, and the public. To this end, he relies very heavily on letters and journals kept by men serving aboard and comparing them against the Civil War equivalent of "press releases" from official sources. Not surprisingly, they tell different stories. Those aboard blamed the vessel's poor performance on mechanical failures, while those at a distance were more likely to blame human error. Not only did the ironclad's design limit her usefulness but so, too, did her fame. After Hampton Roads, Mindell points out, the Navy Department was reluctant to risk her in combat: losing her would have been a public relations nightmare. William Keeler, the ship's paymaster, summed up the department's policy in a letter to his wife: "I believe the department are going to build a glass case to put us in for fear of harm coming to us."

In the end, the department did lose the *Monitor*, not in battle but in rough seas off Cape Hatteras. True to form, in the aftermath of the tragedy Ericsson accused the crew of being drunk during the gale and thus losing the ship through their own negligence. Others, particularly the survivors of the sinking, blamed poor design, which caused flooding.

In 1973, the *Monitor*'s remains were discovered

sixteen miles off Cape Hatteras in more than 200 feet of water. Should an effort be made to recover the wreck so that historians may once and for all examine her to determine whether her ill fate was caused by design or human error? Although he hedges a bit, Mindell seems to say yes. Is this simply another more modern form of engineering hubris? Although it is unfair to describe the design questions surrounding the *Monitor*'s as "historical trivia," the need to resolve these issues hardly rises to the point of being worth the cost of recovery. Mindell is rightly critical of Ericsson and others whose narrow engineering views kept them from understanding the greater realities surrounding this vessel. Is the author not guilty of the same narrowness in urging recovery? The *Monitor*'s importance is not technical but metaphorical. No examination of its remains will ever answer the truly important questions.

Mindell's book opens a number of areas for inquiry. Well researched and wide in its scope, this work raises issues that transcend the Civil War and resonate in our own time.

WILLIAM M. FOWLER, JR.
Massachusetts Historical Society

RICHARD PAUL FUKU. *Imperfect Equality: African Americans and the Confines of White Racial Attitudes in Post-Emancipation Maryland*. (Reconstructing America, number 2.) New York: Fordham University Press. 1999. Pp. xxv, 307. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$19.95.

This exceptional monograph completes a generation of research and contributes significantly to the debate over whether Reconstruction "failed" (Richard Paul Fuku thinks it did) and, if so, why? Based on a 1965 master's thesis and a thoroughly updated 1973 University of Chicago dissertation, as well as seven of the author's articles (1971–1997), there are few aspects of black life and white racial thinking not covered in this heavily documented study, supported by an impressive variety of primary sources.

Freedom came to Maryland's slaves on November 1, 1864. Conservative planters and radical Republicans had quite different views of the situation. Blacks had a third perspective. Maryland was a loyal state, with a preponderance of Union sentiment, even in the east, yet its Unionists, most of whom were or became Democrats after the war, did not differ much from ex-Confederates in their attitudes toward blacks. Radicals helped to split the Republican Party and quickly lost power, never to regain it.

Fuku offers a detailed explanation of the Freedmen's Bureau in Maryland and its basis for operations in a border state that never seceded. His long and careful study of the Bureau and other aspects of his subject enables him to offer more balanced appraisals than better-known scholars such as Barbara J. Fields and William S. McFeely. Fuku tilts strongly in favor of the freedmen, but not in a strained or overly emotional way. Yet his own evidence shows that at least a few of

the planters were sympathetic to their plight. A reader might wonder if all freedmen were hardworking and conscientious and adhered to the work contracts they signed. The most painful parts of the book are the detailed treatments of the seizure of black children by planters to secure essential workers, and the lengthy and at times heartbreaking efforts by parents to find and recover the children that they loved, and on whose labor they depended if they were ever to get ahead. Trying to suppress blacks' autonomy, whites burned many black churches, as well as schools, often located in the same buildings. Given the widespread white hostility to black goals and aspirations and the ambivalent support of even white radicals, it seems naïve to speculate about the possibility of massive land redistribution, which is what would have been required for something approaching rough equality.

Just as many of Maryland's rural blacks gravitated to Baltimore when freed, so this book moves there, providing voluminous details on the city in both wartime and the immediate postwar years. Without implicitly stating the problems with the 1870 census, Fuke suggests that the actual black population of the city may have been even higher than the official figures, which recorded a growth of forty-two percent in ten years.

Fuke concludes with a searching examination not of white conservatives' racism but of the very real limits of radical egalitarianism. For example, they "had difficulty seeing their schools as anything more than training or control centers for a people different from and subordinate to whites" (p. 236). Northeastern progressives had much the same view of the mission of public school systems for European immigrants. Fuke quotes disapprovingly the paternalistic and condescending advice they gave black farm laborers, but the words could have been Booker T. Washington's. Like William Lloyd Garrison on the national level, Maryland's whites, in both major political parties and at both ends of the ideological spectrum, failed to develop solutions to the new problems posed by emancipation. They recognized, albeit grudgingly among the planters, that slavery was gone and blacks were free, but few were willing or able to concede anything beyond that. Virtually all whites denied the principle of racial equality, in thought and action.

Fuke's study is almost as narrow as it is deep. He cites titles as recent as 1997, many of them on topics far beyond Maryland, but the reader gets virtually no information on events and patterns of development in adjacent states, North or South, or cities like Philadelphia, Wilmington, Washington, D.C., and Richmond. Specialists on Reconstruction and urban history will find much here that is familiar and some details that do not fit other models. It would be unfair to criticize the author for not having written a comparative study, yet the limits of his focus seem likely to restrict his readership largely to scholars writing broader works who will mine this book for its shrewd insights and nuggets of information, and historians of postwar

Baltimore and the Old Line state. This book will be the latter's starting point for decades to come.

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SARA E. WERMEIL. *The Fireproof Building: Technology and Public Safety in the Nineteenth-Century American City*. (Studies in Industry and Society.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, in association with the Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington, Del. 2000. Pp. viii, 301. \$45.00.

The terrifying image of the World Trade Center aflame is one not easily forgotten, and the events of September 11 have proven the importance of fireproofing to all Americans. This is the first academic book charting the development and acceptance of fire-resistant and fireproof construction in America's cities. Prior to the growth of science and technology studies in recent decades, the history of fireproofing seemed not to be of great interest to historians. With the important exception of Carl Condit and Sarah Landau's *The Rise of the New York Skyscraper 1865–1913* (1996), virtually all work on the topic was limited to the accounts of the men involved in the process. Sara E. Wermiel, a city planner and historian of technology, deserves praise for recognizing the significance of the topic and for salvaging it from the dustbin of turn-of-the-century engineering studies. At the start of the nineteenth century, conflagrations involving large numbers of structures were common in urban America; by the 1920s, they were almost unheard of. While fireproofing was not solely responsible for this shift (certainly firefighters and wise zoning board members share the credit), fireproof buildings both withstood fire themselves and played crucial roles in limiting the spread of fire to other buildings.

According to Wermiel, the history of fireproofing is one of slow but steady technological progress. The first significant development in this process was the vault building, a solid masonry construction that defined fireproofing in the 1830s and 1840s but proved too expensive and intimidating for general use. Cast iron, and later wrought iron, combined with bricks or clay blocks, allowed for cheaper and lighter construction in the 1850s and 1860s. A series of large fires in the later decades of the century tested the state of fireproofing. Even when fireproof materials performed well in fires, the buildings they were in often burned down. This led engineers to the important realization that a fireproof building had to be built of materials that were non-conductors of heat as well as noncombustible. By the 1890s, sprinklers, exterior access ladders, and other aspects of the "slow-burning" construction that was standard for mills had begun to influence urban building practices, while elevators allowed buildings to rise beyond their previous limit of six stories. The narrative culminates in a chapter appropriately titled "Triumph," which documents the creation of what, before

September 11, appeared to be a truly fireproof skyscraper, based on the iron or steel skeleton rather than load-bearing walls. The final chapter, "Calamity: Slow Acceptance of Adequate Fire Exits," is almost an afterthought in a history that has focused almost exclusively on buildings, rather than their occupants. Because the purpose of fireproof construction was understood to be the protection of property rather than life, nineteenth-century fireproofing engineers and builders ignored building inhabitants, with tragic results. Fires at the Iroquois Theater in Chicago in 1903, and at the Triangle Shirtwaist Company in New York in 1911, which together killed almost seven hundred people, finally forced authorities to address the problem of adequate emergency egress. By the 1920s, both fireproof structures and their occupants could expect to escape from fires intact.

This book is clearly written, well detailed, and thanks to careful prose and a useful glossary, easily accessible to the lay reader. The main focus of the narrative is the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Early fireproofing attempts receive scant attention, probably because they were so obviously unsuccessful. Wermiel claims that "there is no evidence that nineteenth-century Americans in general worried much about fire" (p. 4), but a close study of newspapers—a source largely ignored here—suggests otherwise. The urban press reported in great detail not only on fires but also on the activities of urban volunteer firemen and the technology of fire prevention and fireproofing. Newspapers directed toward firemen frequently ran articles and advertisements touting a variety of probably fraudulent "fireproofing" techniques in the middle decades of the century.

In general, this study would have benefited from more attention to the political, social, and cultural context of fireproofing. While technological innovations were certainly important, there were obviously other catalysts to the implementation of fireproof construction. Wermiel discusses one important group, the Associated Factory Mutual Fire Insurance Companies, which set standards for mill construction in the 1880s. Otherwise the reader learns little about the groups or individuals supporting or opposing fireproof construction, or about public debates over fire codes prior to the twentieth century. Engineers of fireproofing materials did not work in a vacuum, their ideas accepted or rejected based solely on cost and how recently a destructive fire had occurred. Certainly there were fire chiefs, reform groups, and insurance executives who actively participated in this debate in the nineteenth century. This study does a superb job at describing exactly what made a building fireproof, fire resistant, or flammable in the nineteenth century, but not enough to show the ideological and political environment that made the widespread construction of fireproof buildings necessary, attainable, or inconceivable.

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ALBERT W. ALSCHULER. *Law without Values: The Life, Work, and Legacy of Justice Holmes*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2000. Pp. x, 325. \$30.00.

In one relatively brief, well-written, occasionally quite humorous, and always interesting book, Albert W. Alschuler has combined two different varieties of scholarship: an intellectual biography of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., and the argument that Holmes played a significant part in an intellectual movement that stripped natural law thinking out of American understanding of things legal, an action that Alschuler believes has led to all sorts of contemporary social and intellectual evils.

Holmes is generally considered to be both one of the great Supreme Court justices and one of the great legal thinkers of the post-Civil War United States. Alschuler dissents emphatically from that evaluation. He begins his story conventionally enough with a young, ambitious abolitionist who idealistically goes off to war only to experience soldiering as a meaningless, brutal fight for personal survival in which the only virtue is blindly doing a duty at best dimly understood. From there on, everything goes downhill into self-interest, intellectual arrogance, the celebration of force and violence, eugenic prescriptions for the survival of the fittest, and the meaninglessness of it all.

Of late, historians have come to portray the kindly old man of myth and lore as a type of Jekyll/Hyde: a public defender of legislative choice who in private showed a profound distaste for the participants in American democracy; a defender of free speech who believed that speech was ineffective; a judge who came close to believing that might makes right. What distinguishes Alschuler's Holmes from that of other historians is that his Holmes has no white hat: his character is unrelievedly black. And Holmes is not much of a thinker either. For Alschuler, *The Common Law* is derivative, wrong where not either confused or unclear, and "The Path of the Law" is no better. Even worse, neither work is a part of the much noted "revolt against formalism"; the former is instead an example of formalism, and the latter a part of the much more destructive revolt against a legal order based in natural law.

In this brief compass, it would be impossible to settle the true nature of Holmes's character. But we do know how it came to pass that such a consistently pessimistic, misanthropic, nihilistic person who regularly valorized meaningless armed struggle could come to be seen as a great judge. Felix Frankfurter, Harold Laski, and Jerome Frank created the personage that is "The Great Dissenter." The question remains why Alschuler chooses to see only Mr. Hyde. Alschuler makes a great deal out of the fact that, when one of Holmes's biographers was asked whether he would like to have had Holmes as a friend, he said, "No." The choice to reject a possible friendship because of a defective politics suggests an answer to this question.

Alschuler indicts most twentieth-century legal think-

ers for rejecting natural law thinking. I am one of those thinkers, for I wrote out what many others of us associated with Critical Legal Studies thought: "Law is Politics." To say such a thing is, however, not to say that law is without values. It is to say that law has for its basis a particular set of values—in my case, a set of values that I did not much like. I think that such is the case for many of the people whom Alschuler derides with the words of his title. Holmes did not lack values, nor did he think that the law lacked values. Alschuler simply does not like Holmes's values and so would banish him from friendship. However, "not my values" and "without values" are not the same thing to any but the polemicist. As such, Alschuler needs Dr. Jekyll.

This confusion also explains why Alschuler finds it so difficult to understand how Holmesian aphorisms that cannot withstand philosophical analysis have had such an enduring impact on American legal thought. Quite simply, the enduring strength of Holmes' thought is that, while Holmes may not be a Jekyll/Hyde character, the law is. The good law that Alschuler labels "natural" has an evil twin whose essence Holmes captures exquisitely. Ours is a government of both laws and men. Law is not only what you know but also who you know. Holmes's thought is thus always an available rebuke to those who forget the pull of this dark side in human and legal affairs. If an urbane representative of the dark side is not welcome at dinner, the attraction of that side can never be understood, let alone effectively analyzed or refuted.

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RICK OSTRANDER. *The Life of Prayer in a World of Science: Protestants, Prayer, and American Culture 1870–1930*. (Religion in America Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. 232. \$39.95.

Some believe that only when religion impacts the political world does it become historically significant. By this criterion, Rick Ostrander has chosen perhaps one of the most "insignificant" chapters in the story of modern American religion, or a history of the life of prayer. But if, in contrast, what religious individuals and communities themselves do is important, then the topic here is extremely significant. Prayer as an active means of communication between individuals and a personal God is deeply embedded in classical Western religion. How changing cultural and intellectual assumptions transformed it is the crux of Ostrander's story, and it is a central story in the great early twentieth-century debate over religion and modernity. Abstract questions of creation and evolution troubled few if any individuals directly. The question of the place of prayer in a world governed by scientific rules concerned all who tried to be loyal to both prayer and science.

Ostrander's study focus is twofold: the changing views of the value of petitionary prayer, and changing

Protestant prayer methods. In petitionary prayer, believers ask God to answer specific requests, such as to heal a sick child. How individuals could make sense of this phenomenon in a world governed by scientific law is one theme of his study. A second issue is the manner of praying. Traditional Protestant devotional techniques were often elaborate and time consuming. Could they be adapted, refocused, and streamlined to fit a world whose tempo had been quickened by the same science? Ostrander's period is from the 1870s through the 1920s. Beginning in the late 1850s, some intellectuals began to question the possibility of prayer affecting the physical world. By the 1870s, this critique had become formalized in the famous prayer gauge challenge in which the Victorian scientist John Tyndall challenged that the physical power of prayer be put to a scientific test. By the 1920s, Protestant Modernists, according to Ostrander, were abandoning the notion of petitionary prayer in any traditional sense.

With the exception of chapter two (which deals with conservative evangelicals), Ostrander concentrates on leading Protestant theological liberals. Individuals such as Harry Emerson Fosdick, Lyman Abbott, and William Newton Clarke attempted to anchor prayer in a "sane mysticism" that avoided the pitfalls of the past and the depersonalized spirituality of the proponents of New Thought and Mind Cure. They wanted to see God still active in the world in answering believers' prayers, yet only acting in accordance with the best rules of science and morality. But since their liberal agenda called for reinterpreting old beliefs in light of modern categories, as categories changed the explanations changed. Earlier in the century, the liberal apologists could appeal to a general cultural openness to the reality of spiritual power. If philosophers like William James could find a place for spiritual communication, so, too, could clergy. But as this openness eroded by the 1920s, the liberal defense of prayer ultimately came to differ little from positive thinking.

Ostrander argues that both parts of the liberal agenda failed: the apologetic for petitionary prayer eviscerated any true notion of prayer, and the new techniques offered by men like Fosdick in *The Meaning of Prayer* (1915) withered the practice of prayer. His argument is more persuasive on the first point than on the second. His critique of liberal Protestant prayer manuals can be questioned both structurally and conceptually. He sets forth something of a straw man comparing early twentieth-century liberal prayer manuals (written for those who found prayer perplexing) with the prayer ideals of great figures in the past like Philipp Melancthon and John Bunyan. What practical schema designed for ordinary persons would not seem reduced by such a comparison? Likewise, the critiques the adaptations that shortened, focused, and made more flexible devotional practices without considering whether or not these techniques were successful. Sometimes flexibility and adaptation are signs of life not decay. By his own admission, Ostrander's focus is on the authors of books and not their audience, but

it was the readers of Fosdick's *The Meaning of Prayer* who testified to its usefulness in their own lives, and perhaps they should have more of a voice.

This book raises important questions about the religious life of American Protestants. Even those who may not agree with all of Ostrander's answers will applaud that the questions are being asked.

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ALEXIS MCCROSSEN. *Holy Day, Holiday: The American Sunday*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 209. \$39.95.

This book by Alexis McCrossen is a complicated, ambitious study of Sunday as a symbol and an institution. In one sense, the book is about how the concepts of work, rest, and leisure changed from the early nineteenth century to the present. But the book is also a study of the way a whole host of groups—especially the Sabbatarian movement—jockeyed for power to impose their definition of Sunday, or “the Sabbath,” on the whole culture. Since the goal was usually legislation about what citizens could and could not do on Sunday, the book also provides an unusual perspective on the way freedom of religion affects the American democracy.

The structure of the book reveals the extent to which the meaning of Sunday turns on changing meanings of “rest.” The first and last chapters examine the meaning of rest as it expands, contracts, and finally becomes so ambiguous as to be almost meaningless by the late twentieth century. By mapping out associations of “rest” from the work-rest contrast of preindustrial America to associations of rest with various forms of leisure and entertainment in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, McCrossen finds that religious connotations of the word slowly become only one of many meanings. “Religious, didactic and commercial meanings for Sunday *joined* rather than replaced religious meanings. In doing so, they bridged the gap between rest and leisure” (p. 16).

Differences over Sunday during the early days of the republic were dominated by Sabbatarians bent on reminding people to remember “the Sabbath day.” But they were also concerned about the powers of the new federal government. As the frontier opened, church-going folk struggled to convince the country that keeping “the Sabbath” for religious activity was an essential component to being civilized people. Just as convincing were those who believed that civilization was also found and nurtured in the pursuit of art, literature, and music. Later in the century, the definition of “civilized” behavior expanded to include activities like going to the library or to an art museum and, later, “leisure” activities like cycling or a Sunday ride in the car.

As McCrossen points out, the literature involved in this study is not located in just one place, waiting to be found. Her sources are so diffuse as almost to defy

classification. Several prolonged battles over Sunday activity provide material for case studies that help focus her points. Case studies included are public debates about opening the Boston Public Library on Sunday, the Sunday opening of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in 1881, and a dispute in Chicago about opening the 1893 World's Fair on Sunday. With the acceleration of life and increasingly diverse religious practices from the late Victorian period to the present, the commercialization of all facets of life became ever more dominant. In addition to the impact of “putting the dollar mark on it,” the presence of radio and TV in homes affected Sunday observance in positive and negative ways.

In general, this is a balanced, multidimensional study of shifting relationships and power cohorts between representatives of religion and the larger culture in the United States. By avoiding the use of sociological categories like sacred and secular that lead almost inevitably to a history of declension, McCrossen is able to paint a more complex picture of the many interacting forces around Sunday activity. However, more attention should have been given to the shifting roles and relationships between Catholics and Protestants over time. The story told remains primarily a Protestant story with Catholic immigrants providing counterpoint with their celebration of “the Continental Sabbath.”

The book includes copious informative endnotes used to support arguments and summaries. In a book full of generalizations, some work better than others. For instance, it is puzzling to find a chapter about family activity on Sunday titled “Daddy's Day with Baby,” when the dominant motif is the extent to which mothers never have a day of rest. Otherwise, the book is engagingly written and fun to read. Most readers will find threads of their own history in this melange of “acceptable” Sunday activities. Quite likely, the threads will include both holy day and holiday.

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ELIZABETH H. PLECK. *Celebrating the Family: Ethnicity, Consumer Culture, and Family Rituals*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2000. Pp. ix, 328. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$22.95.

By relying on a variety of sources more traditionally used by sociologists (folklore, oral histories, and surveys), Elizabeth H. Pleck explores some of the most anticipated holidays and events in the American calendar: Chinese New Year, Easter, Passover, Thanksgiving, Christmas, birthdays, bar mitzvahs, bat mitzvahs, quinceañeras, weddings, and funerals. In examining how Americans invented and reinvented a variety of major holidays and life-cycle rituals, Pleck argues that three phases characterize the development of family ritual in the United States. The first phase was the “carnavalesque,” a time when the boundaries

between public and private, respectable and bawdy, celebration and desecration were blurry. The second phase, which commenced with the Victorian era, was the sentimental. Pleck stresses that the unpaid labor of women—cooking the feasts, cleaning and decorating their homes, shopping for gifts—is one of the central components of sentimental ritual. She also proposes that a third phase, which began in the 1960s and relies on the continued vitality of the sentimental approach to holidays for its existence, is the post-sentimental phase. This third phase is characterized by an abundance of irony, disenchantment, and mass-produced goods and services.

Seeking to bring more Americans into the picture than have other historians of holidays in the United States, Pleck focuses on “Catholics, non-whites, and non-Christians” (p. 13) to good effect. The chapter on Chinese New Year, for instance, is an excellent reconstruction of how mostly male Chinese immigrants adapted the central holiday in their calendar to American conditions. The material on Mexican Americans’ celebration of female coming of age, the quinceañera, is also illuminating. A recurring theme concerns how Americans of different backgrounds incorporated (and invented) ethnic customs in concert with central family rituals and national holidays: for example, the history of Kwanza, the African-American alternative or adjunct to Christmas introduced in 1966. The chapters on family ritual are much stronger than the ones about major holidays, with the exception of the chapter on Passover, which could be a model for historical synthesis.

The book’s strength, above all, is in its focus on how consumer and mass culture have disseminated and standardized American family rituals. The history of the manufacturing and marketing of holiday goods such as Easter candy (although the ubiquitous jelly bean is not included), birthday cake candles, Crisco, Maxwell House’s Haggadah, Libby’s canned pumpkin (1929), and “white wedding” paraphernalia is thoroughly examined and constitutes the book’s high point. Pleck’s concluding comments on Martha Stewart are fascinating though too brief.

The book clearly demonstrates that the 1960s heralded some changes in the celebration of family. It is debatable whether the decrease in the amount of labor women perform in preparing for family celebrations signals the onset of a post-sentimental phase of holiday making. But Pleck systematically details what most of us have already noticed: that is, that most children’s birthday parties are held outside of the home in commercialized party spaces like Chuck-E-Cheese, that lavish weddings are the norm, and that one can buy an entire Thanksgiving dinner at the local grocery store. The maturation of the consumer culture has paradoxically helped to liberate us from the onerous aspects of holidays and yearly rituals and at the same time enslaved us to these rituals. Advertising and popular culture have made it seem ever more important that we express our affection, respect, and filial

ties through symbolic goods at symbolic times. Thus the perseverance of the white wedding, the florescence of other rituals, and the increasing proportion of the nation’s GNP spent on celebration are not at all curious but only symptomatic of larger shifts in the nation’s economic and affective life.

This book should be read by historians of the American family, of ethnic groups, and of the consumer culture. Undergraduates in family history or ethnic studies classes would enjoy it, and since the historical context is so neatly and responsibly explored, the book could stand alone in classes within which few texts are assigned over the course of a semester. It is high time that more historians investigate American family, national, and religious rituals that demarcate who we are as Americans and punctuate our yearly calendars with three-day weekends, hopes, and disappointments. Pleck’s book suggests many avenues for further research and is a good example of the rewards of engaging in various fields of historical inquiry simultaneously.

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ELLEN M. LITWICKI. *America’s Public Holidays 1865–1920*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 2000. Pp. ix, 293. \$39.95.

Following the Civil War, the struggle to forge a United States moved off the battlefields and into the cultural arenas of national life. Unlike the case in many other countries, the government did not play a direct role in constructing national culture until its intervention during World War I. Instead, diverse groups competed for sufficient cultural authority to decide which national narratives—histories, icons, rituals, heroes, and holidays—would define what it meant to be an American. Some have even described the turn of the last century as an age of patriotism because of the unprecedented efforts at creating and institutionalizing a unified national culture.

The promise of emancipation and the triumph of reaction form the bookends of the dynamic period between the Civil War and World War I. Organizations and individuals within nationalist movements espoused divergent political views on what it meant to be an American, spanning democratic values of equality and social justice for all to militaristic demands for law and order. The invention of new public holidays and the revision of older ones, argues Ellen M. Litwicki, reflected the diversity rather than the homogeneity of public culture. Over twenty-five holidays were invented between 1865 and 1920, from Memorial and Labor Days to Emancipation and Haymarket Martyr’s Days. Unlike holiday books that emphasize a celebratory approach to national unity, Litwicki is concerned with processes of difference, conflict, and negotiation in the collective rituals of holiday-making.

The book explores the history of America’s public holidays primarily through extensive research of pop-

ular presses in Richmond, Chicago, and Tucson between 1866 and 1920. Litwicky focuses on specific developments in each city, such as the construction of Confederate Memorial Day in Richmond and the different uses of public rituals by procapitalist and socialist labor leaders in Chicago. However, as with any national history, Litwicky faces the challenge of how to draw on local studies to analyze and compare national developments that are crisscrossed by regional differences and further divided by experiences of race, class, and gender.

In places, the book moves too quickly over contradictions that could benefit from a deeper analysis and exploration of a broader range of sources. For example, while providing important examples of similarities between organizations of Union and Confederate veterans, the persistence of ambivalence on both sides remains largely unexplored. Given the centrality of racism in the reconciliation movement, struggles within the Grand Army of the Republic over the racialization of patriotism need to be more fully assessed. While the memory of the Civil War was substantially rewritten in only fifty years, giving the white South a cultural victory to compensate for its military defeat, the ideological struggles over the meaning of the war cannot be underestimated. As Frederick Douglass cautioned, the Civil War had been and continued to represent a battle "between the old and the new, slavery and freedom, barbarism and civilization" ("Speech in Madison Square," New York, Decoration Day, 1878).

An important topic for future research on holidays is suggested in chapters that touch on parallels between holidays meaningful to local social groups and the rise of official national holidays. For example, little has been written about the nationalist project and the role of Mexican Americans in the Southwest. Litwicky draws on the Spanish-language press in Tucson to illustrate how one of the most popular floats in the annual Mexican Independence Day parade gave a place of honor to three girls dressed to represent the American continent, Mexico, and the United States. A fascinating research project might explore how and why segments of the Mexican-American population, at the end of the nineteenth century, attempted to erase the conquest of half of Mexico's territory fifty years earlier by creating holidays that incorporated loyalty to Mexico and the United States (p. 124).

Litwicky's book provides descriptions of public holidays that include new examples of the complex nature of national culture as well as more familiar accounts. The book can be read as a whole, but many readers will want to go to a specific chapter to learn more about a holiday of interest. In her conclusion, Litwicky reminds us that the meaning of Americanism "continues to be contested terrain" as the changing demographics of immigration and the rise of multiculturalism challenge the brand of assimilation championed by Americanizers at the last turn of the century (p. 247). Public holidays, while no longer as significant as they once

were, still reflect and generate cultural meanings. One need only look at the St. Patrick's Day parade in New York City to find divergent views embodied in participants' changing notions of what it means to be American, Irish, Catholic, and gay.

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GEORGE ANTHONY PEFFER. *If They Don't Bring Their Women Here: Chinese Female Immigration before Exclusion*. Foreword by ROGER DANIELS. (The Asian American Experience.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 1999. Pp. xv, 164. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$17.95.

George Anthony Pfeffer tackles a perennial question in the study of early Chinese-American communities: why did so few Chinese women immigrate to the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries? Though the number of Chinese women increased slowly, significant changes came only after World War II, and early Chinatowns were characterized as "bachelor societies." Traditionally, scholars turned to cultural arguments to explain the failure of Chinese women to immigrate. Chinese culture militated against the immigration of women as a married woman was expected to care for her husband's parents. So, too, it was argued, Chinese men came to the United States with a "sojourner" mentality and were thus less apt to bring their wives and families. While not discounting the influence of cultural factors, Pfeffer shifts attention to the host society. He argues that a hostile atmosphere in the United States toward Chinese women, made manifest in the Page Act of 1875, posed the central obstacle to the immigration of Chinese women.

Pfeffer builds his case against cultural arguments, first by comparing the patterns of Chinese women immigration to other popular destinations in the nineteenth century. He posits that if cultural restrictions upon the immigration of Chinese women were responsible for their low numbers in the United States, a similar pattern of female scarcity would be found in other Chinese immigrant communities. Instead, Pfeffer finds that in Singapore, Panang, and Hawaii, Chinese immigration followed a pattern not unlike that of other immigrant groups, with men immigrating first, but eventually joined by their wives and families. Only in Australia, with exclusionary legislation and sentiment similar to that of the United States, did Chinese women fail to follow their husbands after the initial period of male immigration.

Having established the possibility that Chinese women may have chosen to immigrate had they been able, Pfeffer proceeds to highlight the importance of the Page Act of 1875 in foreclosing that option. Pfeffer makes a persuasive case for the importance of the Act as a "transitional" step between discriminatory state law and the well-known Chinese Exclusion Act of

1882, though he fails to explain fully the motives and rationale for the law. The Page Act forbade the "involuntary immigration" of laborers and the importation of women for the purposes of prostitution. While ostensibly limited to women brought for "lewd and immoral purposes," Pfeffer argues that vigorous administration of the law by United States consuls in China also prevented other Chinese women from immigrating as American officials incorrectly classified them as prostitutes. The American media had so thoroughly stereotyped Chinese immigrant women as prostitutes that only the wives of prosperous merchants could escape the automatic stigma. In one of the most interesting chapters, Pfeffer explores how the prostitute stereotype may have influenced the federal censuses of 1870 and 1880 and rendered the non-prostitute female population "invisible." Pfeffer's intriguing investigation of the local administration of the 1870 census suggests the numbers of prostitutes were inflated, obscuring the diversity of Chinese women in the United States and the possibility that, previous to the Page Act, Chinese wives had begun to join their husbands.

Pfeffer's study has much to recommend it. Pfeffer draws our attention to the importance of the Page Act to the history of Chinese exclusion and the unique development of Chinese American communities. He also extrapolates meaning from notoriously difficult and unyielding sources. Confronted with sparse sources, Pfeffer has resorted to government documents, but with a creative and inquiring eye. (The limits of the available sources do make some of the arguments speculative, however. For example, while Pfeffer uses the consular reports convincingly to show that the U.S. consuls in China strove to enforce the Page Act strictly, there is little conclusive evidence that women who were not prostitutes were denied the requisite certificates for immigration to the United States.) Finally, Pfeffer's study reminds us of the importance of investigating the action of local officials—consuls, customs officials, judges, census enumerators—as they often exercised great discretion in enforcing law. That "the law in action" can differ from "the law on the books" is well known, but few historians pursue the tedious work of examining the daily work of low-level administrators.

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TIMOTHY MEAGHER. *Inventing Irish America: Generation, Class, and Ethnic Identity in a New England City, 1880–1928*. (The Irish in America.) Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 523. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$22.00.

LINDA DOWLING ALMEIDA. *Irish Immigrants in New York City, 1945–1995*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2001. Pp. x, 211. \$35.00.

Both Timothy Meagher's and Linda Dowling Almeida's books are important contributions to the growing

literature that places the Irish-American experience in the broader contexts of immigration and ethnic history. Although Meagher focuses on nineteenth-century immigrants and Almeida concentrates on the postwar "New Irish" experience, both offer fresh insights into the processes of Irish-American identity formation.

Arguably one of the most important case studies since Oscar Handlin's *Boston's Immigrants, 1790–1865: A Study in Acculturation* (1940), Meagher's book focuses on the city of Worcester from the 1880s through the 1920s. Theoretically, this book is notable for masterfully bringing to bear generational and sociological models of immigrant assimilation and ethnic group formation to illuminate the concrete historical experience of the Irish in a middling but representative Massachusetts city.

Drawing particularly on Kerby Miller's seminal *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (1985), Meagher begins by tracing "three waves of green": the trickle of pre-Famine Irish immigrants, the Famine-era diaspora (1845–1870), and post-Famine migrants (1870–1900). The Great Famine tragically punctuated the prolonged modernization process that gradually drew Ireland's agrarian economy into the orbit of England's global market and unevenly transformed its rural society. Before the Famine, sons with no farm to inherit and daughters with no heir to marry left the land to seek new lives in Irish cities or, more often, overseas. The Famine generation was the product of a still predominately traditional peasant world that was only beginning to change under the impact of Daniel O'Connell's successful campaign against the Penal Laws as well as campaigns to promote literacy. The later, post-Famine immigrants also were mostly unskilled but more likely to marry younger and less likely to speak Gaelic. They were schooled politically by successive post-Civil War Irish nationalist movements: the Fenians, Land Leaguers, and "Home Rule" partisans. Yet despite differences, both Famine and post-Famine immigrants were communally oriented and shared an abiding sense of emigration as "exile," of being permanently forced out of their home country (to which few Irish, unlike many other European immigrant groups, returned in the nineteenth century).

The second generation—or first American-born generation—did not constitute a majority of Irish adults in Worcester until after 1900. They sought economic mobility by delaying both marriage and children. In increasing numbers, they attended high school or even college and sought white-collar employment and better housing on the urban periphery. Intensely proud to be American, they abandoned Irish folk pastimes for the emerging mass American culture.

Meagher breaks new ground by charting the complex interaction between this generational transition and the intergroup struggles for power, resources, and status that shaped and reshaped Irish-American identity. Contrary to conventional wisdom, which contrasts

traditionalist, insular immigrants with their assimilation-minded children, both foreign-born and native-born generations of Worcester's Irish community collaborated during the 1880s in an accommodationist strategy designed to win over Protestants. They embraced liberal Catholicism and public education rather than parochial schooling, solicited Yankee support for moderate Irish nationalism, and accepted the political as well as economic leadership of the old stock elite, which reciprocated by expanding municipal jobs for Irish-American policemen and public school teachers. Not until 1901 did Worcester elect its first Irish Catholic mayor, Philip J. O'Connell, a respectable fiscal conservative dependent for his victory margin on his ability to attract upper-class Protestant voters.

During the 1890s, however, the assimilationist tide receded rather than advanced. As the Depression of 1893 eroded economic gains, new immigrant competitors—Protestant Swedes as well as Catholic French Canadians, Italians, Poles, and Lithuanians—started to challenge the Irish in the workplace as well as in East Side neighborhoods, and the militantly anti-Catholic American Protective League began to mobilize middle-class, native-born Protestants. The Irish community reacted in unified fashion with an ethnocentric militancy of its own, retreating from liberal Catholicism (also under attack from the Vatican), making the St. Patrick's Day parade a symbol of Irish-American solidarity, and flaunting its support for the radical "physical force" Irish nationalism of the *Clan na Gael*.

This was not the end of the story, however. Before and after World War I, Worcester's Irish, with the second generation in the forefront, again redrew their group boundaries and reconfigured their ethnic identity. They deemphasized ethnic particularism, scrapping the St. Patrick's Day parade. Eamon de Valera's 1920 visit to Worcester was the last hurrah of local Irish-American nationalism. And they reached out in politics as well as religion to fellow Catholic French Canadian and Southern and Eastern European ethnics. As leaders of "a militant pan-ethnic American Catholicism," Worcester's Irish participated in pitched battles both at the polls and in the streets against the local Ku Klux Klan. A half century of Irish preeminence in Worcester politics began in the 1920s under Democrat Mayor "Peter the Great" Sullivan and Republican Mayor Michael O'Hara, who voted for Al Smith in 1928.

Meagher well understands the differences between Worcester and other cities and regions where Yankee business elites were more open to Irish penetration, Irish labor radicalism was a greater force, and non-white minorities were more prevalent. Even so, his book not only recaptures a forgotten chapter in local history, it convincingly diagnoses the broader "identity crisis" that was experienced around the turn of the century by Irish-American communities, large and small, across the country.

Almeida's more theoretically modest but stimulating

work is a case study of a different Irish-American "identity crisis" at the end of the twentieth century. Based on extensive interviewing, census data, and other documentary sources, Almeida's book contrasts two waves of postwar "New Irish" immigration to New York: the 1950s generation of some 50,000 immigrants who left the economically stagnant, culturally insular Irish Free State to blend smoothly into New York's host Irish-American community, and the 1980s generation, also numbering perhaps 50,000 including illegal immigrants, which grew up in a much more economically and culturally open Ireland.

The 1980s immigrant generation bore the imprint of a transatlantic youth culture and new global technologies that made possible instant communication and easy air commutes between continents. They sympathized with the Northern Irish Catholic minority but were largely indifferent to the Irish Republican Army's dream of national reunification. Their alienation from the church's hard line stand against divorce, birth control, and abortion also carried over from Ireland to New York. The city's shrinking Irish-American community lacked the centrifugal pull to keep the restless "New Irish" in its cultural and political orbit. Rather than passively adapt, these newcomers proactively sought to change New York's Irish-American agenda. Participating in the gay and lesbian challenge to the traditional St. Patrick's Day parade, they also moved to the front burner the issue of legalizing the status of European immigrants such as the Irish disadvantaged under the provisions of the 1965 Immigration Reform Act.

Capably analyzed by Almeida, the "New Irish" experience in New York shows that the process of Celtic identity formation remains an ongoing, collaborative enterprise that spans the Atlantic. The world has changed in ways that would be incomprehensible to Worcester's immigrant and second-generation Irish community of a century ago, yet "the Irish diaspora," and the scholarly debate surrounding it, remain as lively as ever.

STEVEN P. ERIE
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JERONIMA ECHEVERRIA. *Home Away from Home: A History of Basque Boardinghouses*. (The Basque Series.) Reno: University of Nevada Press. 1999. Pp. xv, 359. \$44.95.

Immigrants from the Basque country of Spain and France never rivaled the larger numbers of Southern and Eastern European immigrants who came to the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Yet they had a significant impact on the sheep industry and a dozen states in the American West. And, as Jeronima Echeverria argues in her meticulously researched book, Basque immigrants created and sustained a unique ethnic institution, *ostatua Amerikanuak*, or the hotels and boardinghouses that

became the centerpiece of American Basque social, economic, and cultural life. This book chronicles the emergence of these institutions in major Basque centers such as Los Angeles and San Francisco, which declined with a weakened wool industry and urbanization, and in "spin-off" communities that arose in agricultural California and the Great Basin.

Echeverria explores the demographic, economic, and political factors that encouraged Basque migration and debunks the long-standing myth that Basques brought to the West a particular affinity for or expertise in sheepherding. Vignettes about the life of Lentxo Echanis introduce and conclude the book. As a typical male immigrant, Echanis left industrial work in Europe to join brothers in southeastern Oregon as a sheepherder. Like others, he relied on Basque boardinghouses for food, shelter, job networks, translations, recreation, and friendships during his eighty years in the United States.

By focusing on the ethnic community's central business, the book shifts attention from male immigrant herders to the role of male and female entrepreneurs. One of the strongest chapters concerns *hoteleras*, or the "second mothers" who attended daily to boarding house demands while husband partners often worked away in sheep camps or on ranches. Their grueling dawn to midnight routine may explain why few *hoteleras* remained in business for more than fifteen years. The Basque *ostatuak* helped create Basque-American families by providing work for young immigrant women who met and married compatriot lodgers. An astounding eighty-five percent of Basques met their spouses in the hotels.

The author's remarkably detailed chapters on western *ostatuak* will appeal to urban, regional, and ethnic historians. Piecing together information from city directories, records, newspapers, and interviews, Echeverria includes comprehensive lists of hotel locations, owners, and opening and closing dates in eighty-seven towns and cities. Useful maps depicting Basque-American settlement patterns, photographs from the High Desert Museum collection, and detailed architectural drawings gleaned from the University of Utah Basque Boarding House Project enrich this study. The book's encyclopedic detail, however, often buries the larger significance of the Basque hotels that the author might have probed. For example, in describing the handball courts that many hotels included, Echeverria neglects to analyze the game's importance to Basque immigrants. Amid the facts about hotels in Boise's Grove Street neighborhood, little is said about the vibrant work and cultural life that must have emanated from such a concentration of Basque businesses. Since the author interviewed many people for this project, more samples of their words might have more effectively helped readers understand the historical and cultural value of these places. And some intriguing information presented, such as a list of Chinese hotel employees in San Juan Bautista, begs for further interpretation about interethnic relations.

The National Origins Act of 1924 and the Taylor Grazing Act of 1934, which limited the use of public lands by itinerant herders, reduced Basque immigration. But second-generation Basque Americans and their immigrant parents continued to sustain *ostatuak* until the 1960s, when the hotels began to decline and close. The author's own loving memories of childhood visits to California *ostatuak* influence this work, and she and her interviewees regret the late twentieth-century passing of such significant cultural institutions. Yet in underscoring their social importance, the author acknowledges that the boardinghouses also represented frustrations and dashed hopes of immigrants. Unable to accumulate adequate capital to acquire ranches or return to their native land, older immigrants often retreated to the hotels for solace.

Although a comparison of the *ostatuak* to other ethnic boardinghouses and cultural institutions would have provided helpful context, Echeverria persuasively concludes that they were more critical to Basques than were boardinghouses for other ethnic groups. The isolation of sheep work discouraged assimilation, and the prominence of Basque hotels promoted collective solidarity. The author's research underscores the need to document similar institutions that have been neglected in immigrant and working-class history. Moreover, her comprehensive guide will provide a critical source for Basque studies far into the future.

LAURIE MERCIER

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DIONICIO NODÍN VALDÉS. *Barrios Norteños: St. Paul and Midwestern Mexican Communities in the Twentieth Century*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 2000. Pp. viii, 380. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$22.95.

In recent years, historians of the Midwest have explained the migrations that resulted once employers stopped recruiting people from Europe and instead looked within the country—or to its borders—for workers. Monographs have appeared detailing the movement of both African Americans and poor whites from the South into the fields and factories of the Midwest. Studies of the movement of people from Mexico and Texas have also enriched our understanding of midwestern in-migration. Dionicio Nodín Valdés first explained the influx of agricultural Mexicans to the Midwest in *Al Norte: Agricultural Workers in the Great Lakes Region, 1917–1970* (1991) and has now written a sequel to that book. Broader in historical scope than Zaragosa Vargas's *Proletarians of the North* (1993), Valdés's work is a welcome and important synthesis of midwestern urban Mexican experiences. Reviewers usually scold writers (or editors) for deceiving titles that exaggerate the scope of a work; in this case, let not the subtitle fool anyone. The Lower West Side barrio in St. Paul, Minnesota, is merely the "window" into discussion of the larger region. Midwestern megalopolises, cities, and towns—from

Chaska, Minnesota, to Toledo, Ohio—are discussed, descriptively as well as analytically. The focus, according to Valdés, is how Mexicanos “created ethnic spaces and how their lives and their communities changed during the course of the twentieth century” (p. 2).

Valdés is careful to avoid sweeping generalizations as he begins his work; group inequality is one of the few general patterns he found. As Mexicans—in different times, places, and ways—severed their ties to agriculture, the result was urban diversity as Mexicans took the worst and most dangerous jobs because they saw no chance of becoming rural landowners. Urbanization in the Midwest for Mexicans began, as it did for southern whites and blacks, in the years just before World War I. Employment and living options as well as social and cultural experiences and opportunities varied by locale. The second chapter, one of the book's strongest, describes settlements from Kansas to Ohio. Even though young males predominated in the early years, the author is careful not to assume that the male experience was normative.

The book is organized chronologically. By the end of the 1920s, steel mills, railroads, automakers, packing-houses, and sugar beet planters had attracted a growing reserve labor force, but as the Great Depression struck, fragile *colonias* were weakened by local resentment. The federal government, municipalities, and social workers all strenuously advocated repatriation—one of the ugliest examples occurred in East Chicago, Indiana, for example—even as some employers and political organizations helped Mexicans resist. In spite of such hostility, Mexicans who remained in the Midwest entered World War II at very high rates, prompting employers to attract more people from the border, which led to voluminous migration. After the war, as employment opportunities appeared beyond cities, settlement patterns became more diverse, as people began moving outside barrios, even as Mexican immigrants flocked to them. During the 1950s and 1960s, urban renewal became the latest threat to barrios, and in St. Paul, a levee and an industrial park removed almost two thousand Mexicanos, an action that galvanized the Chicano movement in the city. Valdés's discussion of the midwestern movement counters prevailing notions that midwestern Chicanos were weak, tardy, or even unresponsive compared to those in the Southwest. By the late twentieth century, labor migration was stronger than ever, “evidence,” the author writes, “that popular portrayals of inevitable and massive deindustrialization in the region were greatly oversimplified” (pp. 268–69). As both numbers and visibility increased, so did misunderstanding and backlash, reactions all too common from the dominant culture.

This is an important book, notwithstanding a couple of minor quibbles. The maps are of rather poor quality, and sometimes the narrative could have been better personalized and contextualized with an in-depth oral history interview. What the Midwest now needs is for scholars of both white and nonwhite in-migration to

come together to examine the similarities and differences of the Midwestern treatment and experiences of twentieth-century newcomers. Most, if not all, of the nasty stereotypes that native whites leveled at Mexicans also applied, after all, to blacks and southern whites during the same time. Since in some ways all in-migrants were viewed ultimately as temporary labor, Mexicans, for example, were not the only people scorned or even “sent home” by midwestern authorities. A synthesis is the next step in understanding the totality of the region's labor migration.

CHAD BERRY
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SHERRY L. SMITH. *Reimagining Indians: Native Americans through Anglo Eyes, 1880–1940*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. ix, 273. \$35.00.

Sherry L. Smith's book is a study of the literary productions of ten popular writers who wrote on Indian themes and to varying extents embraced and promoted Indian causes between 1880 and 1940. Few of these writers achieved much lasting prominence; in all they realized only small victories when they took up political work on behalf of the Indians. And yet, in part because they had only average literary talents and embodied many of the contradictions that afflicted others of their time, they offer, in the hands of Smith, whose literary talents are considerable, a glimpse of this period that deserves careful attention.

Smith sets as the end points of her study the Dawes General Allotment Act of 1887 and the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. The Dawes Act represents the pinnacle of the assimilationist policies pursued by white Americans in the period when Indian removal was largely complete, and it seemed only a matter of time before tribes became extinct and only assimilated Indians remained. At worst, it was a legal shield for whites with designs on Native American lands; at best, it was the last hope of the friends of the Indians, who saw in it some small possibility of protecting Indian land by bringing it into the legally protected system of private property. At the other end of Smith's study is the Indian New Deal, which tried, in its brief tenure, to protect Indian cultures and reverse the worst abuses of assimilationist policy. In the work of the writers she studies, Smith sees evidence of the sea change in popular understanding that accompanied this brief reversal of policy. Smith suggests that these writers, by producing works in popular venues that presented Native Americans as people with families, hopes and fears, strengths and weaknesses, helped to effect this change in thinking.

What Smith does so beautifully here is to give us an intimate look at the lives and works of writers who helped other Americans think about Native Americans. What is striking in these portraits of idiosyncratic individuals is the ordinariness of their romance with the Indians. It seems remarkable, when one thinks of how self-confidently proud Americans could be at the

turn of the century, that almost all of these characters were driven by a desire to belong among the Indians. They all came to love "their" Indians, and with varying degrees of energy and success pursued legal and political solutions to the problems they faced. They also wrestled with the prevailing intellectual paradigms of their time. Deeply committed to Native Americans whom they were lucky enough to know personally, they could not wholly shed the ideas that had long shaped Americans' thinking about the people they had conquered. Their writing was radical to the extent that it furthered the humanizing of Indians in a culture that had relied for a long time on dehumanization. But it was also marked by racism, a lingering devotion to evolutionary anthropology, and the paternalism that marked the period.

This book tells part of a larger story about the way in which the United States, in the process of becoming an industrialized, centralized nation, wrestled with its relationship with indigenous peoples and the meaning of its own modernity. Smith identifies these writers as anti-moderns, borrowing T. J. Jackson Lears's dialectical sense of the term. Read alongside histories of anthropology and histories of the period that focus on the urban world these writers largely chose to escape, this study will help readers explore the ambivalence that marked the social thinking of the time. These writers felt at odds with the world they were born to. Among the Indians they found a home. Smith raises the question of why a significant number of economically comfortable white Americans found playing Indian so intriguing and satisfying a pastime during this period. Nostalgia is certainly one part of the equation, as is altruism. Antimodernism plays a role, but so does its opposite. This is a complicated period in American culture, and Native Americans figured prominently as both symbol and reality as other Americans tried to work out what it all meant.

ELIZA McFEELY
College of New Jersey

JOSEPH F. SPILLANE. *Cocaine: From Medical Marvel to Modern Menace in the United States, 1884-1920*. (Studies in Industry and Society.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University in association with the Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington, Del. 2000. Pp. x, 214. \$39.95.

Cocaine burst upon the American scene as a wonder drug in 1884. In less than three decades, it became a menacing social problem. Joseph F. Spillane documents this transformation in rich, interesting detail.

While many others have studied the development of American drug control, Spillane's work is different in at least three respects. First, he studies cocaine as a commodity, tracing the growth of production and marketing of the drug. Second, he does this by drawing on previously unexplored archives documenting the history of the pharmaceutical and chemical industries. Third and most important, he is more concerned with

the changing social mores regarding the drug than with the development of legal prohibition. He argues that law is often a poor "historical marker of change," because the real action occurs in the interactions of physicians, pharmaceutical companies, druggists, and users (p. 4).

Austrian physician Carl Koller first reported that cocaine could be used as an anesthetic in 1884, and within a few years American physicians were using the drug widely not only as an anesthetic but also as a "tonic" and a sinus remedy. At a time when few drugs worked reliably, the American medical profession, eager to establish its special expertise, emphasized the virtues of "scientific drug development" through laboratory research (p. 14). Cocaine became one of the first exemplars.

To be sure, physicians readily identified and discussed the negative side effects of cocaine, ranging from nausea and vomiting to addiction. Most agreed, however, that a competent physician could control these by limiting prescription of the drug and by identifying patients susceptible to them. The middle-class, professional background of known users of the drug reinforced this consensus.

In the 1880s and 1890s, pharmaceutical and chemical companies moved quickly to meet the expanding medical demand for cocaine. The drug quickly became "one of the most important products of the European and American pharmaceutical/chemical industry" (p. 44). Its production coincided with the general expansion and modernization of the industry. Cocaine became one of the first drugs that the pharmaceutical industry actively advertised and marketed directly to retailers and consumers. Cocaine also appeared as well in patent (over-the-counter) products such as tonics (including Coca-Cola), voice tablets, and catarrh cures.

As cocaine-containing products became popular consumer items, physicians lost control of the drug, and the drug lost its medical and scientific aura. In addition, use spread from their middle-class clientele to factory and dock workers, Southern blacks, and urban "vice" districts. Cocaine became associated with dangerous pleasure seeking and crime. The typical user became seen as a "cocaine fiend," violent and a threat to social order. The typical retailer became seen as unethical druggists who specialized in selling the drug. Increasingly, cocaine became relegated to a "shadow market," if not quite a black market.

This set the stage for efforts to control use of the drug. Local officials employed nuisance and other indirect means to round up users. On the national level, a coalition of physicians, "ethical" pharmaceutical companies (producers of prescription drugs), and progressive reformers worked to get cocaine removed from all consumer products. Regulation of cocaine became part of the general effort to control a drug industry seen as placing profit over the public welfare.

Spillane's central point in recounting this history is that, contrary to prior studies, the stigmatization of

users and a shadow market preceded legal prohibition of cocaine, rather than following from it. He thus takes issue with the claim that legalizing drugs would necessarily undercut the drug underworld. While challenging one important claim of the sociological and historical study of psychoactive drugs, Spillane's analysis reinforces another: the social status of drug users tends to shape the moral status of the drug. Drugs associated with minorities, the working poor, and the urban unemployed are more likely to attract moral stigma.

This is a good piece of work, combining cogent ideas with a rich historical narrative drawing on previously unused primary sources. It is an important book for anyone interesting in the complicated, interesting history of American drug use and control.

JEROME L. HIMMELSTEIN
Amherst College

BARRON H. LERNER. *The Breast Cancer Wars: Hope, Fear, and the Pursuit of a Cure in Twentieth-Century America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. xvi, 381. \$30.00.

This book by Barron H. Lerner is a fabulous resource for understanding the context of the ongoing, heated debates about breast cancer detection and treatment. It is medical history at its best, a timely study that helps readers sort out the subject of breast cancer politics, historically and today.

Lerner demonstrates in clear, accessible language that "disease cannot be understood outside its social and cultural context" (p. 5). He finds that, throughout the twentieth century, breast cancer control focused on two major themes: early detection and treatment through radical surgery. Much of his study documents the rise and decline of the radical mastectomy, the surgical solution to breast cancer created by Dr. William Halstead of Johns Hopkins University in the early twentieth century. Halstead set the pattern for breast cancer control in the twentieth century with the message, "Get here soon enough and we can cure you" (p. 291). Cancer control, with a "search and destroy" mindset, led to the identification of ever smaller cancers, since the 1950s through breast self-examination and since the 1970s with the use of mammography.

Lerner's fascinating study is about both the war on cancer and the debates about how best to wage that war, especially from 1945 to 1980. In the post-World War II era, much of the health care language invoked military metaphors, speaking of a "battle," "fight," or "war" in the management of cancer. The 1950s witnessed an acceleration of the war on breast cancer by physicians, public health officials, and laypeople. Cancer societies emphasized both fear and hope in rallying the public to the anti-cancer cause. It was in this Cold War era that Halstead's procedure of aggressive treatment became most popular. Yet, as Lerner points out, the authority of surgeons "rested less on the proven value of the radical mastectomy than what it had come

to represent: an intervention that combined growing scientific knowledge and surgical precision with American ingenuity and heroism" (p. 90). This medical procedure fit with an American ethos and "cultural climate that saw increasingly aggressive invasion of the body as an appropriate way to counteract disease" (p. 75). Furthermore, radical surgery prevailed as the treatment of choice because surgeons possessed the cultural authority to define both the problem and the solution.

Lerner demonstrates that there were controversies within the medical profession itself regarding the best methods for controlling breast cancer. For example, some physicians and biometricians (statisticians) in the 1950s and 1960s emphasized the variability of breast cancers and biological predeterminism. They suggested that it was the biology of the breast cancer that determined whether the patient lived or died. Scientific data, they argued, showed that "so-called early cancers were not necessarily early in their course nor more localized when discovered" (p. 99). Furthermore, surgeons tended to conflate cure and survival when arguing for the value of their treatments. In what appeared to some doctors as an untenable, fatalistic view, critics argued that "there was often little that the medical profession could do to alter the fate of cancer patients" (p. 92). Even a few surgeons, like Dr. Barney Crile, became outspoken critics of breast cancer control practices that were too aggressive and ignored the limitations of early detection. In the 1950s, Crile went public with his objections, stating that "smaller operations could often achieve as much as larger procedures" (p. 64).

Lerner points out that patients have played an increasing role in the creation of cancer policy in the U.S. since the 1970s. By 1974, breast cancer became an issue for public debate as women emerged as critics of the medical profession and "breast cancer patients became central figures in the revolt against standard medical practice" (p. 141). Indeed, Lerner argues that "the persistence of radical mastectomy had less to do with medical indications than with male physicians asserting power in the face of waning authority" (p. 165).

Despite the image of African-American women health activists on the cover on the book, Lerner focuses more on surgeons and surgery than patients and women's health activists. He is most interested in showing that breast cancer surgery was not simply sexist, as some have argued, but driven by the inner workings of the medical profession in general and surgery in particular. In sum, Lerner demonstrates convincingly that it was both medical and social factors, science and activism, that led to changes in breast cancer treatment and the decline of the radical mastectomy.

SUSAN L. SMITH
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ELLEN S. MORE. *Restoring the Balance: Women Physicians and the Profession of Medicine, 1850–1995*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 340. \$49.95.

Some readers of the *AHR* will recall the days when just about the only thing written on the history of women in American medicine was a short essay by Richard Harrison Shryock. But starting with the late Mary Roth Walsh's "*Doctors Wanted, No Women Need Apply*": *Sexual Barriers in the Medical Profession, 1835–1975* (1977), this has become a standard topic within women's history and American history. Ellen S. More is the latest to provide a one-volume survey of women in American medicine. This is at once a local, a national, and even an international subject, as foreign wars have opened doors and opportunities to American women physicians. More's main theme is one of physicians' achieving "balance" in their lives and in their medical judgment, but this reviewer found other themes more exciting, especially the one that modernization, especially at the hospital and medical school, meant marginalization of women.

More's first chapter focuses on Sarah Dolley, MD, of Rochester, New York, a graduate of the upstate and coeducational Central Medical College and a practitioner for more than fifty years, first with her physician husband and then with a female partner with whom she also boarded patients at home. She was also a friend of Frances Willard and Susan B. Anthony and in many respects the mainstay of the Rochester women's medical community; the all-female Practitioner (later Blackwell) Society could at its peak boast of a membership that was seven percent of the city's total and that ran a city dispensary from 1887 until 1897.

Dolley's protégée, Marian Craig Potter, had in some ways a more difficult career, since the city's new hospital could have provided her more status and resources. But starting around 1900, the board of lady managers and the superintendent of nurses at the Rochester City (after 1911 General) Hospital were pushed aside by the newly powerful medical staff of male doctors and surgeons, who, coming to dominate hospital assignments and local medical politics, restricted Potter's clientele, consultations, and privileges. Rebuffed, she retreated to a substantial private practice in gynecology and obstetrics and entered state and national medical politics. In 1907, Potter and others formed a state-wide association of women physicians and then, in 1915, the Medical Women's National Association (MWNA).

The MWNA (renamed the American Women's Medical Association in 1937) was not at first sure of its mission, but World War I presented certain opportunities. To their credit, as shown in a fascinating chapter on the American Women's Hospitals (AWH), American women physicians made a late but impressive contribution in France in 1918–1920. In particular, the dedicated and organized M. Louise Hubbell, MD, also of Rochester, ran Unit #1 so effectively that she

outshadowed even the MWNA's leaders, Rosalie Morton Slaughter, MD, and Esther Pohl Lovejoy, MD, who later ran the AWH and its hospitals in Serbia, Greece, and the Near East for over forty years.

Marginalized at the hospital, the medical school, and in the military, women doctors met more local and even national acceptance in the area of public health, which flourished first at the settlement houses and during the 1920s at well-baby clinics supported by the Sheppard-Towner Act of 1921. But hardly had Martha Eliot, MD, Ethel Dunham, MD, Helen Taussig, MD, and some notable others built successful careers in pediatrics and turned the U. S. Children's Bureau into a force for child health when opposition from competing private physicians forced most of these ventures to close down, and in 1930 the Bureau narrowly avoided a takeover by the U. S. Public Health Service. Interestingly, however, the AWH's Mountain Medical Service operated an obstetrics unit in Appalachia through the 1930s, and several black women health professionals from Alpha Kappa Alpha kept a medical project for sharecroppers going in Mississippi into the early 1940s.

World War II brought a successful battle, led by Minnie Maffett, MD, of Dallas, about whom more could have been said, to get women physicians commissions in the armed forces reserves, something that had not been achieved in World War I. But they were hardly in place under Major Margaret Craighill, MD, when the back-to-the-home movement of the late 1940s and continuing admission quotas at medical schools marginalized women physicians once again. Then in 1971, after a lawsuit was filed by the Women's Equity Action League the year before, the U.S. Public Health Service required that no medical school accepting federal funds could discriminate in admissions or salaries. Almost immediately, the numbers of women applying to and graduating from medical schools started climbing to its current forty-five percent or so. Whether these young women can break glass ceilings or achieve balance in their lives has yet to be determined. The first woman president of the American Medical Association was not elected until 1997. Certainly books like this—clearly written and well-researched analyses of opportunities taken and backlashes endured—offer much food for thought to anyone contemplating the future of women in American medicine.

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SANDRA LEE BARNEY. *Authorized to Heal: Gender, Class, and the Transformation of Medicine in Appalachia 1880–1930*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 222. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$17.95.

Sandra Lee Barney has produced a slim but rich and graceful volume that combines the historical literature of women, medicine, and Appalachian history. Her work demonstrates the dominant trend in recent schol-

arship on Appalachia when she argues that the region was not exceptional but reflected patterns in American society as a whole. Her very significant contribution is to thresh out the local nuances of the alternative collaboration and conflict between women reformers and male physicians that has been explored on the national level by Theda Skocpol and other historians of the welfare state. Skocpol's argument about the importance of middle-class club women in fostering "maternalist" public policies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has especially influenced this work.

Barney sets out to use materials from the mountain regions of Kentucky, West Virginia, and Virginia to assess the role of women and physicians in bringing modern scientific medicine to a region that lagged behind the rest of the country in industrial development. In the first two chapters, she reviews physicians' attempts nationwide to gain professional status by forming licensing associations and winning the sanction of the state. In Appalachia, this movement did not become significant until the end of the nineteenth century—at the same time that railroads and coal mining brought a more sudden economic and cultural transformation than had been the case elsewhere. But not only was Appalachia's industrialization later, it also took place in different circumstances: namely, agrarian mountain villages and rural neighborhoods that lacked a significant middle-class and commercial development. Thus physicians were a diverse group; some were native to the mountains, having gone to Louisville or other nearby cities to study, while others were imported from outside the region by railroad and coal companies. Although these physicians were often suspicious of each other, they all sought legitimization through identification with profession rather than community.

Barney is at her best and most original when she traces the alliances these fledgling professionals made with middle-class club women, public health nurses, and settlement workers to advance their own status. For despite the physicians' claims to scientific superiority, many Appalachians were still living in traditional worlds—whether of newly built coal camps or rural farm neighborhoods—and were slow to leave behind folk remedies, especially midwifery. Club women became natural allies with the physicians because they, too, were often newcomers to the region, attached to middle-class professionals such as company managers, teachers, and lawyers. They, too, felt the need to bring mountain communities into the world of middle-class values and scientific approaches. Barney's research on these women shows them to be comparable to the women studied by Skocpol and Lori Ginzberg, women who saw a real need to improve living conditions and health care but whose goals were infused with issues of class: they hoped to enhance their own and their husbands' class status in the community. In doing so, they ran programs to improve health care even to the point of hiring nurses to carry out public health

agendas. Barney skillfully traces the convergences and divergences between women's groups such as the club women, the public health nurses, and a third group, settlement house founders, who often were single and came from elite families outside the region. Although all three groups could work together, Barney shows, through examples of individual women, how each had their own goals, which could sometimes conflict. Nevertheless, they worked together to bring their version of middle-class order and particularly health practices to mountain communities. In doing so, they advanced the legitimacy and status of physicians.

Yet by the 1920s, the alliance of physicians and women's groups was falling apart. Here, too, the Appalachian case mirrors events in the rest of the country. Physicians came more and more to resent the independent actions of club women as well as the threat to their own authority posed by the professionalization of public health nurses. In the 1920s, the alliance broke down as physicians, through their own medical associations, established women's auxiliaries that were completely dependent on the authority of male physicians. They were often wives of physicians and, like their husbands, embraced a conservative health agenda that rejected public health initiatives as a threat to their own prosperity. Barney demonstrates the dynamics among physicians, club women, nurses, and settlement workers as medicine became almost completely privatized after the 1920s, a pattern that had different nuances in Appalachia but essentially replicated the trajectory in the rest of the country. Barney has filled an important void in Appalachian history and at the same time helps to demonstrate that Appalachian history is American history.

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JANE S. BECKER. *Selling Tradition: Appalachia and the Construction of an American Folk, 1930–1940*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1998. Pp. xv, 331. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$18.95.

Rarely has a historiographic treatment of material culture achieved the transdisciplinary scope that Jane S. Becker's book has. This folkloristic account documents the transformation of Appalachian women's textiles from handicraft to industrial commodities in the Depression era using a politics of culture framework. Through detailed and thorough research of popular, academic, institutional, and museum historical sources, Becker constructs a compelling argument for how the commodification of craft objects in the Appalachian crafts movement also commodified tradition. She demonstrates that the historical meanings assigned to these objects constructed mythic folk histories and traditions that instilled middle-class buyers with an ideology of white American identity but fragmented lives and destroyed craft producers' own personal and cultural histories in the process. Her empha-

sis on careful documentation convincingly supports her conclusion that the Appalachian case reveals how "the commodification of tradition depends upon . . . deceptions, along with a sort of deliberate amnesia" (p. 236). The book therefore encourages readers to apply her material to cross-disciplinary issues in postcolonialism, identity constitution and loss, and political and policy constructions of culture.

Becker addresses 1930s Appalachian craft industrialization history by tracing how tradition and folk are ideological constructs created by academic researchers, public intellectuals, and popularizers of "traditional" cultures through radio, museum exhibits, and news or popular publications. Consequently, Becker replaces a folklore approach that emphasizes non industrial, non capitalistic, and apolitical modes of description with that of folklorism, which focuses on how pseudo-authentic systems of interpretation "incorporate the worlds of the marketplace, the city, technology, and human agency into the process of cultural creation" (p. 9). This conceptual shift challenges using tradition as a viable concept for defining or delimiting a folk group at all. She argues that the folkloric apolitical usage presupposes an "otherness" that reinforces Western social evolutionary theories in which "cultures" are in different levels of "progress." This challenge constitutes a basic groundbreaking reformulation of a core folklore concept. In so doing, she redefines material culture studies with respect to its contribution to history or any field also interested in a diachronic understanding of sociopolitical relations among groups.

This book develops its argument by examining central relationships among local organizations of women's labor, nonlocal entrepreneurs' efforts to organize this labor for commodity production, and federal policy implementation to regulate or define this production. It first explores how middle-class Americans were introduced to Appalachian "folk" weaving, quilting, tufted bedspreads, and furniture-making "traditions" in the 1930s. Shaped by their ideological preconceptions of gender, race, and ethnicity, consumers came to understand tradition as a vague, imagined, and nostalgic "pastness" of white American nationalism embodied in objects they could purchase.

Furthermore, this identification of Appalachian crafts with a pseudo-authentic American identity presented entrepreneurial and privileged middle-class women opportunities to create an influential niche in a patriarchal power system that could influence policy, markets, and social reform. The result was a feminization of handwork and crafts that did not shift race, ethnic, class, or gender power relationships.

Subsequent chapters develop these historical contexts diachronically, beginning with her summary of the formation of Appalachia itself as a marketable construct that depended on folk and craft revivals and the various craft guilds to create traditionalized material symbols. She carefully describes how Appalachian women producers were exploited by this process and

how business managers contrived urban public displays that replaced abysmal but actual conditions of craft production with manufactured and image-conforming atavisms of untroubled peace and harmony.

Becker takes this powerful denouement of Appalachian folk craft production further, however, by embedding the processes within the divisive and contested political spheres of New Deal policy implementation and competing craft businesses. Here, she describes how these disputes denied any cultural or economic rewards to women workers, and how, ultimately, the workers themselves and their own cultural histories became invisible.

Becker thus depicts culture as a political economic construct understood only in terms of the specific historical contexts in which its traditions are artificially constituted. This argument is a powerful one, but one that is also open to contestation. Becker's interpretive assertions about various historical facts invite substantive critiques by historians, especially when she relies on secondary sources for her claims. Furthermore, Becker skims over what motivated regional supervisors and workers to promote and develop local craft production sites. These omissions leave the book open to refutation or contradiction, as is developed in Garry Barker's *The Handcraft Revival in Southern Appalachia, 1930-1990* (1991). Nevertheless, Becker is extremely thorough in her analysis and comprehensive in her research. The result is a significant contribution to scholarship on how the politics of culture are constituted historically and folkloristically and to understanding the role of crafts in the construction of Appalachia as a symbol of white American identity.

ANITA PUCKETT

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GREGG ANDREWS. *Insane Sisters, or, The Price Paid for Challenging a Company Town*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 262. \$29.95.

This book grew out of a history of Ilasco, Missouri, the small town in which Gregg Andrews and Mark Twain (among others) spent their childhood. Andrews uses a wide range of historical work, as well as extensive local records, to illuminate the lives of Mary Alice (Mollie) Heinbach and her sister, Euphemia (Feemy) B. Koller. Born in Pennsylvania in the mid-nineteenth century, they moved with their parents to Missouri after the Civil War. The heart of this book is a twentieth-century story, however, involving a lengthy and bitter property dispute between the two sisters and the Atlas Portland Cement Company. The ensuing legal conflicts ended up before the Missouri Supreme Court four times and produced nearly two thousand pages of trial transcripts. Only after Mollie had been adjudicated incompetent to manage her own affairs (in 1921) and Feemy declared insane and sent to the Missouri State Hospital (in 1929) did the Atlas Portland Cement Company acquire clear title to the property it needed for expansion in the Midwest. Mollie had died

in 1928; her sister followed in 1930. Shortly before Feemy's death, U.S. Steel merged Atlas with its own steel company. The resulting corporation was by far the most powerful economic presence in the Ilasco area and the community's largest landlord, in large part thanks to its acquisition of the Heinbach tract.

Andrews uses these events to explore three large themes. The first has to do with the ways in which power elites were able to use guardianships and insanity to control "unconventional" women who challenged them (p. 12). The second involves the impact of gender, class, and law on property and labor relations and the emergence of corporate capitalism in early twentieth-century America. The third focuses on "the everyday world of marriage and strategies of economic survival for ordinary women around the turn of the century" (p. 13). These are ambitious goals for a book of barely two hundred pages, and Andrews is most successful at the last. The stories of Mollie and Feemy effectively illustrate the precarious situations in which even middle-class white women often found themselves, as well as the range of their life experiences. For example, Sam Heinbach, owner of the tract of land that became the subject of much litigation after his death, was Mollie's fifth husband. Andrews argues that she married him when she was fifty-four, largely for his money. Three of her earlier marriages had been disastrous, especially the first, which took place when she was fifteen. In contrast, as an adolescent her sister Feemy left Mississippi for the East Coast, where she married a much older Pennsylvania man. Thirteen years later, she divorced him and went to New York City. There she supported herself as a writer. In subsequent years, Feemy traveled widely and invested in property. Somehow, she also acquired legal expertise, which she used to help her sister in the probate battles that followed Sam Heinbach's death. According to Andrews, the legal conflicts most disadvantageous for the two women were the local ones, in the Ralls County courthouse. Whenever they managed to change venue (to Bowling Green or Hannibal) or appeal to higher courts, they were more successful.

While growing up, Andrews heard many colorful anecdotes about Mollie Heinbach and Feemy Koller. However, only when he returned to write Ilasco's history many years later did he learn about the larger economic and political forces that shaped (and ultimately twisted) their lives. Initially, he considered producing a novel about the case. Perhaps as a result, his prose is informal and, occasionally, anachronistic. He also tends to speculate, not always persuasively, about matters to which the extant historical materials do not speak. This is especially true for emotional issues such as Mollie's reaction to a divorce (p. 32) and Feemy's distrust of Mollie's lawyers (p. 77), but it also informs his analysis of the motives of the lawyers, politicians, and businessmen who supported the Atlas Portland Cement Company against the sisters. The result is a narrative that will both intrigue and irritate academic readers. It is less likely to bother the general

reader, whom Andrews (commendably) also hopes to engage. Andrews is an expert in neither the history of medicine nor of law, but he is a skilled community historian, and this book is a wonderful example of the larger significance of local stories.

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VENUS GREEN. *Race on the Line: Gender, Labor, and Technology in the Bell System, 1880-1980*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2001. Pp. xv, 370. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$19.95.

This narrowly conceived, very polemical work is bent on denigrating women's labor activism and disparaging its hard-won accomplishments. Although examining telephone operators' work experience and union organizing, Venus Green relies heavily on the AT&T archives and neglects to consult the papers of relevant women's labor and reform organizations, the journal of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) international with jurisdiction over the telephone service, or even daily newspaper coverage of union formation, labor negotiations, and strikes (except for a few clippings that happen to be in the company archives).

Green's principal argument is that telephone operators should have made opposition to corporate technological innovations their central priority but failed to seriously respond to them. She is contemptuous of both the early twentieth-century Telephone Operators Union (TOU) and the Communications Workers of America (CWA). Green attributes the operators' alleged lack of concern to their inability to recognize what was in their interest and to their acceptance of advice from women reformers and male unionists, who encouraged them to seek union recognition, higher wages, and shorter hours. Failing to look beyond the shop floor, Green does not appreciate the significance of what union operators forced Bell companies to concede as early as the 1910s: the eight-hour day, in place of one extending over fifteen hours, to allow life outside work; ending physical abuse and arbitrary firing of operators; and dramatic pay increases, like the twenty-eight percent raise won in the 1919 New England strike, at a time when most strikes failed. The operators sought higher pay not only to enhance worker dignity but to live independently of their families. The TOU forever enriched the lives of many operators by drawing them into workers' education.

Presenting a crude version of Leslie Tentler's argument, Green insists that operators' work experience only reinforced their sense of themselves as dependent. Yet what is striking about their movement in the early twentieth century is its independence, its willingness to challenge male authority. During the 1910s, the operators waged a fierce struggle for equal rights with men in their international. In their most important strikes, in New England in 1919 and 1923, they defiantly walked out over the objections of the male

telephone workers and, in 1919, over the protests of the male international leadership as well.

Telephone unions always operated at a severe disadvantage, confronting nationally integrated companies with formidable financial resources that were able to undermine organizing by granting conditions unions had achieved to non-union regions. During strikes, the Bell System spared no expense in transferring personnel to the affected company to maintain service. Poorly paid telephone operators could generate little funding to maintain organization and were easily replaceable during strikes. Unfortunately, Green remains oblivious of these factors, displaying little awareness of power relations.

The TOU's denunciation of the dial system, lasting through the 1930s, demonstrates both that union operators did challenge some technological innovation—and the limits of their ability to block it. When the New England TOU walked out in 1923, in part because it perceived the dial as a threat, it confronted overwhelming opposition from a middle class that valued privacy and efficiency, and from the press, and the strike was crushed.

The author's misuse of source material is very troubling. Incredibly, she denies that my book, *Labor's Flaming Youth: Telephone Operators and Worker Militancy, 1878–1923* (1990), provides citations for two statements: that San Francisco operators in 1907 challenged the company dress code and called for rearranging the switchboard, and that they insisted on the removal of male chief operators because of sexual harassment. Green even suggests that the operators never put forward the former demands or the latter complaint. Of course they did, and my book clearly cites a 1913 study of women in San Francisco trade unions for the complaint, and the San Francisco *Examiner*, which prominently featured the demands in its organizing coverage.

Green fails to grasp the distinction between management and union images of the telephone operator, identifying both with a simplistic “white lady” image. This overlooks the fact that for decades the primary “other” was the immigrant, and that the union encouraged the operator to take pride in her craft and not seek interclass mobility. The TOU's “Weaver of Speech” symbol depicted the woman worker as a critical force in the nation's economy—an image so appealing to contemporary feminists that the CWA Telephone Operators Conference, an insurgent interracial movement, resurrected it in the 1990s.

The book is freighted with mind-numbing detail about the development of telephone technology. These sections often read like a technician's manual. Later chapters include accounts of desegregation and the experience of African-American operators.

This book is best described as an extended rant, of little value to historians of labor and women.

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SUSAN A. GLENN. *Female Spectacle: The Theatrical Roots of Modern Feminism*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2000. Pp. x, 294. \$35.00.

Susan A. Glenn has produced an important study of women in the theater and their relationship to the early twentieth century's feminist movement. She argues that through spectacle, women of vaudeville and theater “became agents and metaphors of changing gender relations” (p. 3). Her book adds to a body of scholarship on women in the theater that includes Faye Dudden's *Women and American Theatre: Actresses and Audiences, 1790–1870* (1994) and Robert Allen's *Horrible Prettiness: Burlesque and American Culture* (1991). All three of these works demonstrate that theater's formative or transitional periods permit women a fair amount of power over their performance that declines rapidly as male theater impresarios establish their control.

Glenn's work argues that female performance in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century projected a protofeminism that redefined women's images, challenged gender expectations, and even presaged modern feminism. Organizing her work thematically, she begins with a discussion of France's Sarah Bernhardt as the archetype of the transgressive spectacular woman. Bernhardt's numerous United States farewell tours demonstrated her massive appeal with American theater-goers. Although she performed exclusively in French, Bernhardt's technique, resting on physical exaggeration and blatant emoting, proved especially attractive to U.S. women. Glenn contends that “female audiences in particular strongly identified with and wanted to see actresses giving free reign to their passion” (p. 21). Such emotional displays countered rigid standards of appropriate female behavior and encouraged women to express their feelings as well as their individuality.

Glenn follows with an analysis of the era's comedienness, primarily focusing on the female comedic body. The author asserts that while female comics represented differing physical types, they all used their bodies to provoke laughter and to compel audiences to think about women in new ways. Although humor had been viewed as a man's business, these early twentieth-century pioneers claimed it for women. In particular, Marie Dressler, Sophie Tucker, and Trixie Friganza, all large women, played on and against society's taboos against excess and “articulated their period's cultural nervousness about the lines between permissible and forbidden desires” (p. 49).

Women also challenged societal norms through mimicry and the Salome craze. Mimicry, in Glenn's estimation, was linked to technological innovations in the “talking machine” and advancements in photography—larger changes that reflected an impulse toward realism. Glenn persuasively argues that many female mimics fully recognized that imitation allowed them to editorialize on male dominated society. Glenn's discussion of Salome embraces both serious and comedic

depictions of the controversial performance that often culminated in what was essentially a burlesque cooch. Salome's unbridled sexuality, exoticism, and violence again created a space where female performers tested gender restrictions.

Glenn's major themes converge in her discussion of the relationship between female spectacle and suffragettes. As the suffragette movement attempted to redefine its image in the early 1900s, resisting stereotypes of physically unattractive suffragettes, they increasingly sought to enlist actresses in their cause. Additionally, the movement called on the power of female spectacle. Glenn views the massive rallies, marches, and public protests as evidence that suffragists borrowed indirectly from theater.

The book concludes with the assertion of male control over female spectacle, a shift that ultimately erased the individuality of women of the stage. This backward trend started with Florenz Ziegfeld's Follies chorus line, growing as his productions became more elaborate and as his style gained ascendancy in the entertainment industry. Under Ziegfeld, the chorus line became increasingly automatized; chorus members in their identical costumes with their precisely identical dance steps, blurred into one massive commodified and objectified female image. By the 1920s, according to Glenn, the only remaining vestige of the rebellious female spectacle was Mae West, who ultimately succumbed to censorship. However, Glenn concludes that early subversive female spectacle never completely died and can be still seen in female performers like Sandra Bernhard.

Glenn's ambitious book is refreshing. Weaving history with theory, this book's strengths lie in its interpretative nature. While the author does describe several key female performances, more delineation of women's routines and characterizations on stage would enhance this compelling story. But Glenn's undertaking is admirable; she explores a diverse group of women efficiently within the constraints of a single study. Additionally, Glenn's central tenants are sound. Outside of suffrage, however, it is difficult to discern the exchange between female performers and the feminist movement as well as how women in the audience read female spectacle. Yet tracing female audiences' reactions is particularly challenging, for they only receive rare mention in trade weeklies and the few extant vaudeville managers' reports. Glenn discusses the difficulty in deciphering audience response and points out that we should see these early twentieth-century female performers as portending components of modern feminism. This is a fine book and will serve as an interpretative cornerstone for the study of women in twentieth-century American theater.

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ANDREA FRIEDMAN. *Prurient Interests: Gender, Democracy, and Obscenity in New York City, 1909–1945*. (Columbia Studies in Contemporary American History.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2000. Pp. x, 290. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$17.50.

What is obscene? Is it enough to say, with Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart, "I know it when I see it?" If so, who is to be the "I," the judge of obscenity? If not, what are the standards to be used? And once obscenity is determined (if it can be), what ought to be done about it? Should the First Amendment be interpreted to protect all forms of speech or is obscene speech to be excluded? Finally, what is the harm that obscenity generates? These questions are at the heart of the modern dilemma over obscenity. They are the questions that the subjects of this fine book debated in New York in the period 1909–1945.

New Yorkers were faced with a problem. For decades Anthony Comstock and the Society for the Suppression of Vice had been the watchdogs over obscene materials, arresting under state and federal statutes. By the Progressive period, however, Comstockery was a negative to be avoided, its standards too narrow and its methods too dangerous. At the same time, venues of commercial culture—movies, burlesque shows, and theatrical performances—were expanding and were exploring and exploiting sex as both problem and opportunity. Screens and stages were sites of female sexual display. Performing women presented themselves as desirous, not merely objects of desire. Homosexuality moved out from the shadows to become visible and the subject of serious theatrical attention. Progressives were as leery of the laissez-faire regime in culture as they were of Comstockean authoritarianism. They sought the intervention of voluntary associations and government to stand between the individual and business and to speak for the common good. Was there a democratic way to police obscenity?

As New Yorkers wended their way to this question, Andrea Friedman traces their rich debates and the social, economic, and political forces that they engaged. In the late nineteenth century, middle-class women and Protestant clergy, convinced that they stood for moral absolutes, served as arbiters of what should be read and seen. As a new generation came on the scene, its members sought a different—a modern—way to determine standards in a democracy. Should entertainment police itself? Could citizens' groups preview performances? Or was the just alternative the judgments of juries in criminal courts? Who were the vulnerable publics to protect? Do middle-class women have a special role as protectors, or, do clergymen of the varied faiths of the city more truly represent the city? Ultimately social workers, civil libertarians, and members of the media sought to define a democratic moral authority, based on the standards of the average person and regulated by democratic means.

This is a well-written and fully documented book. Its interrelated strengths are its clear argument and its intricate narratives. A trio of core chapters focuses on movies, burlesque, and theater, each detailing censorship campaigns, efforts of each media to defend itself, and the varied work of others, including free speech advocates. The three types of entertainment have different stories and trajectories, illuminating efforts at industrial self-policing, state censorship regulation, municipal licensing, and the use of the criminal courts. Questions of gender, religion, and class come to the fore in the next two chapters, which examine the way that groups gained and lost authority on this contested terrain in the years around World War II. By the end of the narrative, a new standard has emerged: democratic moral authority. But who is included and who is excluded from the public that shapes and polices this standard? Friedman demonstrates that the consensus developed at mid-century became the intellectual underpinning of recent debates, which helps to explain the odd alliance of antipornography feminists and radical right spokesmen that arose in reaction.

The book is fresh, carefully researched, focused, and thoughtful. Its one missing ingredient is broad perspective. The fascinating particulars in this book partake of a long history of sexual representation and censorship. Participants on all sides worked within imaginary and rhetorical traditions that lent power to their words. Moreover, all operated within a century-old tradition of legal practice that shaped the contours of possible regulation. Such perspective might allow insight as to why the regulation of obscenity emerged as such an important element in the polity. This caveat aside, I admire Friedman's shrewd and sophisticated book.

HELEN LEFKOWITZ HOROWITZ
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G. EDWARD WHITE. *The Constitution and the New Deal*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2000. Pp. x, 385. \$45.00.

G. Edward White has two primary objectives in writing this important, but not path-breaking, book: "One is to complicate what I am calling the conventional account of early twentieth-century constitutional history, a collection of narratives about constitutional law and jurisprudence in the first three decades of the twentieth century that invariably culminate in a 'constitutional revolution,' inspired by the New Deal and precipitated by the Roosevelt administration's 1937 effort to 'pack' the Supreme Court. The other is to historicize that account: to show that its durability has been a function of shared starting premises of its narrators rather than the historical accuracy of its conclusions" (p. 1).

White's contribution is a subtle analysis of Supreme Court cases involving executive discretion in foreign relations, agency power and administrative law, and free speech. He convincingly demonstrates that signif-

icant doctrinal innovations and accompanying commentary innovations were underway well before the New Deal, and thus "cannot be made to bear a meaningful causal connection to the events conventionally identified as forging a constitutional revolution, such as the 1936 presidential election or the introduction of the Court-packing plan in February 1937" (p. 10).

This is not news. It has been well known that the West Coast Hotel case, which overturned key Lochner-era principles, was decided well before the justices had knowledge of Roosevelt's court-packing plan. Barry Cushman demonstrated in 1998 that doctrinal changes in political economy cases resulted from the gradual disintegration of a clear separation between what were private and public spheres, as new justices joined the Supreme Court.

The primary contribution of this book rests with White's explanation of why historians continue mistakenly to view such doctrinal changes as the product of a constitutional revolution in response to events external to the court. White argues that the acceptance of the conventional narrative is the result of an "interpretive revolution," in which a "guardian" view of judging as replaced by a "behavioralist" view. Prior to the 1930s, judges were viewed as "guardians" who apply but do not change constitutional principles. As the product of legal realism and Progressivism's faith in human ability to improve society, the "behavioralist" judges no longer incrementally pricked the boundaries of these principles; judges were now viewed as policy makers who, like electorally accountable officials, made decisions in response to external events, ideological preferences, and in the hope of improving society through law. They no longer made a meaningful distinction between the authority of sources of law and that of judges as interpreters of the Constitution and law.

This is a complex, intriguing argument. As presented, it is incomplete and may lead to a continued misunderstanding of doctrinal change. The argument needs to be placed in a wider intellectual framework than that of developments in the legal interpretive community. What effect did the replacement of a faith in Euclidean by non-Euclidean thinking (that principles and deduction are not knowledge) and scientific naturalism (the notion that knowledge is only that which can be scientifically proven and replicated) have on accepting the judge as policy maker and on the conventional narrative?

Most important, White is too willing to accept scholars' and practitioners' visions of judging as constituting a dichotomy between the judge as guardian and as behavioralist policy maker. Many legal scholars in and outside of law schools did not and have not accepted this dichotomy. A better case must be made, with particular regard to historians. White never nails down in cases or analysis the key distinction he draws between the guardian orthodox view of judging as adapting principles in the Constitution to new circumstances, while the principles remain part of the essen-

tial ordering of things, and the alternative "living Constitution" perspective, which conceives of the Constitution as a document created by, and capable of modification by, human actors and thus denies that constitutional principles retain an authority independent of their application in concrete cases.

The guardian-behavioralist judging dichotomy breaks down because Supreme Court and appellate court judges in the past, and to this day, believe in essentialist polity and rights principles and the need for their application to the social, political, and economic context, as Alan Alschuler argues in an important new book, *Law Without Values: The Life, Work and Legacy of Justice Holmes* (2000). What is needed is not continued acceptance of the dichotomy but a more precise analysis of how essentialist principles interact with the construction of the world outside the court in precedents and a judge's construction of the social, political, and economic realms.

Finally, White underestimates the depth and breadth of revisionist scholarship. He argues that revisionist scholarship "has renewed 'internalist' explanations of developments in constitutional jurisprudence" (p. 29). Revisionist political scientists and historians, especially those working within what has been called the new historical institutional paradigm, such as William J. Novak, Karen Orren, Stephen Skowronek, and Rogers Smith, are not simply looking at "internalist" explanations of doctrinal change. They also are looking at models and theories of institutional change. In rejecting the impact of single external events on court choices, these scholars seek a more affirmative explanation of change that relates doctrine and norms to institutions outside the court and to the economic, social, and political contexts in which the court acts. White has demonstrated the inaccuracy of the conventional narrative, but he fails to delve more deeply into revisionist approaches to doctrinal change, which go beyond finding an explanation in the habits of mind of the interpretive community of lawyers, constitutional theorists, and legal historians.

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DAVID K. YOO. *Growing Up Nisei: Race, Generation, and Culture among Japanese Americans of California, 1924-49*. Foreword by ROGER DANIELS. (The Asian American Experience.) Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 244. Cloth \$42.50, paper \$17.95.

Between 1920 and the signing of Executive Order 9066, the Japanese-American community experienced a generational transformation as the percentage of the American born rose from slightly more than twenty-five percent to over sixty percent. The coming of age of the Nisei generation and the ways that it sought to negotiate a distinctive ethnic identity constitute the focus of David K. Yoo's insightful and engaging monograph. He is intent on viewing the second generation

not simply as victims of wartime xenophobia but as agents seeking with whatever resources they had at their disposal to negotiate their place within American society. Yoo views the Nisei negotiation of identity as in many respects parallel to that of the children of other immigrants. However, he is keen to claim that racial groups need to be distinguished from ethnic groups, and in steering clear of what he somewhat oddly refers to as the "cult of ethnicity" (p. 9), he embraces Michael Omi and Howard Winant's "racial formation" theory.

Yoo begins with education. California's public schools, shaped by the ideals of progressive educators, viewed their task as assimilating immigrants, and the Nisei heard the message. At the same time, they confronted the everyday reality of racism. Thus, they came to understand their peculiar place in the nation's racial hierarchy and sought to find ways to combat racism's deleterious impact. Education came to be seen as an important vehicle for success. As a clear indication of the Nisei desire to assimilate, the Issei proved to be rather unsuccessful in convincing their children of the importance of preserving their cultural identities and keeping the Japanese language alive.

The particular contours of the Americanization of the Nisei served to explain the varied responses of this generation to their wartime internment and highlighted the fundamental importance of religion and race. In the case of religion, Yoo offers a comparative portrait of Buddhists and Christians, noting advantages the latter possessed because of the cultural capital accruing as a result of their relationship with the Protestant churches of the dominant culture. He also observes that there was a downside to this situation insofar as Nisei Christians found themselves in a dependency relationship to their patrons. While noting that there was a discernable generational shift in religious affiliation from Buddhism to Christianity, he unfortunately does not attempt to analyze the reasons for or implications of this shift. In exploring the topic of race, Yoo focuses on three journalistic themes that he develops to capture the complex responses of ethnic leaders to racial subordination: responsibility, solidarity, and victimization.

Turning to the impact of incarceration, Yoo makes use of two primary sources. Again he turns to journalists, complementing their accounts with the life histories compiled by Charles Kikuchi, under the auspices of the Japanese Evacuation and Resettlement Study directed by Berkeley demographer Dorothy Swaine Thomas. The chapter on Japanese-American newspapers gets at the internal debates among ethnic leaders concerning the proper response to their plight, which ranged from calls for accommodation to demands for various forms of resistance. Wherever leaders fell on this spectrum, they sought to confront not only present troubles but also the postwar future. In contrast, the life stories are closer to the quotidian reality of ordinary Nisei. From these one gets a far better appreciation of the bitterness directed toward the

"white bastards" (p. 163) than from the more discreet public pronouncements of newspaper writers. It is a pity that Yoo did not make more extensive use of this treasure trove of data. I would have liked to learn more about the research team and its sponsors, who without apparent discomfort divided their subjects into two categories: "the salvage" and "the spoilage" (p. 150). I would also have liked to hear more from the voices of the interviewees as well as a more sustained analysis of the interviews.

These shortcomings notwithstanding, Yoo has made a significant contribution to the topic by offering the reader an engaging account that provides penetrating insights into the life-world of the Nisei during the traumatic second quarter of the twentieth century.

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KARL-LUDWIG SOMMER. *Humanitäre Auslandshilfe als Brücke zu atlantischer Partnerschaft: CARE, CRALOG und die Entwicklung der deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehungen nach ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs*. (Veröffentlichungen aus dem Staatsarchiv der Freien Hansestadt Bremen, number 63.) Bremen, Germany: Staatsarchiv Bremen. 1999. Pp. 400.

This excellent and thoroughly researched study of American humanitarian aid to Germany covers in great detail the activities of the Council of Relief Agencies Licensed for Operation in Germany (CRALOG) as well as the Cooperative for American Remittance to Europe, to millions of Germans better known as CARE. This aid not only helped to overcome hunger and food shortages in the devastated and defeated country, but it also provided hope for a better future and had an important psychological effect on American-German relations after World War II.

Karl-Ludwig Sommer's monograph is based upon extensive research in American and German archives, including East German archives, where CRALOG and CARE played an important role in American confrontation with Soviet Communism. In addition to the Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (Bonn) and the Federal Archives in Koblenz and Potsdam, Sommer has collected a wealth of information in the State Archives in Bremen, Freiburg, Leipzig, Magdeburg, Stuttgart, and Wiesbaden as well as the archives of the Catholic and Protestant welfare organizations dealing with the recipients and the distribution of aid. His use of American archives is likewise impressive. In addition to material at the National Archives in Washington, the Truman and Hoover Presidential Archives, and the Archives of the Hoover Institution (Stanford), the Brethren Historical Library, with important papers of CRALOG activists, was consulted, as well as the CARE files at the New York Public Library. The outcome of this impressive archival research is a book that covers both the foundation of aid organizations in the United States after World War II as well as the political intentions and the distribution of humanitar-

ian aid in the Cold War era. Sommer analyzes the political ideas and concepts of American aid in the changing East-West climate over Germany. This aspect is especially strong in the deliberations of the Zentralkomitees der Spitzenverbände der freien Wohlfahrtsverbände, led by Pastor Heinrich Johannes Diehl, and in the policy of Dr. Eldon Burke, the American representative of CRALOG in Germany. For good reasons, Sommer does not deal with government aid through the GARIOA and Marshall Plan programs or the contributions by the Quaker program and other deliveries by private organizations for the reconstruction of churches, libraries, and other buildings. An important aspect of this study is the reaction in the United States toward aid to the former enemy. Organizations like the American Legion of Veterans of Foreign Wars, the American Veteran's Committee, farmer's organizations, and also the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) submitted programs for an increase in foodstuff deliveries to Germany. Nongovernment organizations played an important role in overcoming the negative image of Germany as the country of National Socialism. Reactions and attitudes in Germany toward humanitarian aid were influenced by the experience of defeat and occupation. Aid reinforced the view that Germans were victims of National Socialism. German aid recipients felt extremely grateful, although the psychological effect of aid was well recognized. Throughout the study, the author integrates archival sources and secondary literature.

The book presents a strong case for the difficulties in organizing aid in a foreign country and also includes accounts of German misuse and theft. Different groups of aid recipients are described as well as special aid for refugees, expellees, and the population of West Berlin. Of special interest are the attempts of the Soviet Union and the East German (GDR) government after 1949 to prevent aid to citizens in the East. The Eisenhower food distribution program of 1953, "Operation Reindeer" 1953-1954, and the participation of German welfare organization show an interesting aspect of cooperation in the psychological Cold War. The book provides an outstanding analysis of humanitarian aid and a hitherto largely neglected aspect of German-American relations. It is annoying, however, that this study, which breaks new ground in a careful analysis of primary sources, does not provide an index.

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SCOTT LUCAS. *Freedom's War: The American Crusade against the Soviet Union*. New York: New York University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 301. \$45.00.

What was the Cold War? This question has been asked again and again during the last decade. In this book, Scott Lucas gives his answer to the question. Unlike

many other scholars who studied the Cold War as a conflict between the national interests of the opposing states, who analyzed diplomatic and military moves of the rival camps, and who, at last, are preoccupied with secret operations and espionage, Lucas scrutinized an aspect thus far outside scholarly attention that virtually permeates all actions of the Cold War rivals: ideology. What is especially noteworthy is that he focuses on the United States, which has long been considered a most "unideological" country. Lucas does not agree with this thesis. In his opinion, "The United States, just like the Soviet system with which it contended for so long, has an 'ideology' that 'serves to justify and, to some extent, to organize political, economic, and cultural activities' (pp. 1-2). Thus, Lucas regards the post-World War II conflict primarily as a clash of ideologies expressed in the form of the fierce propaganda and psychological war between the United States and the Soviet Union. Basing on numerous documents from U.S. archives, he makes a comprehensive analysis of the origins, emergence, and evolution of the American ideological crusade against the Soviets and their allies.

It was President Harry S. Truman's speech (March 12, 1947) about U.S. economic and military aid to Greece and Turkey that "had established the Cold War not as a clash of military forces or a struggle for economic supremacy but as a contest of values" (p. 7). From that day on, the psychological war against the Soviet Union and its satellites stepped up its tempo. Lucas discerns the goals and methods of this war and demonstrates its successes and pitfalls.

The principal feature of the U.S. ideological crusade was its global character. Since the Truman administration "had declared its mission to help free peoples to maintain their free institutions," Lucas reasoned, "shouldn't Washington pursue that mission in Eastern Europe as well as Western Europe, in China as well as Japan?" (p. 9). In fact, the psychological war embraced all countries and continents, including Europe and Asia, Latin America and, in the late 1950s, Africa. Lucas's book tells an impressive story of American efforts to outbid communism wherever there was a danger that people might favor a vision of life different from the ideological system espoused by policy makers in Washington, D.C.

In the 1940s, the main preoccupation of successive U.S. administrations was, of course, Europe. The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan required ideological justification and were tools of propaganda in themselves. The purpose of American efforts in those years was twofold: to guarantee the existence in Western Europe of democratic, non-Communist regimes and to divide the Soviet satellites from Moscow by demonstrating Western political and economic advantages. With the Communists coming to power in China and the outbreak of the Korean War, the scope of the psychological war was broadened and its aggressiveness increased. The Eisenhower administration, however, despite its militant pronouncements and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles's "almost Mes-

sianic conviction that the United States must triumph over the evils of Soviet Communism" (p. 163), gradually scaled down the propaganda war, and this policy was reversed neither by Joseph Stalin's death nor by Nikita Khrushchev's speech at the twentieth party congress nor by Soviet intervention of Hungary in 1956.

What are the reasons for such a shift? Why was the emphasis now placed on "evolutionary rather than revolutionary change," as a National Security Council decision read in 1956? Along with other factors that influenced the dynamics of ideological confrontation in the 1950s, Lucas demonstrates the significant problem of coordinating actions in the sphere of propaganda and psychological war.

The globalization of psychological warfare as an integral part of Cold War confrontation had led to the involvement in the crusade against the Soviet Union of many governmental agencies and private organizations in the United States. Unlike in the Soviet Union, where ideology was always a prerogative of the party-state apparatus, in the United States there emerged a "state-private network" with the task to struggle for hearts and minds of people at home and abroad. "In a country supposedly fighting enemy tyranny through the power of the individual, the official and the 'private' were linked. Foreign policy interacted with domestic concerns, and diplomacy rested upon the mobilization of a superior 'culture'" (p. 93). The result of this mobilization was a complicated and diversified structure, many parts of which did not always act in compliance with strategic goals envisioned by the U.S. government. To overcome the discord, it seemed necessary to concentrate the supervisory mission in the hands of a single body. Lucas provides a detailed history of the attempts to establish such bodies, from the Office of Special Projects through the Psychological Strategy Board to the Operations Coordinating Board. However, as Lucas shows, most efforts to reconcile conflicting objectives of different governmental agencies, such as the Departments of State and Defense, were not successful, and incessant bureaucratic wrangles were a significant impediment to the U.S. propaganda crusade. In addition to details on financing operations abroad, the involvement in the psychological war of various strata of American society (including the academic community), and analysis of the struggle against the Soviet Union and its allies, Lucas provides an extremely educative account of the emergence of the bureaucracy of the propaganda war—although, in some instances, it overshadows other aspects of this war.

All in all, this book represents a more or less complete documented account of a very important Cold War front. It broadens our understanding of the post-World War II confrontation between the United States and the USSR and serves as a strong stimulus

for the study of the contribution to the clash of ideas, using documents from former Communist archives.

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MICHAEL E. LATHAM. *Modernization as Ideology: American Social Science and "Nation Building" in the Kennedy Era.* (The New Cold War History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 288. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$18.95.

Michael E. Latham's new book contributes to a rich literature on the history of science and the U.S. state. But where the preponderance of this work looks at such issues as federal patronage for science and the role of the government in shaping avenues of investigation and the social organization of science, Latham explores the use of social science as a tool in making foreign policy. More specifically, the book is concerned with the ways in which modernization theory and theorists shaped and justified federal Cold War policies and practices vis-à-vis "less developed nations." Latham provides detailed studies of the Alliance for Progress, the Peace Corps, and the Strategic Hamlet Program in Vietnam, exploring how modernization theory defined the contours of these programs and blinded policy makers and civil servants to their shortcomings. Latham points to the role of the media in legitimizing these initiatives, suggests the historical resonance the modernization-based approach to U.S. Cold War policies had with earlier colonial and neo-colonial forays, and argues that these policies embodied widely shared cultural assumptions.

Originating in the immediate post-World War II period, modernization theory was viewed by many social scientists as a means of uniting diverse fields with a comprehensive framework that would provide a rigorous, scientific basis for empirically understanding social, economic, and political development. But Latham contends that modernization was more than just a scholarly model that attempted to explain the natural and inevitable socioeconomic trajectory of nation states from traditional to modern. It was "also an ideology, a conceptual framework that articulated a common collection of assumptions about the nature of American society and its ability to transform a world perceived as both materially and culturally deficient" (p. 5). Modernization theorists and their policy-making allies, according to Latham, saw this social science theory as a means of promoting liberal social values, capitalist economic organization, and democratic political structures to poor and "traditional" nations, allowing the U.S. simultaneously to halt the spread of communism.

Despite the ultimate inevitability of the path to modernity, scholars and policy makers believed that the process could be destabilizing, leaving traditional societies vulnerable to communist influence. The job of the U.S., then, was to facilitate the modernization process and help protect Third World citizens from its

harsh effects. This was the goal of such programs as the Alliance for Progress. Initiated in 1961, this undertaking sought to eliminate poverty and political repression in Latin America, bringing Western values to the region and thus weakening communist impulses.

At the same time, despite the guidance of ostensibly objective science, the deeply held assumptions of Cold War policy makers and modernization theorists about the virtues of the path of U.S. development blinded them to the deficiencies of programs like the Alliance for Progress. Initiative failures and advocates' inability to recognize them are clearly evident in the case of the Strategic Hamlet Program, a collaborative effort with the government of South Vietnam. This enterprise involved forcibly moving peasants from dispersed villages into more concentrated locations. Beyond the military advantages of such a strategy, the aim of this effort was to facilitate economic development and the emergence of a democratic political culture, thereby thwarting communism. As Latham shows, however, the program was often associated with political repression and exploitative labor practices. But in the face of evidence of program failure, U.S. government policy makers overlooked these and other shortcomings. Committed to modernization as ideology, they never examined program objectives or theoretical underpinnings but instead saw difficulties as arising from inadequate administration.

This book does a nice job of capturing the crude paternalism embodied in U.S. Cold War policy and in providing illustrations of how an inadequately examined commitment to the premises of a supposedly objective and scientific theory led involved actors to ignore the shortcomings and failures of Cold War policy initiatives. Latham's evidence of the close links between U.S. foreign policies and earlier colonial and neocolonial initiatives is more superficial, and his contention that U.S. policies reflected widely held cultural assumptions among the American citizenry about international economic development and the U.S. role in it is virtually undocumented. That said, Latham provides a detailed, clear, and largely well-supported study of several important U.S. Cold War foreign policies and their connections to modernization theory.

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GARY GERSTLE. *American Crucible: Race and Nation in the Twentieth Century.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2001. Pp. xv, 454. \$29.95.

In our times, we no longer take the idea of nationalism for granted. A concept that was once so powerful as to seem natural is now dissected by scholars who seek to learn more about its origins, doctrines, transformations, and fate. Historians like Gary Gerstle attempt to understand the complex set of ideas that dominated its core and the manner in which it has changed. This

book represents a major contribution to the massive cross-disciplinary project to understand the history of nationalism in the United States because it confronts head-on both its progressive and dangerous dimensions—and because it explains so well the complex array of interests that struggled to dominate its nature over the course of the twentieth century.

American nationalism for Gerstle represents a mix of a “civic tradition” that attempted to realize ideals of liberty, equality, citizen rights, and democracy, and a virulent “racial” strain that persistently attempted to make second-class citizens out of African Americans, Asian Americans, Mexican Americans, and some European Americans as well. When this formulation of American nationalism was at its apex in the first six decades of the last century, both tendencies operated simultaneously and at full force. Significant leaders of this political movement, like Theodore and Franklin D. Roosevelt, were actually capable of promoting liberal-democratic ideas while holding racist thoughts.

The Roosevelts, in fact, play a large role in this study. Both were political leaders who worked hard to create a structure of American nationalism that dominated political life before the 1960s. They championed a politics of inclusion and progress under the sign of a powerful and united nation. They welcomed (white) immigrants who were willing to accept the American liberal creed and leave their old world affiliations behind, a strong state that could regulate the market and dispense social justice, and the necessity of war to protect both their liberal-democratic ideals and their cherished sense of national unity. Gerstle makes it clear that two world wars and a Cold War were important agents in sustaining the strength of the “Rooseveltian nation” and its strange alliance of democratic and illiberal impulses. Few Americans in the period entertained political lives outside of this nationalist ideal.

In the 1960s, the Roosevelt vision for the nation began to crumble. Gerstle shows how Martin Luther King Jr., took America up on its promise of equal rights and attacked the racist position. World War II had already energized blacks and made them realize their sacrifices merited more justice than they had been receiving. The massive scale of African-American protest led to an even more aggressive sense of black separatism that Gerstle feels not only disrupted the “unity” of the “Rooseveltian nation” but helped to spread narrower—and less liberal—forms of national thinking to other social groups. When protests over the Vietnam War further advanced attitudes of indifference toward the idea of national unity, according to Gerstle, the “bonds of nationhood” were undermined and the Roosevelt program of nation building was repudiated. In its place stood a weakened nation, divided by debates between supporters of “multiculturalism” and those of a “conservative movement” intent on celebrating the power of the nation but without much of the liberalism of the Roosevelt era.

Celebrating the nation, however, was a continuing

problem for all nationalisms, because they inevitably faced the task of disciplining a huge array of personal desires and interests. In American politics, this project was always forced to confront a highly developed sense of individualism or classic liberalism. To his credit, Gerstle has moved beyond the older argument of Louis Hartz that American nationalism was dominated by a liberal ideal alone. And he does recognize in his study the effort of nationalist leaders to discipline the singular person, but ultimately the forces that explode in his crucible are collective rather than individual; progressive movements are challenged by racist or ethnic ones rather than by highly personal impulses emanating from the inner recesses of the human soul. Consequently, this book can provide excellent explanations for the demise of the New Deal coalition in the 1960s, but it does not fully explain the personal agendas that were manifested in the ongoing defense of unfettered capitalism in American politics, the exhaustion with collective identities and the ideal of sacrifice after 1945, the male and female rebellion against marriage, and the massive embrace of mass culture throughout the period of Rooseveltian ascendancy.

The relative neglect of individualism as a driving force behind the shaping of American nationalism, moreover, explains, in part, why culture is treated in this book mostly as an appendage of the dominant political world rather than the active agent it was in helping to forge it. For instance, Gerstle cites the films of Frank Capra in the 1930s to suggest that civic nationalism was endorsed in mass culture. And he infers that films and novels after World War II upheld a growing sense of whiteness that came from the military experiences of the war. Except for World War II, however, American mass cultural products such as film offered not simple endorsements of powerful political ideals but mostly contradictory messages fixated on the problems and feelings of individuals. They were marked by the attention they gave to female desire and male frustration toward any sort of authority and as such tended to frame discussions about nationalism and politics in terms of personal identity and behavior. Gangsters and fallen women, for instance, were also prevalent in films of the 1930s and were very much American. One could even argue that, at the end of the twentieth century, the idea of America was shaped as much by the personal projects of millions of individuals as it was by multiculturalists or conservatives.

Finally, Gerstle’s account of the growing sense of whiteness of the mass of ordinary citizens—especially second-generation Euro-Americans—in the 1930s and 1940s is not as persuasive as his overall argument of the power of the civic nationalist and racist traditions. He argues that many who voted for Franklin D. Roosevelt saw him as something of a “Nordic father.” He also claimed that, during World War II, millions of American men fought in a segregated military, overcame ethnic and religious differences, and acquired an

enhanced sense of whiteness. The evidence used to make these points is circumstantial and based largely on the failure of a novel and a memoir to incorporate African-Americans. Left unexplained is why many of these same people bought tickets to watch Jackie Robinson, joined interracial unions, and expressed outrage over the murder of Emmet Till.

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CAROL POLSGROVE. *Divided Minds: Intellectuals and the Civil Rights Movement*. New York: W. W. Norton. 2001. Pp. xxi, 296. \$26.95.

Carol Polsgrove's book reveals that, in the 1950s and 1960s, few white intellectuals, at least those writing in the popular press, supported integration. Newspaper and magazine editors at most supported gradual or token integration. Polsgrove argues that most white intellectuals had a limited and usually distorted understanding of African-American history. Many liberals/moderates were biased and judgmental, seeing blacks as poor, filthy, and illiterate.

After the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954, many blacks expected that the federal government would enforce the decision and that white public opinion would support school integration. Yet neither the press nor the government lent enthusiastic support, and those who supported integration, both black and white, were isolated and often intimidated. Polsgrove interprets civil rights history through the lens of public intellectuals, at least those who found an outlet for their ideas. The press carried pieces by William Faulkner and Robert Penn Warren, who favored caution, but not articles and letters by Lillian Smith, who favored integration. A few southern editors took bold stands for compliance with the *Brown* decision, but most editors stopped short of supporting school integration. Such editors were liberal in that they supported better race relations, an end to violence, and voting rights but conservative in hedging on integration. Polsgrove argues that C. Vann Woodward, whose credentials were impressive, became more moderate as the 1950s unfolded into what he described as a Second Reconstruction. "This was no New Reconstruction," she strangely concludes. "Woodward had simply plucked from his historian's brain a handy phrase bound to have an unfortunate effect on white southerners" (p. 31).

Polsgrove argues correctly that, during the first two years after *Brown*, the press was more interested in listening to conservative whites anguish over school integration than to African Americans chronicle the costs of segregation. She discusses a long list of northern intellectuals, many of them former radicals; few supported integration. Polsgrove's list of white intellectuals who equivocated on integration includes Reinhold Niebuhr, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and Han-

nah Arendt as well as the editors of some of the most radical journals.

A number of African-American intellectuals had either joined the Communist Party in the 1930s or 1940s or were sympathetic to its goals. This baggage often discouraged them from taking a bold stand for integration. Southern politicians were quick to brand anyone who supported integration as a communist. While some intellectuals appeared before Congressional committees, others such as Langston Hughes, Ralph Bunche, Righard Wright, Pauli Murray, and Rayford Logan were investigated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. When the *Brown* decision came down, many black intellectuals, including Wright, Chester Himes, and Ralph Ellison, were abroad.

Some northerners looked at the South fearfully and saw it as an alien place. James Baldwin, for example, went South several times but was always uneasy. Yet Baldwin emerges as the hero of this book. His insights cut through much of the verbosity of the press and of politicians. Polsgrove also has high praise for, among others, Lawrence Dunbar Reddick, Murray, Howard Zinn, Benjamin Mays, and James Silver. The bravery of local people in the South who demonstrated, petitioned, and risked their lives to end segregation outshone the wavering and timid behavior of many intellectuals.

Because many white intellectuals whispered only among themselves, ignored integrationists, and perceived African Americans as passive and content, they failed to see either mounting frustration over the slow pace of change or the anger and contempt that many blacks felt toward whites. When the *New Yorker* published Baldwin's "Letter from a Region of My Mind" in 1963, many whites were shocked to discover the level of black hostility. Several whites responded with what would later be embarrassing replies to Baldwin's essay. Polsgrove also discusses John F. Kennedy and Robert Kennedy's slighting of the civil rights movement. Indeed, Lyndon B. Johnson comes across as much more informed and sympathetic than the Kennedys.

Across the board the press, northern periodicals, liberals in general, and the federal government seemed feckless and ineffectual. For ten years, a small band of activists carried on the fight for civil rights and kept the flame alive. Intellectuals traded ink but rarely ventured to the front lines of the civil rights movement. As Polsgrove concludes, "the people designated as intellectuals often fail, not only in courage and compassion, but also in vision" (p. 246).

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National Museum of American History

SIDNEY FINE. *"Expanding the Frontiers of Civil Rights": Michigan, 1948-1968*. (Great Lakes Books.) Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press. 2000. Pp. 441. \$34.95.

In this book, Sidney Fine offers an old-time narrative political history of the development of civil rights law in Michigan. That is not meant as a compliment; except for the few highlights on which I will focus, much of the book drags lifelessly through tales of bills that never became law and stories of an alphabetocracy of commissions and organizations that seem to run on their own steam instead of on the blood and sweat of interested parties. This represents more than a stylistic weakness: Fine tends to understate the opposition that proponents of civil rights had to overcome and the difficulties they faced in the struggle for justice. The book's barrenness is doubly disappointing given Fine's deftness with biography, evinced by his multivolume biography of Frank Murphy. Still, Fine has provided a necessary advance in the historiography of civil rights and given scholars more tools with which to create deeper analyses of underworked sources and regions.

The search for justice for religious and racial minorities in jobs, education, and housing occupies the bulk of Fine's narrative. As the title suggests, however, the civil rights challenges of women, Native Americans, and the disabled also receive considerable attention, and Fine very successfully combines primary and secondary source research to relate the "disturbing conditions and unmet needs" (p. 289) of Hispanic migrant farm laborers.

Fine begins by redrawing the "ugly picture" (p. 11) of race relations and civil rights in 1948 and ends by recounting how the state came to have "the most comprehensive [civil rights legislation] in the nation" in 1992 (p. 338), but his focus is on the foundation-building years from 1949 to 1968, and the administrations of Governors G. Mennen Williams, John B. Swainson, and George Romney. According to Fine, the liberal New Dealer Williams and the disabled veteran Swainson held deep concern for the disadvantaged and discriminated against. Indeed, they would have pushed numerous more reforms but centered on employment rights because of persistent Republican opposition. The constitutional convention in 1961, followed by Romney's election a year later, broke the deadlock and transformed Michigan politics and law. The convention was called because of other issues—apportionment and fiscal problems—but it also provided an opportunity to write a new declaration of rights. And it introduced what passes for a hero in the book, George Romney. Fine's treatment of the convention fairly sings, offering not only a thorough retelling of the conflict and compromise over wording but also an insight into the difference between constitution making and law making and how the two call for very different skills. Fine contends that the election of Romney, a "deeply religious" Mormon and moderate Republican, bridged the partisan gap. "Many Republican lawmakers who had helped block the enactment of the Williams and Swainson legislative proposals," Fine observes, "agreed to similar proposals advanced by Romney" (p. 216). 1963, according to Fine, was

therefore "the year of transition" in Michigan's march toward civil rights (p. 215).

Fine offers a detailed account of the law-making process, but he provides too little context, either in Michigan or the nation, for a satisfactory analysis of what obstacles were overcome and why the advance in civil rights occurred. He begins too abruptly, barely acknowledging the depth of racial tension during World War II, and ends with startling speed, tacking on a four-page epilogue to bring his story up to the 1990s. His analysis of why Republicans blocked civil rights laws is thin and unconvincing (pp. 45, 51). He barely mentions the role of the broader civil rights movement (pp. 192, 216). He totally understates the degree of white opposition to the expansion of civil rights law, particularly fair housing laws: the successful "home-owners' rights" referendum in Detroit in 1964 gets a paragraph (p. 262). He even omits the major civil rights event in Michigan in 1963: when Martin Luther King, Jr., led the "Walk to Freedom" in Detroit that June.

Ultimately, Fine is correct in saying that historians have paid too little attention to the development of civil rights policy on the state government level (p. 9). He set out to correct that and in many ways has done so. He has plumbed an impressive array of local manuscript and archival sources and government papers. Unfortunately, he set his sights too low.

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KATE WEIGAND. *Red Feminism: American Communism and the Making of Women's Liberation*. (Reconfiguring American Political History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2001. Pp. xiv, 220. \$38.00.

Eleanor Flexner's *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (1959) introduced me to women's history in the mid-1960s. Her portraits of heroic women from Anne Hutchinson to Carrie Chapman Catt were exciting, inspiring, and astonishing. Now in reading Kate Wiegand's book, I am astonished—again—to discover that Flexner once belonged to the Communist Party (CP).

Weigand's purpose is to uncover the connections between the CP of the 1940s and 1950s and the second-wave feminism of the 1960s and 1970s. Historians have not yet made these connections, Wiegand maintains, because feminists did not want to be branded as Communists (Flexner did not reveal her affiliation until 1982) and the CP did not want to be identified with feminism, represented until the 1960s by the politically conservative National Woman's Party. Nevertheless, Wiegand argues, the hospitable intellectual climate of the CP from 1945 to 1956 encouraged progressive women in "their bold new thinking about the interdependence of gender, race, and class, and about the personal and cultural aspects of sexism . . . [which] shaped modern feminism . . . and

laid absolutely crucial groundwork for [feminism's] second wave" (p. 3).

From 1919 to 1939, the CP's growing sensitivity to issues of ethnicity and especially race, which included disciplining members for "white chauvinism," paved the way for the party's later concern with gender. During the Popular Front period, Communists did not challenge traditional ideas about women's role and status, but in 1945, when the Popular Front was abandoned and the CP was revived, leading women within its ranks compelled the party to rethink its narrow class-based analysis of women's oppression and "to acknowledge that women's so-called personal problems had political solutions" (p. 27). This new thinking on gender politics put the CP in the feminist vanguard. Women who became feminists in this context kept these ideas alive after the party's 1956 collapse and passed them on to the next generation in their roles as parents of "red diaper babies," mentors to the New Left, or historians like Flexner, Aileen Kraditor, and Gerda Lerner, who significantly shaped the feminism of later teachers and authors of women's history. Weigand writes most convincingly on the evolution of feminist theory: Mary Inman's *In Women's Defense* (1941); the position papers of the Congress of American Women (1946–1950), organized by Susan Anthony II and Mary Van Kleeck; Betty Millard's *Woman against Myth* (1948); the newspaper columns of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn; and Claudia Jones's analysis of the multiple oppression of black women. Weigand also provides interesting letters from rank-and-file women who objected to "cheesecake" photos in the party press and complained of their difficulties combining motherhood and political activism. Even readers of *The Worker* and *Daily Worker* apparently got caught up in "the feminine mystique" of the postwar period; Betty Friedan is the most conspicuous example.

In response to these writings, Weigand argues, the CP "transformed" its positions on women. The party undertook campaigns to educate members with lectures, forums, and classes, including one entitled "Male Supremacy and the Family," and added serious content such as women's history to the women's pages of its publications. Some Communists tried to "model the egalitarian and classless society they hoped to create" within their families (p. 116), especially as it became increasingly difficult for the party to change the larger society.

Weigand's argument that the CP became a hotbed of enlightened feminism, however, remains unconvincing. First, it is not clear who she means by "Communists," because she uses the term interchangeably with "progressives" and "Old Left." These are not synonyms: American Socialists and anarchists, certainly "Old Left" and "progressives," hated the CP. Second, Weigand concedes that the CP never disciplined "male chauvinists" as enthusiastically as it did "white chauvinists" and that while Communist theory may have supported equality for women, party leadership re-

mained predominantly male. Her evidence also suggests that the CP position on the woman question may have changed not because the male leadership saw the light of feminist logic but because the party—increasingly enfeebled by anti-communism, faulty political strategies mandated by the Soviet Union, and the defection of the labor movement—desperately needed to attract and retain women members. (It did not.)

Weigand's interesting, well-documented book will introduce to future historians radical women like Inman, Anthony, Jones, and others whose trenchant analyses anticipated second-wave feminism. It follows ably in the footsteps of Flexner's *Century of Struggle*.

MARIAN J. MORTON

John Carroll University

WILLIAM W. CUTLER III. *Parents and Schools: The 150-Year Struggle for Control in American Education*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 290. \$25.00.

Despite the ongoing development of American education as a field of historical inquiry, certain topics remain critically understudied. Among these is the relationship between home and school. William W. Cutler III sets out to help remedy this lack in his study of the struggle between educational professionals and parents for the control of America's schools from the mid-nineteenth century to the present day. The result is a meaningful initial investigation into the complex interrelationship between these two major groups of educational stakeholders.

Cutler carefully demarcates the shifting balance of home/school relations, casting the protagonists variously as adversaries, allies, or advocates and pointing out how these stances were rooted in broader educational developments. For example, "Teachers found it easier to regard parents as their helpers as they became more confident about their professionalism" (p. 25). At the same time, the increased bureaucratization at the end of the nineteenth century that coincided with better teacher training also insulated schools from parental involvement.

Ethnicity and social class were also significant elements in defining the relationship. Throughout the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries, administrator and teacher concern about the ability of immigrant and African-American parents not only to participate meaningfully in home/school linkages but even to rear children properly resulted in concerted attempts at parent education, as well as the forging of alliances with social workers and reform advocates to provide for the physical health and mental hygiene of public schoolchildren. Cutler acknowledges that this constituted an imposition by elites and school authorities, but stops short of exploring the deeper social implications of such activity.

By the second half of the twentieth century, however, the balance had begun to shift once again. While

cooperation had been a major theme in the 1950s, with the enshrinement of activities like the parent-teacher conference, by the 1970s phenomena like collective bargaining, the civil rights movement, and a crisis of confidence in American schools had moved relations in an adversarial direction. Although federal antipov-erty legislation frequently mandated parent involvement in educational policy decisions, the need to operate within existing school structures and the rise of teachers as an independent political force as a result of unionization tended to blunt parental clout.

These dynamics are demonstrated in detail as the author examines the influence of local organizations such as Philadelphia's White-Williams Foundation and Parents' Union for Public Schools, as well as more comprehensive ones like the National Congress of Parents and Teachers. At the same time, the importance of individuals like Angelo Patri, principal of Junior High School 45 in the Bronx for thirty-one years, and Anna Beach Pratt, a Philadelphia social reformer and school advocate, is highlighted in the capsule biographies that head many chapters.

Cutler's work represents a significant advance in exploring historically changing relationships between parents and schools. It would, however, have been stronger had its geographical and social structural bases been broader. The book's dominant orientation to Philadelphia and the urban Northeast leaves questions about similarities and differences with other regions, as well as whether comparable dynamics operated in the rural schools which educated significant numbers of American children until well into the twentieth century.

Similarly, while it is perhaps inevitable that the story of home/school relations be told largely from the perspective of educational leaders and major organizations, nearly exclusive use of such sources constricts the book's viewpoint. Equally important are the voices of African-American and immigrant parents who found themselves recipients of the sometimes unwelcome attention of professionals and social elites, as well as subsequent community groups that adopted more combative stances to achieve control of their children's education.

Finally, the book might have benefitted from a more systematically developed structure. The absence of either a strictly thematic or chronological mode of organization made the central narrative thread at times difficult to follow.

Still, Cutler has provided a valuable service in authoring this work. As an initial examination of the relationship over time between parents and American schools, it serves as an important addition to the historical literature, as well as a basis for further exploration of this critical but vastly understudied topic.

F. MICHAEL PERKO
Loyola University of Chicago

JEFFREY P. MORAN. *Teaching Sex: The Shaping of Adolescence in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2000. Pp. x, 281. \$27.95.

Across the twentieth century, sex education was the hope chest in many American classrooms. A new and evolving crossbreed of "sexperts" stimulated the hopes of parents everywhere that sex ed would—depending on the decade—elevate morality, protect innocence, secure health, undergird healthy marriages and social stability, and stamp out unwed pregnancy and AIDS. Most of all, the proponents of sex ed taught that it was right to hope that sex education worked.

Jeffrey P. Moran's study of sex education in twentieth-century America traces sex ed from its emergence in the Progressive era as an adjunct to the science curriculum. He shows how the founding experts aimed for pedagogy that was precise, pure, and boring enough to thwart undue titillation. Moran writes clearly about the various purposes and methods of sex ed, from the World War I anti-VD campaigns (and their legacies) to the 1930s, when "integrated" sex ed for the "whole child" was all the rage, to the postwar decades when family life education curricula aimed to standardize and rationalize middle class home life, to responses to the "sexual revolution" of the 1960s, up to the present.

Moran handles the material neatly and crisply; he nicely articulates the distinctions between educational philosophies and sexual attitudes in the different periods. In a particularly vivid section, Moran describes the backlash—anti-Semitic, anticommunist, anti-sex—that arose in 1967–1968 in Anaheim, California when Christian crusaders determined that public schools and their corrupting curricula were infecting rather than educating the nation's youth. Mothers Organized for Moral Stability (MOMS) took the lead in a campaign against the concept of sex education as morally neutral terrain. The group made the powerful point, in the midst of "epic confrontations," that school boards could be effective sites for bringing Christian values to bear on society's moral decline.

This book raises, if it does not fully address, fascinating questions about attitudes toward both education and sex over time. For example, the educated classes in America (which included most formally sex-educated people, since this curriculum has generally been lodged in upper high school grades and college) were, across the twentieth century, trained up in schools to assume certain class identities and certain notions of racial difference, and to believe that sex behavior was an important key. Even as the purposes of sex ed changed over time, sometimes facilitating anti-disease pedagogy, sometimes targeting morality, experts were consistent in using instruction in sex behavior to transmit culturally and politically conservative ideas about class and race and, of course, gender. Interestingly, the ideas about the sex behaviors of the poor and the nonwhite that these curricula promoted increasingly played out in the larger society

as taxpayer resentment: poor girls had too much sex and too many babies, and they should stop it. Perhaps most dramatically of all, sex ed exposed educational institutions as places of social engineering where "natural" developments could be harnessed to achieve social, medical, moral, political, and economic goals.

Moran concludes, in a well-presented peroration, that despite the hopes of social engineers and others, sex ed has generally been ineffective in shaping the behavior of American youth. Progressives convinced of the power of education, and their successors, alike claimed that exposure to information and attitudes about sex would cause students to behave as the curriculum directs. Modern researchers, though, have found little evidence that this is so.

Moran leaves the reader pondering the relationship between sex ed curricula at the beginning of this century and the last: in both cases, sex education was embraced and adopted as prophylaxis in the absence of a vaccine. Now, however, teaching students to internalize systems of subordination is frowned on, and marriage is no longer quite the social goal it was. These developments, along with George W. Bush's interest in faith-based programs that teach abstinence, do not augur a vibrant future for sex ed. Moran implies, however, that sex ed will remain a terrain on which educators, parents, religious authorities, and young people battle over the definition of sex. Will traditional notions of sexual behavior that stress responsibility and circumspection, love and family, prevail? Or will individualistic ideas about sex that celebrate polymorphous pleasures, protected experimentation, and personal expression win out? In the foreseeable future, the latter are not likely to be federally funded. Moran convinces us, though, that plenty of public resources will be devoted to sex, even if to little effect.

RICKIE SOLINGER
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LISA MCGIRR. *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right*. (Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 395. \$29.95.

Lisa McGirr identifies Orange County, California ("Reagan Country") as the point of origin and laboratory for comprehending the rise of modern conservatism between 1960 and 1980. McGirr locates conservatives' growing electoral success in their adaptation to altered circumstances, their ability to alter their targets to the requirements of changing times, and their skill in appealing to modern, suburban voters (the "emerging Republican majority," in Kevin Phillips's memorable formulation).

In a crisp, clear, and (usually dispassionate) style, McGirr argues that the new right in Orange County drew from three wells. In addition to a conservatism (and a Christian evangelicalism) that was native to the region, the in-migration of middle-class midwestern

and Bible Belt conservatives after World War II provided fodder. So, too, did the explosive growth of high-tech defense industries with resulting "strong emphasis on private development and growth with little regard for public and community spaces" (p. 40). Conservative groups and evangelical churches provided Orange Countians opportunities for filling this void with a message that was highly congenial to the thoroughly modernized, middle-class professional who embraced it.

McGirr quite properly takes historians to task for misreading the origins and dismissing the staying power of the New Right. Postwar writers such as Richard Hofstadter and Daniel Bell predicted the collapse of an extreme right they regarded a fleeting fringe on society's margins, comprising downwardly mobile classes or "white ethnics" only just beginning to aspire to middle-class status. If Orange County is any guide, McGirr shows that the "suburban warriors" were on the contrary "a highly educated and thoroughly modern group of men and women," successful in defense industries linking them to modernity and the wider world. They had long been on the rise and faced no "status anxiety." Yet, she notes, these realities were obscured in the early 1960s by the existence of genuine extremists in the county. These included a vibrant John Birch organization, conservatives' refusal to compromise with moderate Republicans, and the general tenor of the 1964 Barry Goldwater campaign. All of these hid conservatism's lasting appeal under a thin coating of "extremism."

What gave conservatism's "warriors" tactical advantage after 1964 was their ability to learn from their mistakes, moderate their message, and, of course, capitalize on an electorate grown more conservative by the social tumult of the 1960s and 1970s. Ronald Reagan proved to be a Goldwater without the glower and rode to gubernatorial victory in 1966 in the wake of the Watts riots. For the sake of victory at the polls, Republican conservatives and moderates reached across the divide. Whereas before 1968, anticommunism had been the glue holding together the discordant factions of libertarians and social conservatives, after 1968 attacks on "liberal humanists" had the same effect, especially since there were some issues (busing, lower taxes) on which both factions could unite.

McGirr's attempt to comprehend rather than condemn is laudable. Her two strongest points help explain conservatism's appeal to the well-fed and modern middle class. "They won adherents," she writes, "exactly because [in emphasizing self-help and the like] they failed to account for the material causes for the social breakdown [that they feared], namely, the free market and the deep class divisions it generated" (p. 257). In other words, conservatism had the dual effect of connecting modern middle-class professionals with the evils of communism that they were fighting while providing outlets for their greed.

McGirr is less successful in detailing the racial component of modern conservatism. Her argument

that much Orange County in-migration was from racially conservative regions is significant. She writes intriguingly that much of southern California was highly prone to "white backlash" (p. 133) in 1964 (voting two to one in favor of repealing a state fair housing law), yet she devotes little attention to anti-black racism as a discrete variable. With no evidence, she also seems to dismiss opposition to busing outright, writing that "Americans who had been willing to support basic equal opportunities for African-Americans turned against these efforts when they involved their own neighborhood schools and their own children" (p. 239). Some did perhaps, but does this accurately describe most busing opponents?

The larger question of whether Orange County mirrored America, and whether its version of conservatism represents a process transferable to the nation as a whole, remains undemonstrated in this otherwise important book. The "southland" of California may have been "Reagan Country," but the package of conservatism's broader appeal to Americans is still much of a mystery after reading this book.

RICHARD A. REIMAN
South Georgia College

RONALD E. POWASKI. *Return to Armageddon: The United States and the Nuclear Arms Race, 1981-1999*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 294. \$30.00.

"Dr. Strangelove" (1964), Stanley Kubrick's black comedy of the atomic age, was originally intended to be a serious film about the dangers of accidental nuclear war. But Kubrick reportedly became so fascinated by the arcana of strategy and the bloodless lexicon of the strategists that he decided the topic was better suited to burlesque. Future generations, he predicted, would come to see the great issues of the Soviet-American Cold War as akin to the innumerable but obscure religious conflicts of the Middle Ages.

Ronald E. Powaski's book is proof of Kubrick's thesis, and evidence that the future he predicted is almost here. The author conscientiously—at times, exhaustively—documents the many advances, retreats, feints, and counter moves that accompanied the long march of the super powers to the current strategic situation, which remains a stalemate, albeit at a reduced level of potential violence. For the Soviet Union, it was a walk off the map of history and into oblivion; for the United States, keeping up with the Russians represented an opportunity cost of nearly six trillion dollars by some estimates.

The book does an admirable job of recounting how this journey came to be, but is less good at explaining why. Powaski awards Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev credit—properly, in my view—for the first real breakthrough in arms control: the Intermediate Nuclear Force treaty of 1987, which resulted in the elimination of an entire class of deployed nuclear weapons. Powaski also praises Ronald Reagan for the "about-face"

in the American president's second term that led to the Strategic Arms Reduction talks, and eventually to dramatic reductions in the nuclear arsenals on both sides. Unanswered in this analysis, however, is a question that will surely occur to some readers: was there no point on the continuum between the Reagan and Clinton presidencies where deeper cuts—and perhaps even a true end to the nuclear arms race—might have been possible? The so-called grand compromise at the 1986 Reykjavik summit, in which Reagan refused Gorbachev's offer to trade an undeployed "Star Wars" defense in exchange for eliminating Soviet offensive missiles, seems one such historic missed opportunity.

The fact that the author gives the wrong date for the first U.S. and Soviet hydrogen bomb tests suggests that Powaski should be used with caution for early nuclear history, but his account of the later years seems solid. While the book contains few revelations, what many readers will probably find remarkable are the abstruse and seemingly Talmudic distinctions so vital to a generation of nuclear strategists not so long ago.

GREGG HERKEN
National Air and Space Museum

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICAN

SONYA LIPSETT-RIVERA. *To Defend Our Water with the Blood of Our Veins: The Struggle for Resources in Colonial Puebla*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1999. pp. xiv, 199. \$49.95.

This is a useful monograph. It returns scholarly attention to vital questions of water and resources at a time when historians of Mexico and elsewhere increasingly focus on cultural constructions and contests. Sonya Lipsett-Rivera reminds us that material processes provide the foundations on which political, social, and cultural constructions develop, often in conflictive ways. Her work on the Puebla region demonstrates that analysis focused on the interactions among ecological processes, social and political relations, and cultural constructions is essential to persuasive historical understanding.

Taking an ecological approach, this study outlines changing systems of cultivation and water control from conquest to independence. Historically, Mesoamerican and Hispanic legal cultures shared emphases on public communal water rights. An emerging Spanish trend toward private claims, however, gained impetus in sixteenth-century Puebla, serving Spaniards in the aftermath of conquest, when continued primacy for common rights would favor indigenous users. Disease-driven depopulation also facilitated Spanish land and water acquisition. Into the seventeenth century, there was water enough for most indigenous survivors, and for Spaniards developing estates to grow wheat for Puebla and Mexico City. The first two colonial centuries created a Spanish system of private landholding

and water rights alongside an adapting, surviving, indigenous system of communal rights.

Renewed indigenous population growth and an accelerating commercial economy brought escalating conflict during the eighteenth century. Estate operators continued to claim water to expand commercial production. Community water supplies shrank while populations grew. The resulting conflicts are amply documented by Lipsett-Rivera. Estates fought estates, villages fought villages, and villages fought estates in the fields and in the courts. Contests often began with a simple taking of water, leaving the other dry for the planting season. A destruction of canals often followed. Most conflicts ended in the colonial courts (the sources for this analysis). The law often favored indigenous communities; time, wealth, and political ties favored landed elites. Irrigation water had to be applied in a timely manner. Landlords who claimed water, then tied up aggrieved communities in court, often gained in the long run—even if courts periodically found in villagers' favor. Lipsett-Rivera concludes that judicial mediation was a very imperfect means of allocating water rights when competing systems of communal and private claims faced off in a colonial society grappling with population pressures.

As the colonial era gave way to conflicts over independence, a move to centralize regional water control emerged. It did not seek to balance communal and private claims. Rather, as leading landlords amassed monopoly water rights in key basins, they proposed guards to defend private rights against surviving communal claims. Centralization aimed to consolidate the primacy of estate claims.

These are important contributions to Puebla's colonial history. With inevitable variations, parallel processes surely marked other regions where indigenous and Hispanic systems of land tenure, water allocation, and cultivation intersected over long periods. Other scholars should follow Lipsett-Rivera's lead in applying ecological analyses to varying geographic environments and sociocultural organizations across Latin America—and in following developments over the long term.

Lipsett-Rivera's research also suggests ways such studies may become more comprehensive. Her analysis emphasizes distinctions between the indigenous and the Spanish in culture, in law, in cultivation, and in power. Those distinctions mattered. But her sources document indigenous elites allying with Spaniards, facilitating their acquisition of land and water, sometimes copying them in creating private rights. The sources also reveal that water conflicts between communities and estates might be muddied by the reliance of villagers on income earned in estate fields. If the community won the water, villagers might lose access to labor. Indigenous communities and Hispanic estates were separate and in conflict as institutions that controlled resources. Simultaneously, labor relations could create a powerful yet unequal interdependence. Within communities, court testimonies reveal that

water rights were often pursued in terms of gendered social relations: water was essential to keep men in the fields and women in households. A full analysis would link the ecological and judicial issues emphasized by Lipsett-Rivera with the social organization of production, and with the divine forces that accounted for land and water, production and social relations, in a contested, gendered, cultural world. This monograph, though limited, points in the right direction.

JOHN TUTINO

Georgetown University

ANDREW GRANT WOOD. *Revolution in the Street: Women, Workers, and Urban Protest in Veracruz 1870–1927*. (Latin American Silhouettes: Studies in History and Culture.) Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources. 2001. Pp. xxiii, 239. \$60.00.

During the early twentieth century, the steamy tropical port of Veracruz, Mexico's window to the world, became a font of political and cultural fermentation from which sprang a heady brew of everything from Spanish anarchist intrigue to the music of Toña la Negra and Agustín Lara. Andrew Grant Wood's new study examines a fascinating episode in Veracruz's history: the rise and fall of the radical tenants' movement that took center stage in Mexican politics during the 1920s. In 1922, 40,000 *inquilinos* from Veracruz's squalid tenements, headed by the charismatic anarchist Herón Proal, launched a surprisingly effective rent strike. Not only did they interrupt the collection of rents, they also forced populist governor Adalberto Tejeda to draft the unique renters' law of 1923, which provided for rent reduction and the development of workers' settlements.

Wood interprets the tenants' revolt as a response to the disruptive process of Porfirian modernization and revolutionary strife, which caused overpopulation, skyrocketing rents, and urban squalor. In addition, the Yankee occupation of 1914 had fostered an explosive combination of xenophobia, patriotism, and rising expectations among the city's poor. Women, including prostitutes, played a key role in mobilizing against the exorbitant rents imposed by slumlords and property managers, many of whom were Spaniards and Cubans.

Despite its initial success, the movement's reliance on direct action (rallies, riots, rough justice, squatting) and unwillingness to establish alliances led exasperated politicians to crack down on workers and tenants who threatened to paralyze Mexico's principle port, causing Presidents Álvaro Obregón and Plutarco Elías Calles serious headaches. In 1926, federal troops, martial law, and mass arrests finally brought the strike to an end. Renters joined an officially sanctioned union, signed new rental agreements, and the protests gradually subsided.

Wood's study reflects a resurgence of interest in the neglected urban history of Porfirian and revolutionary Mexico, a promising field that has recently produced

studies of Mexico City (e.g. the work of Ariel Rodríguez Kuri and John Lear) and holds promise for the future. Like Mexico's peasantry, historians are abandoning the deserted countryside and migrating to the cities, where they have begun to unearth a wealth of historical data that may allow us to challenge widely held interpretations of modern Mexican history. For example, one might argue that the radical peasant movement of Veracruz emerged from the struggles of urban workers and tenants. Several of Proal's lieutenants, including Ursulo Galván, the dean of Veracruz *agrarismo*, left the tenants' union to lead the peasants' struggle for land.

Wood, whose findings are based on research in Veracruz archives, offers the reader a crisp, accessible, well-written narrative, evocative of the carnivalesque rallies and riots that demonstrated the power of grass-roots mobilization and direct action. He concludes that the movement reflected popular interpretations of the 1917 Constitution, which spawned a "new consciousness" and new concepts of citizenship. Renters drew on deeply ingrained neighborhood networks and took advantage of the political opportunity provided by weak government. In the process, they reshaped official populist discourse to address specific grievances, only to be crushed and coopted when their strike began to threaten local and even national political and economic structures.

Although this tale has been told before, most recently in Octavio García Mundo's *El movimiento inquilinario de Veracruz, 1922* (1976), Wood probes deeper, and his conclusions are more substantial. His findings are so intriguing that one wishes he had pressed his analysis a little further. For example, though *proalismo* is portrayed as a grass-roots anarchist movement loath to enter into alliances with other political actors, it would have been useful to flesh out the tenant union's relationships with the powerful stevedores and railroad workers, the Communists, and the Confederación General de Trabajadores (CGT). The role of women, especially that of the so-called Libertarian Women, is described but not analyzed. And the author's conclusions might have been enhanced by comparisons with the rent strikes of, say, Buenos Aires (1907) or Santiago (1914), where similar episodes of popular mobilization were tamed by a carefully calibrated combination of repression and populist co-optation.

Still, this book is a welcome addition to the underdeveloped literature on Mexican urban history. Wood demonstrates how the urban poor shaped the intricate negotiations between popular sectors and the revolutionary elite, eventually contributing to postrevolutionary hegemony. His findings are a salutary reminder that historians, by focusing on revolutionary elites, the peasantry, and labor, have neglected the experience of other actors, such as the urban poor, women, Indians, and Catholics. This captivating study may well con-

vince us to refocus our attention and rethink established interpretations of the Mexican Revolution.

ADRIAN A. BANTJES
University of Wyoming

JOHN LEAR. *Workers, Neighbors, and Citizens: The Revolution in Mexico City*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 441. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$29.95.

Recent research on the Mexican Revolution has turned to focus on the complex social and cultural history of the city. A leading example of this new urban history, John Lear's book carefully traces the complex transformation of Mexico City around the turn of the twentieth century before focusing on the politics of urban labor. Closely following what he identifies as a formative "cycle of popular urban mobilization" that began with the politicization of Mexico's labor movement during Francisco I. Madero's electoral campaign of 1909 and culminated in the Mexico City general strikes of 1916, Lear argues that "working people [during this time] established many of the possibilities and limits for popular urban participation in postrevolutionary Mexico" (p. 364).

For workers, profound changes in the urban environment as well as in new technologies and production techniques proved a mixed blessing. Typical of turn-of-the-century forces taking shape in urban centers throughout Europe and the Americas, creative destruction wrought by "modernity" in Mexico closed off certain possibilities while simultaneously creating new opportunities. Detailing this process in more specific terms, Lear describes how a small but important minority of working-class individuals such as railroad mechanic and future labor leader Jacinto Huitrón joined unions and familiarized themselves with the language and ideas of the growing international working-class movement. Others less fortunate, like seamstress and future union organizer Esther Torres, toiled alongside thousands of similarly "unskilled" women workers in cigarette factories, sweatshops, and in more well-to-do homes as domestic servants (many later turned to prostitution during years of acute economic and political crisis) before being politicized by the revolution. "Although country people were the key social group that eventually rallied to Madero's call for armed revolt," Lear writes, "urban workers made clear . . . that they were now a permanent fixture in the public political sphere of the capital that would have to be reckoned with" (p. 142). Lear effectively supports this assertion by describing the rise of the anarchist-inspired House of the World Worker (Casa del Obrero Mundial) after September 1912 and argues that Casa leaders helped facilitate a major transition from mutualism to more confrontational forms of trade unionism.

The civil war phase of the revolution that began 1913 soon produced a currency crisis that caused inflation rates to skyrocket. As a result, urban popular

groups turned to the Casa for help in dealing not only with employers and the various caudillos of the revolution but also for guidance in the use of petitions, strikes, boycotts, sabotage, and other direct action tactics as a way to address their declining standard of living. Documenting this, Lear provides accounts of a number of specific labor struggles (streetcar employees, textile workers, tailors, etc.) along with Mexico City's first May Day celebration in 1913 and a growing number of predominantly female "consumer" mobilizations in describing how "working people . . . began to manifest their presence in public spaces and demonstrations, thereby helping to consolidate a city working-class community" (p. 193).

Yet with the growing status of working-class organizations also came a number of difficult political decisions. As Lear points out, one of the most critical moments came when, after the defeat of Victoriano Huerta in August 1914, Constitutionalist forces under the leadership of Venustiano Carranza battled the armies of Emiliano Zapata and Pancho Villa. When General Alvaro Obregón successfully forged a pact with members of the Casa in early 1915, he recruited more than five thousand workers to form armed "Red Battalions" under the Constitutionalist banner. Disagreeing with earlier interpretations that see the Casa/Constitutionalist alliance in strictly negative terms for urban workers, Lear traces the decision to support the Constitutionlists and submits that Red Battalion participation eventually won important wartime concessions for workers, helped straighten out the debilitating currency crisis, and generally served to legitimate labor as an important "player" in the revolution.

After describing the subsequent confrontation between the Casa and the Constitutionlists during the Mexico City general strike of 1916, Lear contends that the defeat of the Casa did not necessarily mean the destruction and/or cooptation of the citywide labor movement. Instead, continued organizing in the immediate postrevolutionary period on the part of workers as well as female community activists (especially militant house renters who started a rent boycott in 1922) all testify to the formative influence of citywide labor organizing during the critical years between 1909 and 1916. While much remains to be done on the period after 1920, John Lear's book is a tremendous achievement and represents the most comprehensive treatment to date of the history of Mexico City during the revolution.

ANDREW G. WOOD
University of Tulsa

THOMAS D. SCHOONOVER. *The French in Central America: Culture and Commerce, 1820–1930*. (Latin American Silhouettes: Studies in History and Culture.) Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources. 2000. Pp. xxv, 244. \$55.00.

In the late nineteenth century, France, like other industrial nations, was caught in the web of the "world

system" that caused the metropole nations to look to the periphery for markets and raw materials and to serve as cultural outlets, Thomas D. Schoonover argues in this tightly crafted volume. Similar to other imperial powers, Schoonover finds that domestic considerations became the driving force for French expansionism. And on the world's periphery sat Central America, a place where Schoonover finds a significant degree of French influence, particularly during the nineteenth century. The themes parallel Schoonover's earlier study, *Germany in Central America: Competitive Imperialism, 1821–1929* (1998).

The French experience in Central America can be divided into three time periods—1820–1860, 1860–1900; and 1900–1930—and it ebbed and flowed with the course of French domestic considerations. Schoonover argues that during the nineteenth century, French trade and culture found receptive audiences in Central America well beyond those that resulted from the French efforts to construct a isthmian interoceanic canal. According to Schoonover, French entrepreneurs encouraged these efforts as a means to secure a market for the excesses of their production, which in turn would continue to generate high employment rates at home. Admittedly, the German and British were France's main competitors in Central America throughout the nineteenth century, but the French focused their attention largely on the Germans, owing to their rivalry on the European continent. At the same time, French residents in Central America, like their German and British counterparts, constantly warned of the ever-increasing United States presence in the region.

Events on continental Europe and the arrival of U.S. hegemony in Central America forced France to lose its isthmian position after 1900, although French cultural influence remained through their military missions. The political events leading to World War I in Europe and the war itself diverted the French from the isthmus. And because of the war's adverse impact upon France itself, the French never regained their place in Central America. In this vacuum, the U.S. succeeded where the French had failed in building a transisthmian canal, and U.S. investments became dominant in across the region. Not only did the United States fill the vacuum created by the French—and to a lesser degree, the German withdrawal—but by 1930 it became the hegemonic power in Central America, a position it has held into the contemporary era.

The French presence in Central America may not have been as strong as Schoonover concludes. Throughout the century of relations covered in this volume, French residents on the isthmus seldom found a receptive audience in Paris. Using Schoonover's population chart, the number of French living in Central America reached an estimated high of 4,000 for the years 1892 to 1894, declining to a little over 1,000 in 1923. The numbers are significantly less for the years before 1892. While numbers are deceiving, one does not get the impression that the French

residents were very influential in Central America's political circles. Nor was Central America ever a major outlet for French goods. On only five occasions between 1840 and 1900 did French exports to Central America climb beyond ten percent of total exports, and then only twice to 0.13 percent. During the same forty-year period, Central America represented an average .075 percent of all French imports. Clearly, French economic interests were elsewhere.

These observations are not criticisms of Schoonover's work. The volume is based on multi-archival research in Central America, France, and the United States, and his painstaking labor has provided us with the best statistical data available. More important is his provocative thesis, which provides not only an interesting approach to the study of Central America but a lesson for researchers trying to understand the influence that domestic considerations have on the making of foreign policy.

THOMAS M. LEONARD
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JANE M. RAUSCH. *Colombia: Territorial Rule and the Llanos Frontier*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 1999. Pp. xi, 285. \$49.95.

Jane M. Rausch's most recent work combines two related studies in a single volume. The first half of the book surveys the administrative history of Colombia's national territories (four intendancies and six *comisarias*) during the Liberal Republic of 1930–1946. The second half examines one region within the territories—the *llanos* (plains) frontier—during the same time period, continuing the narrative begun in Rausch's two previous books, *A Tropical Plains Frontier: The Llanos of Colombia, 1531–1831* (1984) and *The Llanos Frontier in Colombian History, 1830–1930* (1993).

Rausch places the administration of the territories within the broader context of the troubled history of Colombian nationalism. Accepting David Bushnell's assertion that modern Colombia lacks "a true national identity or even a proper spirit of nationalism" (p. 3), Rausch contends that the Liberals—especially Presidents Enrique Olaya Herrera (1930–1934) and Alfonso López Pumarejo, during his first administration (1934–1938)—made valiant attempts to integrate the sparsely populated territories into the Colombian nation. Both men recognized the need to increase awareness of the territories among the roughly ninety-seven percent of Colombians who lived in the "core" regions of the central highlands and Caribbean coast. How could Colombia become a "modern" nation in material or ideological terms if the territories, representing over half the area of Colombia, remained completely unknown and inaccessible to the vast majority of Colombians?

According to Rausch, Olaya came to office with an appreciation of this problem and immediately sought to link issues of territorial rule to the rising national-

ism of the 1920s and early 1930s. Olaya made the first systematic attempts to modernize the legal, administrative, and fiscal apparatus for managing the territories, and he also sought to improve transportation and communication between the territories and the core areas of Colombia. López had a similar appreciation of the importance of the territories and sought to integrate territorial concerns into some of his most famous initiatives, such as agrarian reform. By contrast, President Eduardo Santos (1938–1942) demonstrated less enthusiasm for the territories and sought only to consolidate the reforms of the previous eight years. Colombia's growing political turmoil made new advances impossible by the mid-1940s. Nascent nationalism—apparently the best vehicle for advancing territorial interests—crumbled amid the increasingly violent confrontations between Liberals and Conservatives.

Rausch concludes that Liberal rule yielded mixed results. Pockets within the territories enjoyed economic and demographic growth as well as improved linkages to the rest of the nation. But many areas in 1946 remained as isolated, diseased, and lawless as they had been in 1930. Predictably, Liberal leaders could never muster sufficient resources to transform the territories, but other factors also limited their achievements. Surprisingly, given their own conceptions of national integration and modernization, Liberals rarely attacked the extensive authority wielded by the Catholic Church in large areas of the territories. Finally, while numerous Liberals dedicated themselves wholeheartedly to the development of the territories, Rausch also finds frequent evidence of bureaucratic ignorance and indifference.

The author arrives at equally mixed conclusions when, in the second half of the book, she focuses more narrowly on the *llanos* frontier (including the province of Casanare, as well as the intendancy of Meta and the *comisarias* of Vichada and Arauca). Thus she argues that Liberal rule "did not change the basic structure of the Llanos frontier or its relationship to the highlands as it had been developing over the previous three centuries" (p. 216). Meta experienced considerable economic growth and improvements in infrastructure, but it was clearly the exception. Arauca and Vichada remained more firmly linked to Venezuela than to the rest of Colombia. The Liberals' failure to transform the *llanos* clearly alienated some inhabitants, but Rausch suggests that Conservatives' heavy-handed rule after 1946 offended even more, allowing Liberal rebels to control much of the region during the late 1940s and early 1950s.

Rausch maintains a political and administrative focus throughout both halves of the book. Indeed, her documentation comes largely from published government documents. Readers' reaction to the methodology and scope of this study will probably vary according to their own research interests and theoretical perspectives. Some will wish that Rausch had included more cultural or social analysis. Others may wonder

why the connection between nationalism and the territorial frontier is not placed in comparative perspective, or more consistently brought to the fore. But taken on its own terms, as an administrative history of the territories under Liberal rule, this work is a fine contribution to the regional and political historiography of twentieth-century Colombia.

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LOIS J. ROBERTS. *The Lebanese in Ecuador: A History of Emerging Leadership*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 2000. Pp. xii, 243. \$60.00.

The Lebanese must surely rank among our planet's most peripatetic denizens. Although their country of origin has only 3.5 million inhabitants, one can find these footloose Levantines throughout West Africa, Western Europe, Australasia, and the Western Hemisphere. The breadth of the exodus is even more impressive if we take into account that the Christian minority, which made up half of the country's population in the nineteenth century and constitutes a quarter today, accounted for most of it. This book by Lois J. Roberts tells the story of a small group within that wide-ranging diaspora: not the Lebanese in Ecuador in general, but the immigrant elite and their descendants, mainly in Guayaquil.

Although some isolated Lebanese merchants had settled in Guayaquil as early as the 1860s, they only began to arrive in significant numbers during the cacao boom of the early twentieth century. Ecuador became then the world's leading exporter of chocolate beans. The newcomers did not engage in either production or export. The Ecuadorian elite owned most of the plantations and, along with European merchants, controlled the export sector; and Indian and mestizo migrants from the highlands provided most of the labor. The Lebanese, however, took advantage of the increased purchasing power generated by the cacao export economy and engaged, almost universally it seems, in retail, wholesale, and import trade. Many of the pioneers whose stories Roberts tells brought enough capital with them to open a store almost upon arrival. But the majority probably followed a trajectory common among Lebanese immigrants elsewhere in the Americas: to begin by peddling merchandise on credit or barter in rural areas poorly served by distribution systems, to open later a general store in a small town, and eventually to set up a bigger establishment or import house in a city.

Socially, the immigrants did not at first find acceptance among the Ecuadorian upper classes—something that Roberts unconvincingly attributes to some sort of atavistic Orientalist prejudice rooted in the Iberian *reconquista*—and often encountered economic envy and distrust from the lower classes. External exclusion and internal preferences promoted the formation of a tightly knit community with high levels of endogamy and a strong in-group identity. The resulting

ethnic and kinship networks, in turn, aided the development of credit systems and business enterprises that benefited from transnational connections and fueled the remarkable Lebanese economic success. Here again, Roberts often falls for explanations that resort to ancient heritages in a way that is too facile to be persuasive. Phoenician trading traditions, she argues, endowed the Lebanese with the economic drive and acumen that Ecuadorians lacked due to the deleterious legacy of the Spanish aristocratic mindset. She even maintains, erroneously, that members of the colonial trade guilds (*consulados*) in Spain and the New World “avoided direct contact with trade itself by welcoming Italians and other foreigners to carry on the everyday tasks of the imperial trade” (p. 30).

Whatever the source of the immigrants' economic success, the second and third generations of Lebanese Ecuadorians continued to build on it. Moving beyond trade, they came to own some of the country's principal industries and its largest bank, and entered the professions en masse. *Libanes* became a synonym of “rich.” Middle-class Ecuadorians coined a telling expression: “*Turkiar en Miami*,” to vacation in luxury in Florida like a Turk, a common—and not always friendly—appellative for the Lebanese. After World War II, and particularly after the end of the military regime in 1979, they moved into politics with amazing success, becoming elected to scores of local and national offices, including the vice-presidency from 1992–1996 (Alberto Dahik) and the two presidencies since then (Abdalá Bucaram and Jamil Mahuad). Rivals complained about the “Bedouinization of Ecuador.” But along with gripes about the Lebanese's “excessive” power and influence, Ecuadorians commonly express admiration for their work ethic and entrepreneurship, and the descendants of the immigrants have now penetrated all levels of society, including the social world of the elite.

Overall, this book is not theoretically informed. It fails to engage the vast scholarly literature on migration, on merchant diasporas comparable to that of the Lebanese (e.g. some of the Armenian, Jewish, Greek, Chinese, and Hindu Sindhi overseas communities), or even on the Lebanese in the Americas and elsewhere. Nor is it methodologically sophisticated. In this respect, a particular weakness is the author's failure to exploit fully what appears to be a magnificent source: a detailed registry of the thousand or so Lebanese living in Ecuador around 1930. On the plus side, it is gracefully written, and its use of oral interviews captures the inner world of the immigrant community with an intimacy that echoed personal memories of my own maternal ancestors (Lebanese Maronites who migrated to Haiti and later to Cuba in the early twentieth century).

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SHAWN WILLIAM MILLER. *Fruitless Trees: Portuguese Conservation and Brazil's Colonial Timber*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 325. \$55.00.

This monograph thoroughly examines an aspect of the Brazilian colonial economy that has rarely been evaluated: the importance (or lack thereof) of the timber industry, both within the colony and in the larger context of the Atlantic world. Shawn William Miller focuses not on the simple fact of deforestation but asks several important questions about who profited, who did not, why Portuguese timber policy was so restrictive, and why it remained so even when it obviously did not work as intended. The end result was, of course, near-complete destruction of the coastal rainforests, but not, as previously thought, because of simple greed.

As the author repeatedly points out, the general deforestation of the litoral and its consequent species annihilation was certainly a tragedy. What made it an absolute disaster, however, was that the devastation provided no benefit or profit to anyone, from the colonists to the king. Destruction of natural resources has nearly always accompanied the European conquest of new lands, but normally it has resulted in an increase to the metropolitan fortunes, as well as making a number of individuals quite wealthy. Such was the case in North America, but not in the Brazilian forests.

At a time when wood was an essential commodity for construction, and Portugal was nearly barren, the forests of Brazil were regarded by the crown as an enormous source of wealth, as well as a matter of national security. According to law, all marketable timbers, known as *madeiras de lei*, were royal property, and none were to be cut, used, or marketed by private individuals. The impossibility of enforcement of most of these regulations is obvious, but throughout the colonial period the laws were never relaxed. Rather than permit colonists to market their timber and thus add to private and imperial fortunes, the crown consistently refused to share its trees, a proverbial "dog in the manger" attitude. The result was that the trees were cut but were burned without profit. Colonists could not clear their land any other way, but the burning of valuable timber apparently served several purposes: providing a scant layer of ash for fertilizer, destroying evidence of the crime, and even affording an outlet for the rebellious frustrations of the landowners. This destruction was at least as important a reason for the failure of the timber industry as problems of species distribution and transportation.

One of the most important aspects of this study is the number of comparisons the author draws between the timber industry in Brazil and in North America. Entirely different laws resulted in a radically different importance of timbering in the English and Portuguese empires. Timber was a valuable asset to North American colonists and merchants and English naval construction companies, but the Portuguese crown and its

subjects saw very little benefit from the felling of the coastal forests.

This book is extremely readable, logical, and consistent in its layout and presentation of data. While not overly dependent on statistics, Miller uses an array of tables to illustrate his conclusions. The text is thoroughly footnoted, with considerable additional material for the interested reader added to the notes. The bibliography of published sources is very thorough, although this reader would have appreciated a similar bibliography of manuscript sources instead of a simple list of manuscript collections. The appendixes on nomenclature and uses of several hundred trees, and of colonial weights and measures, are very welcome additions and worthy of recognition for the great deal of work entailed. The only thing missing is a glossary of words such as the myriad technical terms of ship construction.

This book definitely belongs on a list of important studies of the economic development of colonial Brazil, but its value extends beyond that niche. It provides a case study of economic policy gone awry to the detriment of the local ecology, the colonists who came to settle and profit from the land, and the entire imperial economy. Miller does not simply take the easy road of decrying the destruction of an entire tropical rainforest and its intrinsic value both at the time and for the future. Rather, he digs deeply into a wealth of sources to explore the causes and effects of such destructive policy. The monograph expands our knowledge of the economy of the Atlantic world from 1650 to roughly 1800 and offers yet another insight into the enormous differences between colonial development in Anglo and Latin America.

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LILIA MORITZ SCHWARCZ. *The Spectacle of the Races: Scientists, Institutions and the Race Question in Brazil, 1870-1930*. Translated by LELAND GUYER. New York: Hill and Wang. 1999. Pp. ix, 358. \$35.00.

In this elegant book, Lilia Moritz Schwarcz examines the development and operationalization of ideas on race within the context of Brazilian scientific institutions of the late nineteenth century. The subtext is the reception of Darwinism in Brazil, particularly Ernst Haeckel's version of it.

In Brazil between 1875 and 1900, there were three great centers of Darwinian irradiation: the law school in Recife; the medical school in Bahia; and the National Museum in Rio de Janeiro. All were self-consciously evolutionist, Darwinian in the emphasis on selection in human populations, Haeckelian in their insistence on a hierarchy of races, and Spencerian in their opposition to metaphysics. They shared the obsession for defining the nation that characterized all Brazilian positivists. Moreover, there were no universities in Brazil until 1920, so these institutions substituted. Indeed, the National Museum had the feel of a

research university, with natural and social science departments and the nation's first and only experimental biological laboratory until the 1890s. The museum was, in the 1880s and 90s, highly identified as a center of evolutionary biology, where everyone was an evolutionist, and where the Linnaean concept of the species was pronounced dead. Its exhibits on human anthropology, Schwarcz observes, were based on a notion of classification that supposed "a rigid biological analogy that viewed living organisms as being interchangeable with social groups" (p. 103).

In the Recife law school, the analysis of the requirements of the civil and criminal codes (largely its work) was centered on race. Haeckel furnished the basic view that informed all Brazilian conceptualizations of race in the 1870s and 1880s: for Haeckel, races were literally distinct species. Through Haeckel, a polygenist conceptualization of race was grafted onto a monogenist evolutionary model. Through the germanophile Tobias Barreto and his disciple the literary historian Sylvio Romero, Haeckelian concepts were diffused throughout the intellectual and political elite.

The charge of the Bahia Medical School was to develop a program of public health and to write public health legislation for the republican congress to enact that was conceptualized racially. Darwinian biology had been introduced there in the 1870s by a German professor, Otto Wucherer, and Haeckelian insights were applied to public health issues by his student, Raimundo Nina Rodrigues. If, for Romero, miscegenation was generally positive, because mestizos were better adapted to the tropical environment than were their European forbears, for Nina Rodrigues it was reprehensible, the source of physical, mental, and cultural degeneracy. Miscegenation was viewed in the light of hybridism, and Darwin was cited as the source both for the claim that hybrids are more resistant and that hybrids are unstable.

Nina Rodrigues focused on the nation's disease, not on those of the individual. Believing races to be fundamentally different, he pushed for craniological identification of racial groups pursuant to a reform of the legal code according to an evolutionary logic: you cannot, he wrote in 1894, punish races at different levels of evolution by a single standard. The central axis of medical legislation was the relationship between degeneracy (produced by miscegenation) and criminality (hence, the vogue for evolutionist criminology of Cesare Lombroso and Enrico Ferri). João Batista Lacerda, director of the National Museum between 1895 and 1915, was a polygenist who, following Nina Rodrigues, wanted to "whiten" blacks and mestizos through European immigration.

Schwarcz has provided an admirable account of the institutional format in which Social Darwinian ideas were received and transmitted in Brazil, where scientific institutions were obsessed with defining national character and Brazilian culture in terms of a racial hierarchy, a discussion that turned on how miscegenation was understood. She does, however, underesti-

mate the significance of Haeckel, whose influence on virtually all of the institutions and figures mentioned was foundational. A bizarre reference to Georges Cuvier as a "French phrenologist" (p. 49) is an apparent interpolation by the translator; those two words do not appear in the Portuguese text.

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WILLIAM F. SATER and HOLGER H. HERWIG. *The Grand Illusion: The Prussianization of the Chilean Army*. (Studies in War, Society, and the Military.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1999. Pp. 247. \$50.00.

William F. Sater and Holger H. Herwig's book deals with the Chilean army and its Prussianization during the years 1890–1920. The first chapter, on the "Prussian Military Machine," is an excellent synthesis and essential to understanding the rest of the book. Equally good is chapter two, which describes the Chilean army before Prussianization. Nevertheless, the book loses some of its appeal in subsequent chapters, not so much because of a lack of good information but due to its exaggerations. The authors are very critical—too critical, I think—of Emil Körner, the key figure in the Prussianization of the Chilean army. Körner was not without flaws, but he was not an incompetent and corrupt individual who simply harmed the army, as the authors conclude. Chapter three, "How Körner's Army Failed," gives the impression that there was nothing good in the Chilean army of 1900. In fact, it was considerably improved as an organization after Körner undertook the task of modernizing it, as can be perceived up to the present: not only its uniforms and military marches but also its hierarchical sense and the whole "culture" that identifies it.

Given the cultural, economic, and other differences between Wilhelmine Germany (or Prussia) and Chile, it is amazing that Körner and the other Prussian officers who arrived in this South American country could achieve what they did. Certainly the myth that the Chilean army became similar to the Prussian one is smashed by the book and its wealth of evidence. But as early as 1910, Alejandro Venegas and others made the same point, albeit without the great amount of information provided by Sater and Herwig. As to German and Chilean venality in the purchase of weapons (chapter five, "The Art of the Deal," and chapter six, "Domestic Corruption"), that is also fully demonstrated. But was it as extensive as described by the authors? For example, is there anything unusual in the fact that Chile had opted for the Mauser rifle and Krupp artillery as did many other South American countries, given that the German weapons had enjoyed enormous prestige all over the world since 1870? It is clear that there were pressures from manufacturers to make Chile buy "their" arms—through Körner mainly—but the gun trade was extremely corrupt. That some manufacturers got purchase deals and others did

not only speaks to the ability of their agents, since all of them were maneuvering for the same contracts. Besides, not all the testimony cited seems to be valid. Some was provided by people who resented their failure to secure military contracts, or Chilean officers who were not satisfied with the deals made. Soldiers are well known for assessing the materiel at their disposal as poor and insufficient; this happens in every country.

Although the book's claims are a bit exaggerated, it provides a wealth of detail. It is well structured, and, provided it is read objectively, offers much information, obtained from German and Austrian archives, that is little known or simply unknown in Chile. In short, Sater and Herwig have written a good book that demonstrates what it states, but that exaggerates in several points.

CRISTIAN GAZMURI

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ARIEL DE LA FUENTE. *Children of Facundo: Caudillo and Gaucho Insurgency during the Argentine State-Formation Process (La Rioja, 1853–1870)*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 249. Cloth \$54.95, paper \$18.95.

Ariel de la Fuente provides a multifaceted account of the relationship between provincial leaders, their followers, and political identity in the Argentine province of La Rioja during the often violent process of nineteenth-century state formation. His book follows a well-established trend in which scholars of various Latin American societies have turned to regional studies to probe the most important questions about the period. The author argues that the rural poor became involved in politics and rebellions for varied reasons. Some motivations were frankly material. Leaders provided their followers with protection, pay during rebellions, economic aid in times of need, and protection from enemies. Yet these material incentives were embedded in a wider set of cultural expectations that gave them meaning. Racial and religious conflicts also shaped rural inhabitants' political actions. Moreover, in part of the province significant class differences separated Federalists and Unitarians.

In Argentina's half-century struggle between Federalists and centralizing Unitarians, La Rioja was solidly Federalist. The province produced two of the most famous Federalist leaders, Juan Facundo Quiroga and Angel Vicente "El Chacho" Peñaloza. Quiroga was killed before the period the book concentrates on, but, as the title suggests, many aspects of later politics originally developed during Quiroga's career. Quiroga was the first leader to mobilize the impoverished inhabitants of the province against the Unitarians, and Peñaloza was one of his former lieutenants who led some of the last great Federalist rebellions against the emerging national state.

The book presents detailed analyses of two districts in the province using a variety of sources. In Famatina,

conflicts over access to land divided a relatively wealthy and nominally white Unitarian elite from a largely indigenous and impoverished Federalist majority. There, both parties were constructed horizontally. In the Llanos, the absence of conflict over land and ethnicity allowed the construction of durable patron-client relations between Federalist leaders and their followers. In these chapters, de la Fuente uses quantitative methods to tease out the connections between social origin and political behavior, but he also uses judicial records to flesh out the intersection of patron-client relations, class, and political conflicts.

In his most innovative chapter, de la Fuente uses a massive folklore collection compiled in 1921 to probe the cultural dimensions of political conflict and loyalty. The song lyrics and stories allow the author to discuss how the actions of leaders and the tales told about them met the cultural expectations of their followers. In another chapter, de la Fuente analyzes how Unitarian anticlericalism provided the Federalists with religious motivations for political action and how ethnicity also shaped party conflict in the region.

The book moves on to discuss the final death throes of Federalism in La Rioja as leaders and followers reacted to the growing power of the national state. State impositions sparked successive Federalist rebellions, each of which failed and left the rural inhabitants worse off. During this process, Federalism acquired new meanings even as it was essentially on its deathbed. In the end, political violence decimated both the Federalist leadership and its social base. Old allegiances became politically untenable even as they remained a vibrant part of the region's culture.

This book is a very interesting account of the relationship between Argentina's rural poor and the political struggles of the nineteenth century. The author uses a variety of techniques and approaches to probe a very small region in a limited period. The result is often rich and thought provoking, and the book's sometimes unusual methodologies and sources will no doubt generate both discussion and imitation. However, some aspects of the book are less than totally satisfying. The author, for instance, might have profitably expanded the temporal scope of the book. If Quiroga was so important to shaping the political experiences of the region, why not include the crucial period during which he dominated the province and Federalism took shape as political movement? Moreover, the analysis of the folklore sources compiled in the 1920s seems incomplete. De la Fuente argues that they might well have reflected attitudes from the 1860s, but even if this was true, we need to account for the ways in which these memories and living ballads were refracted through the experiences of the intervening decades. Despite these criticisms, this is a fine work of historical scholarship that should spark further research on the themes it explores.

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PAULA ALONSO. *Between Revolution and the Ballot Box: The Origins of the Argentine Radical Party in the 1890s*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 242. \$52.95.

Most historians hold certain beliefs about the history of late nineteenth-century Argentina and the origins of the Unión Cívica Radical (UCR) party. According to these views, the Partido Autonomista Nacional (PAN) completely dominated politics from 1880 to 1916. During this period, elections were rigged and meaningless, and the executive branch reigned supreme. The advocate of the export economy, the PAN stood for free trade. Other than its support for genuine democracy, the upstart UCR scarcely differed in ideological terms from the ruling party; indeed, its ideas were so vague that it had no real ideology. Before the electoral reform law of 1912, Radicals were mostly involved in fomenting revolutions or abstaining from electoral contests. This party stood for political modernization, as befit the voice of the emerging middle sectors. Or, at times, scholars have characterized the UCR as a coalition of upper and middle-class forces.

Paula Alonso challenges these deeply ingrained notions. Careful study reveals that the PAN's style of oligarchical rule was not monolithic or uncontested. She points out that the research that has set most of the UCR-related paradigms is primarily based on its activities after 1900 and particularly after 1916. In contrast, Alonso examines the rise of this party and the political context before 1900, utilizing Argentine and British archival sources and the rich political press of the era.

Viewed from perspective of the 1890s, the Radicals do not match the myths. According to Alonso, at this time they were not primarily middle class; indeed, there was no difference in social composition between the UCR and the other parties. Furthermore, class was not a vital determinant of partisan allegiances until the second decade of the twentieth century. Radicalism arose largely for political rather than socioeconomic reasons, claims the author.

According to Alonso, it is difficult to see the Radicals as agents of modernization. On the one hand, they drew from foreign models to create a permanent structure of committees and conventions for their party. These innovations, on the other hand, did not supplant older forms of personalism and partly responded to partisan aims that had little to do with a desire for change. Moreover, the UCR constantly appealed to tradition and to the Constitution of 1853. It wanted to revert to the political conditions that had existed before PAN control. The party also favored free trade and vehemently rejected the more "modern" protectionism backed by some PAN spokesmen.

The Radicals' views may have been vague, but so were those of other parties. However indefinite they might have been, they did not lack substance. Radicals opposed not only protectionism but the various devices that national governments could use to expand and

perpetuate their rule. The UCR claimed that the PAN's dangerous centralization of power and imposition of order had stifled the rambunctious spirit of true democracy. Only through the free play of discussion, conflict, and even revolution could democracy thrive. Violent rebellions were justifiable means of ending the PAN's reign and putting Argentina on the road back to what the UCR saw as the idyllic pre-1880 order. Oddly enough, much of this discourse paralleled what Conservative and Nationalist critics would say about Radical president Hipólito Yrigoyen's administration in the late 1920s, except that Conservatives aimed to restore the 1880–1916 era, and some Nationalists wanted to establish a new system.

Radicals carried out revolts in the 1890s as well as in the early 1900s, but they also participated in elections with a surprising degree of success. As elected representatives they played an active role in the opposition forces in Congress. In the legislature, the press, and the streets, UCR members participated in lively public debates.

This raises the question of the extent to which the PAN monopolized politics before 1916. A relatively literate population read a large volume of periodicals and newspapers, and the press was free and devoted to political issues. According to Alonso, Congress was more autonomous and powerful than many scholars have thought, and it did not always obey the PAN's dictates. The PAN itself was hardly a united force but rather a loose and fractious alliance of provincial caudillos and clans. Drawing on her earlier work, and contributing to the literature on nineteenth-century elections by Hilda Sabato, Ema Cibotti, and others, Alonso shows such contests were significant even in this period of PAN domination and corruption. While these elections were fraudulent, they provided an arena for airing views and opposition parties sometimes won them. Moreover, men of all socioeconomic backgrounds voted.

We know little about the PAN and, in general, the history of Argentine conservatism. Alonso's book furthers our understanding of this party and the political system it established, adding to Natalio Botana's classic account. For the PAN, Argentine history before 1880 was nowhere near as glorious as it seemed to the UCR. Revolution, chaos, and underdevelopment had plagued the nation until the PAN imposed order, the prerequisite for progress in all realms. Politics for PAN leaders was largely a matter of administration, practical solutions, and conciliation; to them, public debates seemed messy and threatened upheaval. Pragmatic PAN spokesmen supported export-oriented growth, but could also support protectionism under the right conditions. Torn by splits, personal enmities, and rival ambitions, the PAN very much resembled conservatism in post-1930 Argentina, although research is needed to establish this link.

The UCR refused to compromise or make deals with the PAN. In its view, it possessed virtue and legitimacy, and its opponents did not. Alonso argues that the

UCR was partly responsible for setting the precedent of an irreconcilable government and opposition, one that would haunt Argentina for many years to come. Although she downplays the role of socioeconomic factors, such influences reinforced the pattern in the twentieth century.

Analyzing political rituals would have enhanced Alonso's discussion of political culture. So, too, would have treatment of gender discourse. Still, her suggestive and well-researched book contributes to the literature on Argentine political parties and is useful for its questioning of accepted ideas.

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EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

CHRISTOPHER P. JONES. *Kinship Diplomacy in the Ancient World*. (Revealing Antiquity, number 12.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1999. Pp. 193. \$35.00.

This study by Christopher P. Jones is splendid. While its title might suggest that the book concerns a rather specialized topic, it is in fact a wide-ranging account of the intersection of culture and politics in the ancient world. In a remarkably brief compass, given the subject, Jones takes us from archaic Greece to the late Roman Empire, detailing along the way how states, in their diplomatic relations, employed myth to help them negotiate the changing nature of political power. Mythical ties of kinship "serve as a platform from which to view political changes in the Graeco-Roman world" (p. 132). It is a masterful narrative.

Although Jones begins with a quote from the Declaration of Independence that naturalizes his subject (p. 1) and concludes on a similar note (p. 136), most of the book suggests how different the ancient world was from that of today. To be sure, modern states have their own legends, but the widespread practice and receptivity of this sort of diplomacy suggests that "myth" for the ancients was not only material for learned speculation; it was a popular form of understanding the past that was important and always changing in response to contemporary political realities. The typical situation involved a weaker state, either to avoid destruction or to gain an advantage, appealing to a kinship tie with a stronger power, most often through a common legendary hero (pp. 16, 35). The tie (Greek *syngeneia*) was in fact often "renewed," already preserved in literature or local tradition (e.g. place-names). Sometimes, even early on, Hellenized non-Greeks sought a connection with Greek myth to buttress their claim to participation in Greek culture; in the sixth century B.C. the nobles of Lycia wanted a place in the Greek past, and so the story from the *Iliad* of Diomedes and Glaucus and their hereditary *xenia* (guest-friendship) arose (p. 21).

Jones treats far too many cases to review here, but,

taking my cue from the numerous instances of three founding brothers, I pick out a triad that will suggest the great strengths of the book. Magnesia on the Maeander comes up at several points and represents one of the more striking examples of the fabrication of kinship between states. But even this most extreme instance is a warning against viewing these legends as the cynical manipulation of myth by the ancients, for there is no evidence that they were viewed by the Magnesians themselves as "artificial" or "invented" (p. 132). Jones also shows how the Macedonian royal house was given Greek pedigree. But the process was not simply to outfit Philip II and his family with a lineage going back to Heracles. Complex and subtly divergent political stands on how the Greeks should view Philip also found articulation. Isocrates's picture of Philip's genealogy stressed his position as a Greek who led a barbarian nation; Speusippus focused, among other things, on the states that Heracles had rescued from tyranny, states that happened to be ones that Philip had taken away from Athenian control (pp. 39–41).

Viewing the impact of Rome's ascendancy in the Mediterranean through kinship diplomacy takes up about half of the book, and for good reason: "Rome's acceptance of its own Greek origins [was] the great triumph of the diplomacy of kinship" (p. 80). Jones argues that, due specifically to the First Punic War, Troy assumed an important place in the mythological background of Rome (p. 86). This created a problem for Rome's relations with the Greek world because the Trojans were the archetypal enemy of the Greeks. But Aeneas proved an ideal solution: he could be styled an unwilling ally of Priam, even a betrayer of Troy. So, while Trojan in some sense, the Romans were still acceptable to the Greeks (p. 88). Aeneas and his mother Aphrodite made the Romans into philhellenes, but the bond changed with the conversion of Rome from republic to empire. Two *poleis* in Asia, Ilium in the Troad and Aphrodisias in Caria, show how kinship diplomacy itself had to change: whereas the Ilians could refer to the emperors as kinsmen, the Aphrodisians could not, for that would have impinged on imperial dignity (p. 104). According to Jones, appeals to common heritage become rarer as time passes under the empire, until in late antiquity it existed only in an "attenuated form" (p. 123).

Although I missed on occasion some relevant items (Hecataeus of Miletus and his *Genealogies*; Alexander's alleged Egyptian background), all will agree that Jones has produced an important book. It is indeed rare when so much learning is presented so elegantly and economically.

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DONALD G. KYLE. *Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome*. New York: Routledge. 1998. Pp. xii, 288. \$75.00.

Ridley Scott's movie, *Gladiator* (2000), with its evocative but historically flawed depiction of the Roman arena, has sparked widespread curiosity about Roman public spectacles and those who performed in them. It appeared at the end of a decade or so in which scholarly interest in the topic had burgeoned with the appearance of many important books and articles: for example, Jean-Claude Golvin's *L'amphithéâtre romain* (1988); Thomas Wiedemann's *Emperors and Gladiators* (1992); Marcus Junkelmann's *Das Spiel mit dem Tod* (2000); and the volume of essays edited by Bettina Bergmann and Christine Kondoleon, *The Art of Ancient Spectacle* (1999). University courses, museum exhibitions, painstaking reconstructions of gladiatorial armor and combat by amateur aficionados, and even weekend training schools near Rome for would-be gladiators have all followed to intensify this interest.

Donald G. Kyle's book draws together much of this recent interpretive work to provide the context for his focus on a basic but previously neglected question: how did the Romans dispose of all those bodies (both human and animal) dispatched in the arena? His anthropologically informed analysis, supported by massively thorough (some might even say excessive) annotation, covers a wide range of issues and in so doing provides a useful synthesis of much current thinking on the political, social, and cultural context of Roman spectacle and on the social identity of the performers: all the way from gladiators proper (the majority of whom were slaves, but some freeborn volunteers) to those who challenged wild beasts in single combat to those who hunted down packs of domesticated and wild beasts to those condemned to aggravated, visually arresting, and increasingly theatrical executions. One of the chief merits of Kyle's analysis is that he is much more careful than many previous scholars in distinguishing among the variety of spectacles presented in the amphitheatre and among the many types of performers involved. Throughout he usefully emphasizes the wide variation in social distinction that each type of performer was accorded.

Kyle also provides a useful overview of Roman cultural attitudes toward death and the disposal of the dead in the most innovative section of the book: his investigation of the disposal of the slaughtered beasts and human victims of the arena. He argues first (chapter six), and on the whole convincingly, that the carcasses of some of the wild and domesticated beasts killed in the arena were sold to the poor as food by impresarios anxious to recoup some of the massive financial outlay required to put on these displays, while admitting that the grandest sponsors, the emperors themselves, sometimes provided gifts of food, including live animals, for the crowd to take away after the show. These gifts underlined the emperor's role as patron par excellence of his fellow citizens. Kyle then goes on to claim (chapter seven) that the majority of the dead human corpses were simply thrown into the nearby river Tiber rather than buried in mass graves in

the noisome Esquiline district of the city, where burial pits that still allegedly contained the "black, viscid, pestilent, unctuous matter" of decomposed flesh and bones were excavated in the late nineteenth century. The practicalities and long history of disposal in the river are clearly demonstrated and paralleled in provincial settings (at Lyons, for example, in A.D. 177), but rather jarringly this functionalist explanation is combined with a more symbolic one, as Kyle claims that "the lustral magic of the living water took away the pollution and brought purification against hostile spirits" and "disposal by water cleansed Rome of filth and ghosts" (p. 271).

A distinctive feature of Kyle's approach is his use of comparative material. Neither the gruesome punishments meted out to their defeated enemies by the Assyrians, Aztecs, Mayans, and Amerindians nor modern Spanish bullfights escape scrutiny, nor even the hunting exploits of recent American presidents. Such cross-cultural comparisons help to emphasize that the Romans were by no means unique in devising violent rituals for political ends, but more importantly they serve as a heuristic device to formulate new questions to ask of the Roman evidence.

There are places where Kyle allows himself rather too much space to rehearse familiar details or earlier scholarly views (for instance, in chapter five, summarizing work on the Esquiline burial pits, or in chapter eight, on the punishment of early Christians in the arena). Although the broad changes between the spectacles of the aristocratic republic and those of the autocratic empire are made clear in chapter two, one wishes that further developments over time during the imperial period were traced in greater detail. Even though the city of Rome is his main focus, on occasion Kyle cannot resist the temptation to combine evidence regarding the metropolis with that relating to major provincial centers or to smaller Italian or provincial municipalities. This is understandable, given the fragmentary nature of our evidence, but it does tend to elide the significant differences between presentations in the imperial capital and those put on elsewhere in the empire. But as a balanced, wide-ranging, and up-to-date account that is always lively and probing, Kyle's book will take its place among the best recent studies of one of the most endlessly fascinating and culturally revealing institutions of Roman society.

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JOHN MA. *Antiochos III and the Cities of the Western Asia Minor*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xvii, 403. \$98.00.

In this richly detailed monograph, John Ma provides a compelling analysis of Antiochos III's (223–187 B.C.) control and exploitation of the cities of western Seleucid Asia Minor. The work is distinguished by the impressive use of epigraphical material, the relevant

inscriptions of which are arranged with translation in a separate dossier (pp. 284–372). Along with literary testimony, Ma uses the epigraphical documents to form a thematic construct of the Hellenistic polis within the larger context of the Hellenistic empire.

Whereas the literary sources (principally Polybios, Livy, and Appian) fail to provide a comprehensive understanding of Seleukid actions in Asia Minor, the epigraphical record (primarily royal letters, civic decrees, and dedications) of the king's activity in the area provides a narrative from the Seleukid point of view, "a trick of selective memory" (p. 6). Antiochos's claims of reconquest are justified from a past shaped by success and humiliation, forming as it were an official court history. The king's *prostagma* (royal pronouncement) to Zeuxis in 210–209 B.C. in language and practice exemplifies the continuity of imperial control throughout cis-Tauric Asia Minor within the context of Seleukid history, even though between 246 and 223 Seleukid power had all but collapsed in the region. While civic identity and values re-emerged during this period in places like Smyrna, Lampsakas, and Alexandria Troas, the cities tempered their autarkic inclination by affirming Seleukid pronouncements of authority with expressions of gratitude for royal benevolence drawn from a continuity of past discourse.

Antiochos III's episodic (re)conquests across the Asia Minor landscape from 223 to 192 characterize his ambition to assert his authority. Domination and subjugation form the gist of a narrative history culminating in a super-power conflict. From Achaïos, who carved out a short-lived kingdom at the provincial capital of Sardeis in 220–214/13 to the diplomatic posturing between the Seleukid king and the Romans in the 190s, the military narrative of "the story of the Hellenistic Big War" (p. 103) involving campaign and conquest serves to underscore the constructs of the language of power by concretizing its constituent elements of violence, instability, and domination. The theoretical conceptualization of status as liberty or subjugation of a city by the king, in which the participants express themselves in a discourse of interaction, reflects a relationship framed by rhetoric, consent, and collaboration.

Antiochos III's campaigns, concentrated within the state structures of imperial rule, affected local communities militarily and administratively. This relationship was actualized by a combination of factors that relied on the empire's perceived potential, real or ideological, to exercise power with the threat of force in which the definition and classification of cities derived from state prerogative. Thus the process by which the empire evolved the structures used to maintain itself was dependent on the effectiveness of conquest and control, as well as on the administration and enforcement of *prostagma*, whether by a governor of all Asia Minor, such as Zeuxis, or by the myriad of lesser officials charged with specific duties of maintaining the royal economy, like the forests of Tmolos or Mysia. Even the use of rhetoric to articulate the

benefaction of ruler to ruled presupposes that conditions of the locale rested on the consent or acceptability of the political language expressing the interaction between community and Seleukid authority. In this respect, the status of individual cities was dependent on the typology of their subordination (p. 150).

The process of reciprocity involved the interaction between king and city, such as Zeuxis's letter to Amyzon (p. 180), in which the exchange is expressed in the conventionalized language of rhetorical strategies of consent and collaboration, of petition and response. Laodike's letter to Iasos is presented in terms of a "contract clause" (p. 185) for which the promise of future kindnesses will be extended provided that the Iasians behave appropriately and remember this act of *euergesia*. In a real sense, then, benefaction was part of the cycle of gift-giving and remembrance through which the transaction was described and conducted in a ritualized series of utterances of canonical forms—"the royal letter and civic decree" (p. 182). Implicit in the language of *euergetism* was the understanding that to perform a benefaction was itself a manifestation of power either through diplomacy or manipulation, which on occasion could even be extended to the royal official in the guise of local *euergetes*. For the polis, the effect of this interaction in both word and deed was to lend meaning to its sense of corporate unity and to contribute "to the creation of a cultural *koine* centered on empire" (p. 228). The dynamics of this language precluded direct speech about power by providing a forum—albeit of limited nature—for dialogue. The complexity of the interaction reveals that conquest and empire building were as much a part of the Seleukid narrative as the individual communities that shared in the king's fortunes, produced their own local narratives, and thereby provide us with insight into their sense of civic pride and self-identity.

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NIGEL POLLARD. *Soldiers, Cities, and Civilians in Roman Syria*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2000. Pp. x, 349. \$49.50.

This book by Nigel Pollard concerns the integration of the military into Syrian and Mesopotamian society initially in the first three centuries A.D. The first section concentrates on the role of the Roman army in the urbanization of Syria and Mesopotamia, the second looks at the interaction between soldiers and civilians, and the third looks at the economic impact of the army on the local economy. Appendixes catalogue the sites discussed in the text.

Pollard produces a number of fairly loosely related arguments. First, in the first three centuries A.D., Roman soldiers were consistently garrisoned in large urban centers where their social and economic impact is difficult to detect. In the next three centuries, a number of small garrison cities were developed in frontier zones which, it is argued, encouraged urban-

ization. Second, although Roman armies were stationed close to civilian populations, there was significant separation between the two groups, with the soldiers enjoying institutional rather than local or Roman identities. This is, I think, the core of the book. Third, Pollard considers Keith Hopkins's famous analysis of the Roman economy ("Taxes and Trade in the Roman Empire (200 BC-AD 400)," *Journal of Roman Studies* 70 [1980]: 101-25), concluding, as others have previously done, that Hopkins was largely wrong in seeing the impact of taxation and the cash expenditure of the army as critical to the economic expansion of the early Roman Empire.

Pollard covers very similar ground to my own foray into military history, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt* (1995), and he cites the parallels in my text throughout. I, in part, followed Benjamin H. Isaac's *Limits of Empire: The Roman Army in the East* (1992). One of the significant differences among myself, Isaac, and Pollard is the quantity and quality of the evidence available. Isaac had at his disposal a vast range of material focusing especially on Judea. I had papyri. Pollard has a few literary attestations, a little archaeology, and some inscriptions. His evidential base is thin and often not entirely suited to the issues he is considering. Ancient historians customarily work with woefully inadequate material, and one method of escaping these inadequacies is to formulate explanatory frameworks into which the evidence can be stuck. It is the equivalent of deciding what the picture is and then looking at your jigsaw pieces to see if they might fit. It is only fair to point out that Pollard and I disagree about the level of integration of military and civilian communities; I tend to see the soldiers as, normally, being more closely tied to the surrounding civilian communities; my framework is rather different. Yet, there is nothing here that would seem not to fit naturally into my framework, and Pollard is sometimes driven to quite radical convolutions to bring his material into line. For example, he dismisses Tacitus's account of friendly relations between the citizens of Antioch and the soldiery in A.D. 69 in favor of the sociorealism of Juvenal's *Satire XVI* and Apuleius's *Metamorphoses*, which depict a greater level of hostility between military and civilian, even though both Juvenal and Apuleius rely heavily for their humor on extreme and highly literary depictions of contemporary society. Pollard builds a case for "institutional endogamy" within the army (pp. 156-57) based on epigraphic evidence from the children of Roman soldiers whose nomenclature does not follow the standard Roman pattern. This is a considerable leap, especially since traditional rules of Roman nomenclature were in flux. Nevertheless, it seems very likely that soldiers often married women who were descended from soldiers. Equally, judging from a range of epigraphic and papyrological evidence from across the empire, they often took wives who had no apparent prior connection with the Roman military. Is this "institutional endogamy" any more significant than academics mar-

rying other academics, or doctors marrying nurses? No sane person would deny that soldiers had an institutional identity, since otherwise we would not be able to spot them in the record: they would be invisible. The issue that then arises is how that aspect of an individual's identity relates to other aspects of his identity and to his behavior. There can be no single straightforward answer to this, and we must look for nuances and a sliding scale of integration with civilian communities. Pollard recognizes ambiguities in his material but works that material terribly hard to support his particular picture.

This is a thoughtful contribution to the debate on the impact of the Roman military on provincial society (though often and surprisingly, Pollard avoids explicit discussion of that historiographical debate) and covers a far larger number of issues than can be adequately discussed in this review. Even if I find the basic arguments in the book unconvincing on several levels, there is, at least, a worthy argument that should be considered by those interested in the military and social history of the Roman provinces.

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BERNHARD JUSSEN, editor. *Ordering Medieval Society: Perspectives on Intellectual and Practical Modes of Shaping Social Relations*. Translated by PAMELA SELWYN. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2001. Pp. vi, 328. \$65.00.

Anyone who reads the title of this book and expects an updated version of, say, Georges Duby's *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined* (1980) or Heinrich Fichtenau's *Living in the Tenth Century: Mentalities and Social Orders* (1991) will be disappointed. Instead, Bernhard Jussen has selected eight articles, originally published between 1987 and 1998, that show how "medieval people . . . organized their world mentally and practically" (p. 1) but that also introduce an Anglophone audience to a distinctly German scholarly tradition. Postwar German medieval historiography, starting with Karl Schmid, rejected the dominant tradition of *Verfassungsgeschichte* that had concentrated on the central authority of the "state" and that had treated such entities as estates as historical actors. The new focus is on the interaction of social groups and their changing self-representations.

Jussen identifies Gerd Althoff and Otto Gerhard Oexle, both of whom are represented by two articles in this collection, as Schmid's chief heirs. Althoff has applied anthropological research on ritual to the functioning of medieval kingship. In the two pieces in this compendium, he examines the bestowal and loss of royal favor and the role of the mediator in arranging a suitable satisfaction, a carefully choreographed act of submission, in the amicable resolutions of conflicts. In contrast, Oexle's oeuvre is theoretically grounded in early twentieth-century German cultural studies. His

"Perceiving Social Reality in the Early and High Middle Ages: A Contribution to a History of Social Knowledge" is a response to Duby's work on trifunctionality. Oexle rejects the idea that such interpretive schemes were purely imaginary and insists that scholars must investigate the interplay between reality and medieval perceptions of the social order. In his other article, "Peace Through Conspiracy," he contrasts the peace commanded by monarchical authority, which readily fits into the framework of traditional German constitutional history, with the self-imposed peace of medieval groups, such as guilds and communes. Since such peace organizations often resorted to violence against outsiders, they were frequently branded conspiracies by contemporary observers, rejected by medieval theorists like the canonist Rufinus in the *De bono pacis* (ca. 1180), and dismissed by modern scholars as private obstacles to the establishment of public authority.

Jussen himself, who is associated with Oexle and his investigations of medieval social groups at the Max Planck Institute for History in Göttingen, focuses on a major shift in group self-perception: the Gallo-Roman aristocracy's monopolization of local episcopal offices in the second half of the fifth century as a new source of political legitimacy after the disintegration of the Western Roman Empire. The aristocrats' struggle with charismatic ascetic reformers for control over the Gallic church was fought largely over such symbols as clothing. Joseph Morsel contends that a similar social reordering occurred in fifteenth-century Franconia. In response to territorialization, the hitherto fragmented elite coalesced under the new term "nobility" with its own discursive conventions.

While these six articles continue Schmid's work on social groups, I am less clear why Jussen chose to include the two articles on counting piety by Arnold Angenendt, Thomas Lentjes, and their associates at Münster. Jussen explains, a bit lamely, that they represent a distinct German Catholic tradition of scholarship.

Although one can always quibble about translations (e.g. *Apostolicum* rather than the Apostles' Creed, p. 72), I am really puzzled about the intended audience for this book. Does anyone who can make sense of a passage like the following need to read it in translation: "since the composition of the texts in copies of Excarpus Cummean and Paen: Remense that have come down to us vary sharply . . . and since the editions of the Paenitentia Ps.-Bedae and Ps.-Egberti as well of the Paen. mixtum by Schmitz and Wassersleben account for only a randomly chosen segment of the transmission in each case" (pp. 30f)? And if the hypothetical reader cannot handle German, then why not cite in the footnotes the English translations of books by Fichtenau, Carl Erdmann, Gerd Tellenbach, and Werner Rösener? Oddly, Otto Brunner's *Land and Lordship: Structures of Governance in Medieval Austria* (1992) is cited in English, perhaps because it, too, was published by the University of Pennsylvania

Press. Finally, some of the articles have been abridged, Morsel's considerably, whereas Althoff's work has been expanded. While comparing the German and English versions of Morsel's article, I noticed that an introductory quotation by Fernando Pessoa replaced one by François Guizot. Who—author, editor, or translator—decided what needed to be cut, added, or changed? While I am always grateful when German medieval scholarship is translated, I found this collection somewhat perplexing.

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JOSEPH P. HUFFMAN. *The Social Politics of Medieval Diplomacy: Anglo-German Relations (1066–1307)*. (Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Civilization.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2000. Pp. x, 361. \$59.50.

Political deeds are social activities within a given body politic, and, accordingly, diplomacy is the social discourse between political communities. Such is the premise underlying Joseph P. Huffman's assessment of diplomatic maneuvering in the central Middle Ages. Beginning with a brief sketch of contacts between the Anglo-Norman and Salian kingdoms and extending through the reign of Edward I, this book brings an interregional social approach to the examination of Anglo-German relations.

This is a complex history whose broad implications are already discernible in Angevin-Staufen interaction of the early twelfth century and the consequent acquisition of political leverage through marriage agreements. Emperor Henry V's English bride Matilda, for example, brought a dowry that ultimately facilitated purchase of his investiture privilege and imperial coronation. As disagreements with Rome continued in later decades, Frederick I maintained a loose diplomatic association with England's Henry II, albeit one that failed to resolve either the schism or the Becket controversy. Concerned more with consolidating a regional power base for his heirs than with developing the apparatus of government, Barbarossa was not an imperial ideologue.

Throughout the period, the territorial politics of the archbishops of Cologne were a key determinant in the course of Anglo-German relations. One important turning point came in 1193–1194 with the ransoming of Richard the Lionheart. England's itinerant crusader king negotiated his liberty as well as the vassalage of various German princes, including Cologne's archbishop, by offering money fiefs; he thus merits recognition for introducing large pensions as a basis for feudal loyalty. Richard also granted special trading franchises to the merchants of Cologne. The thirteenth-century development of Cologne, England, and Germany as political communities renders them worthy of case studies in later chapters. In summary, throughout this period interregional diplomatic relations remained tied to domestic concerns: that is to

say, dynastic and territorial goals. Larger international issues, such as the papal schism, did not draw English and German kings into political alliances or war and produced no lasting Anglo-German coalitions against France or the papacy. Rather than constituting a series of failures, though, this is "an exemplary history of the nature of European politics" at the time, to which modern notions of state building are not applicable.

If political life is indeed a record of social dynamics, from familial to religious and economic in this study, it is seldom encountered outside the social strata of royalty, aristocracy, and prince-bishops. Notwithstanding the Cologne burghers, Anglo-Normans, Lotharingians, and Flemings whose collaborative participation in the Second Crusade allegedly illustrates the forging of new channels of cooperation and integration by small landowners and townsmen, there is scant attention here to diplomacy among major towns (for instance, Cologne and London). The same holds true for relationships between sovereign and territorial jurisdictions and other political entities, such as the fledgling German Hanse, in which Cologne would acquire a leading political voice. For a more complete spectrum of Anglo-Cologne relations, including cultural ties, the reader is directed to Huffman's earlier published work. All the same, when this current study ventures into the realm of heightened economic and cultural interdependence across Europe and maintains that the defining forces responsible for bringing regions together and encouraging economic and cultural growth were political, some elaboration of the political-economic-cultural matrix might strengthen the case. What specific aspects of culture were transmitted from one location to another during this era of increasingly complex interregional relations and how, aside from the granting of trading rights to Cologne merchants, did those relations facilitate growth of the European economy?

This book is a very worthwhile addition to the relatively modest corpus of works on medieval Germany currently available in English, bringing together a wide selection of printed sources and offering an excellent synthesis of scholarship to date. By virtue of the interregional approach, it succeeds in its stated aim of grafting Germany more firmly into the historiography of the medieval West. Some familiarity with fundamental political events in England and the empire is assumed from the outset. The reader not so acquainted may be somewhat overwhelmed by the remarkably large cast of characters and the innumerable details of their sociopolitical intrigues. The theoretical thrust of this study provides ample food for thought, an alternative paradigm to a historiographical tradition far too prone, in Huffman's view, to judge success or failure in terms of modern institutional expectations. Whether or not Anglo-German relations are therefore exemplary of medieval politics may be

determined all the more conclusively as the paradigm is put to the test elsewhere.

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THOMAS S. ASBRIDGE. *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch 1098–1130*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell & Brewer. 2000. Pp. xi, 233. \$75.00.

Studies of Frankish activities in the Levant in the wake of the First Crusade have traditionally concentrated on the Kingdom of Jerusalem, with the northern states of Edessa, Antioch, and Tripoli receiving far less attention. The boom of crusade studies during the past twenty years or so has not basically affected this disparity in interest, although the three northern states, too, are now more intensively dealt with. This is especially true of the Principality of Antioch. Hans Eberhard Mayer, Rudolf Hiestand, Bernard Hamilton and others have recently thrown light on various aspects of its political, ecclesiastical and intellectual history, while Charles Burnett has shown that significant intercultural contacts had taken place there, with Stephen of Antioch playing the leading role in the 1120s.

Whereas these studies concentrate on specific issues, Thomas S. Asbridge presents a comprehensive history of Antioch during the first three decades of the principality's existence. It is the first attempt to do so since René Grousset in 1934 and Claude Cahen in 1940 covered much of the same ground in works of far broader scope. Asbridge examines in detail the military moves of Franks and Muslims, points out the importance of strategic areas like the low hills halfway between Frankish Antioch and Muslim Aleppo, draws attention to the affinity between the tributes that Syrian Muslim towns paid to Antioch and the *parias* payments that Spanish Muslim cities rendered to the kings of Castile, and highlights instances of Frankish-Muslim alliance. Five maps make clear the ups and downs in the extent of Frankish-controlled territory between 1099 and 1119.

These maps might have included more details. For instance, the elevated Jabal as-Summaq region south-east of Antioch, mentioned in Asbridge's account more than thirty times, is not shown on any of these maps; indeed, no elevations are indicated on them. To locate Jabal as-Summaq, or to learn about elevations in general, one must return to Cahen's map of 1940. Neither does Asbridge spell out the differences between his reconstruction and the quite detailed ones by Grousset and Cahen. Also, Asbridge's account tends to stick to the essential military and political steps, occasionally leaving out valuable information. For instance, he presents the conflicting reports about the fate of the Frankish defenders following the conquest of Kafartab in 1115 but omits mentioning that the Franks killed their children and women before the Muslims forced their way into the town. Again, he points out that, after the Muslim victory in 1119,

Patriarch Bernard organized the defense of Antioch, but he does not disclose that the patriarch had the city's towers garrisoned by monks and clerics as well as by laymen—a boldly unorthodox measure that William of Tyre was to leave unmentioned.

In his discussion of Antioch's relations with Byzantium, Asbridge convincingly argues that the Treaty of Devol of 1108 was far less important than recent historians have assumed. He also contends that the office of the duke of Antioch, the chief Frankish city functionary, was probably modeled on a Byzantine precedent. In his survey of Antioch's relations with Jerusalem, Edessa, and Tripoli, Asbridge proffers the plausible hypothesis that the rulers of these Frankish states forged a formal "confraternity" that guaranteed mutual military assistance.

The last four chapters deal with the development of lay and ecclesiastical institutions in the Principality of Antioch. Especially valuable is the prosopographical study of the principality's lay landholders, which suggests that many of them were Normans from Normandy and southern Italy. The study might have been enhanced by the inclusion of Hamdan al-Atharibi, a Muslim poet, chronicler, and administrator who received a village from the Frankish lord of al-Atharib. This Muslim retainer of the Franks was first brought to attention by Cahen; more recently Anne-Marie Eddé devoted a few dense lines to him; a full-length study, by Muhammad al-Hajjuj, is under preparation.

Discussing the relations of Patriarch Bernard of Antioch with the papacy, Asbridge marshals several pieces of evidence suggesting that Bernard challenged Rome's claim to supremacy. He could have clinched his case by utilizing the letter, re-edited by Hiestand in 1985, that the papal legate Giles of Tusculum sent Bernard in 1128. In this letter, Bernard is explicitly branded for his disobedience to Rome and for the boast that he is the pope's *collega et frater*.

These omissions notwithstanding, Asbridge's book—based on his Ph.D. dissertation—amounts to a significant contribution to the understanding of early Frankish Antioch.

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FRANCES ANDREWS. *The Early Humiliati*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series, number 43.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 353. \$69.95.

In 1184, Pope Lucius III condemned a group called the Humiliati or "humble ones" as heretics. Unlike the Cathars, whom he also condemned, the Humiliati posed no challenge to Christian dogma. What was at issue was the Humiliati's method of living out the tenets of the Christian faith. In 1201, Pope Innocent III revisited the question of the Humiliati, approving a framework that allowed for three separate Humiliati orders: canons, regulars, and laity. It is the latter event rather than the former that Frances Andrews empha-

sizes in her excellent new study of the Humiliati, which maintains that the group has been too long tarred with the brush of scandal, when instead they should be regarded as primary actors on the stage of the evangelical reawakening of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Herbert Grundmann first made this argument in 1935 in his ground-breaking *Religious Movements of the Middle Ages* (English translation, 1995), which argued that both heterodox and orthodox religious groups of the twelfth century shared a common impulse toward the *vita apostolica*, a life centered on preaching and evangelical poverty. In Grundmann's analysis, the Humiliati played an important but rather limited role in the religious revival. By contrast, Andrews has thrown the spotlight on the Humiliati, a welcome accomplishment, as there has been no full-length treatment of the subject since 1911, when Luigi Zanoni published his account that focused on the group's involvement with the wool manufacturing industry.

This is not to say, however, that studies of the Humiliati have been lacking, as Andrews's dexterous historiographical discussion in chapter one demonstrates. English-speaking audiences were first introduced to the Humiliati in the 1970s by Brenda Bolton, whose interest in Innocent III led her to investigate the pope's relationship with the movement from an ecclesiastical standpoint. Alternatively, Italian scholars have long been mining the rich holdings of Italy's archives in an attempt to reconstruct Humiliati communities. Andrews is extremely well versed in this literature; indeed, she has incorporated the findings of many of these local studies into her own work, which itself is grounded in scrupulous archival research based mainly, but not exclusively, in Verona. What she has given us, then, is a three-fold contribution to the field: first, she has performed an invaluable service for English-language audiences by presenting and synthesizing the results of an enormous amount of recent Italian scholarship; second, her work adds new and exciting original research to the field, much of it challenging our standard view of the Humiliati; and third, it is the first study to trace out the general contours and development of the Humiliati from the early movement of the 1170s to its apogee as an established religious order in the mid-thirteenth century. Any one of these elements would have been an achievement; the combination of all three results in major contributions to the fields of both medieval Italian history and ecclesiastical history of the Middle Ages.

Andrews's monograph is also a salutary lesson in historical method as her approach brings together documents of both theory and practice. That is, she sensibly tests prescriptive documents produced by the papal chancery against notarial documents of practice, a method that frequently reveals a world of difference between the well-ordered communities suggested by the papal records and the actual "reality on the ground." Wills, land transactions, and professions of

faith transmit a much more complicated and fluid picture of the early Humiliati than the papal accounts would indicate. To take one example, the papal directives to the Humiliati seem to suggest that the three orders lived autonomously. Yet this patently was not always the case. Andrews finds ample evidence that the order's living arrangements were far from unambiguous: members of the first order cohabited with brothers and sisters of the second order, in some cases even with children that the Humiliati rule, *Omnis boni principium*, expressly forbade. Distinguishing a first order domus from a second order community therefore becomes virtually impossible; but more important, such an example highlights the tension between the messy lived experience of the order and the neat and artificial distinctions that papal documents suggest.

In addition to calling our attention to such disparities, Andrews's work patiently unravels the knotted early history of the order, moving from a careful analysis of the origins of the Lombard communities in chapter two, to a prosopographical profile of the early leaders of the group in chapter three. Chapter four examines the papal exhortations issued for each of the three orders, alongside *Omnis boni principium*.

Chapters five and six are the heart and soul of the book, demonstrating how papal directives were instituted (or not) "on the ground." Chapter five reconstructs the social composition of Humiliati communities, churches, leadership roles (of both men and women), and the growth of networks and associations. Since one of the hallmarks of the Humiliati's version of the *vita apostolica* was their commitment to manual labor, it is a shame that this chapter does not include a discussion of the forms of work in which the Humiliati engaged. I hope that this is a subject Andrews will revisit in the future. Chapter six, the centerpiece of the research, focuses on individuals and their motivations for joining the order. From her original research in Verona, Andrews unearths two genres of documentary evidence, both of which shed new light on the rite of entry into the order. The first records the vow and ritual of profession; the second the transfer of property to the domus, a gift frequently made upon profession. Andrews's close analysis of these documents significantly changes our current understanding of why individuals joined the order. Contrary to contemporary observer Jacques de Vitry's portrait of religious zeal, Andrews's analysis reveals that many joined the Humiliati for the mundane reasons of economic security or family ties.

Chapter seven documents the centralization of the order in Milan and the institutionalization in 1246 of the office of master general. Chapter eight, perhaps the least convincing of this otherwise very convincing book, attempts to show how the institutional church and local communities viewed the Humiliati. Andrews suggests that they were received similarly to the Dominican and Franciscan friars of the period, but evidence is scanty for such a thesis. Far from garnering the same privileges that the mendicant orders received

from the papacy, the Humiliati of the first order received neither concessions to use portable altars, nor the authority to hear confession of the faithful, though they eventually received the right to bury the dead. Nor was the level of charitable largesse to the Humiliati equal to what was frequently lavished on the friars through testamentary bequests. The Humiliati, though similar to the friars, were, literally, of a different order and were probably perceived to be so by their members, the church, and local communities. Andrews has already built a convincing case for regarding the Humiliati as forerunners and later competitors to the friars; as such, it seems unnecessary to fit them into the mendicant model. The book concludes with useful appendixes: a calendar of abstracted and annotated papal letters and privileges; twelve professions of faith; and extracts of testamentary bequests to the order, all of which will provide the starting point for future research.

Andrews has given us a model study of the Humiliati of northern Italy that has the additional merit of contributing on a broader level to the history of religious culture in the Middle Ages. Elegantly written and meticulously researched, this book expands our understanding of the religious revival of the twelfth and thirteenth century by taking up the Humiliati's story where Grundmann left off. Delineating the Humiliati's gradual transformation from a movement of religious enthusiasm to an established religious order, Andrews has shattered old assumptions with significant new research. A major contribution to the field, this book is destined to become the authoritative source on the Humiliati for many years to come.

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JOHN W. BALDWIN. *Aristocratic Life in Medieval France: The Romances of Jean Renart and Gerbert de Montreuil, 1190–1230*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press. 2000. Pp. xvii, 359. \$49.95.

John W. Baldwin is concerned with how one reconstructs medieval society using the traditional approach through Latin documents produced by a clerical elite. A master of such sources from the reign of Philip Augustus, Baldwin admits that they can be dull, grey, and uninformative on lives beyond the circle of Latin literacy. By the late twelfth century, however, a new fictional literature appears, at once vivid, colorful, and acutely attuned to aristocratic lives and values. Baldwin examines what this vernacular literature can reveal about the lay aristocracy, narrowing his focus to northern France between 1190 and 1230 as portrayed in four romances by two authors: Jean Renart's *Escoufle* and *Roman de la rose*, and Gerbert de Montreuil's *Continuation of Chrétien de Troye's Conte du graal* and the *Roman de la violette*. He believes that the fictional characters of these works were credible to their audiences and thus contain valuable information about

levels of society ignored or distorted by the clerical writers.

Baldwin argues that both authors abandoned the fabulous world of King Arthur for the "here and now" of their aristocratic audience and uses several techniques to tease out this real world. He first seeks to establish a literary "horizon of expectation": that is, what the audience would have expected to find in a good story. Baldwin seeks to distinguish what is conventional and stereotypic from what is original, and in Jean's *Escoufle*, at the least, there is a much that is original. Next he concentrates on the "reality effects," the little details inserted to create the illusion of a real world, familiar and understandable to the audience. If these details of clothing, armor, and festivals are peripheral to the narrative, Baldwin assumes they are self-authenticating. The novel use of these details by Jean and Gerbert convinced Baldwin that these specific works could be used as historical sources. With this base line established, he puts the result in constant dialogue with the Latin writers of the church, particularly Pierre the Chanter and the theological school of Notre Dame. This cross referencing with clerical documents deepens the analysis, making it both more subtle and more convincing.

Both authors dedicated their works to real personages, and these dedications can be seen as pointers to what some of the "reality effects" really are. Baldwin is most convincing in showing Jean's pro-Welf feelings in *Escoufle* and *Rose*. Not only is Emperor Otto IV the model for the fictional Emperor Conrad, in *Rose* one side of Jean's fictional tournament is made up of characters who can be identified with historic supporters of Otto. Gerbert, in turn, was sympathetic to the Capetians, and much of his romance takes place in French territory, including a tournament scene filled with historical characters who troubled the Capetian realm. Baldwin concludes that these close correlations between the historical world of the addressees and the details in the romances is something new, original, and of exceptional value to the historian.

Having convinced the reader that these four romances, if no others, have historical validity, Baldwin proceeds to examine fresh views of the French aristocracy. He has separate chapters on chivalric prowess, the economy, women and love, "embellishments" (i.e. festivities, food, and clothing), and aristocratic religion. Each of these chapters is rich and detailed, and which are the most important or interesting will depend on the reader. Particularly striking in the chapter on chivalric prowess is Jean's depiction of troops deployed in close ordered battalions backed up by footsoldiers, while the discussion of lay religious life fits in well with recent work by Marcus Bull and Jonathan Riley-Smith on the religious motivations of the First Crusaders. Through his careful laying out of his case, Baldwin produces an unusually detailed but convincing study of aristocratic life in this period.

Baldwin's view of the early medieval economy as simple gift exchange, however, is undercut by his own

demonstration that such was not the economic world of Jean and Gerbert. One wonders if it had ever been. Baldwin concentrates mainly on Jean Renart's work, and such a narrow base is suspect. Aside from Chrétien de Troyes, what other romances are there, and what do they show? Such quibbles aside, this is an important and thoughtful work from a scholar steeped in his sources, and it adds new depths to our appreciation of medieval society. One also suspects that Baldwin had great fun writing it.

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NOËL JAMES MENUGE, editor. *Medieval Women and the Law*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell & Brewer. 2000. Pp. xiii, 169. \$75.00.

Long before Sir Frederick Pollock and Frederic William Maitland introduced legal records into the mainstream of historical research, scholars were aware of the value of such documents as primary source materials. Indeed, it has become almost de rigueur in the last quarter-century or so to include the study of legal records in any examination of past societies that claims to be comprehensive. Since Pollock and Maitland's time, statutes, treatises, and written decisions generated by the courts of medieval England have all been subjected to careful scrutiny and painstaking analysis. The fruit of that research has led to a profound appreciation of how legal theorists on the one hand and practitioners of the law on the other interacted to shape the culture of medieval jurisprudence.

It is only very recently, however, that scholars have adopted a vigorously interdisciplinary approach to the study of how legal discourse contributed to the construction of gender and identity in the Middle Ages. This volume aims to do just that and, further, to map out new directions and promising sites for future research. The eight essays in the collection combine literary and historical sources in a new and methodologically sophisticated way, with the intention of exploring both how "legal discourses constructed women" and the various ways in which "women attempted to exercise agency even within the patriarchal constraints of different legal systems" (p. ix). The results of this breaking of new ground are uneven at best, but there is little doubt that collectively the essays provide much food for thought. Seven discuss women in the context of English law from the Anglo-Saxon period to the early sixteenth century; the eighth is an interesting review of women's legal position in the Occitania of the troubadours, but otherwise stands out as something of an oddity in this Anglocentric book.

There can be little doubt that the literature of medieval England offers a window to the past that is in many respects unique; as the editor, Noël James Menuge, argues, romances in particular "have the potential to inform and complement legal, historical and ideological readings" (p. 77). Her essay, and those of several other contributors, contrast the highly con-

strained ability of women to control their lives as revealed in sources like testaments, legal treatises, statutes, and court rolls with the much broader exercise of individual will discernible in lyric poems and prose romances. Menuge shows how treatises such as the *Leges Henrici Primi* and the work known as *Bracton* are informed by a profound misogyny, and how these writings portray the mother of a minor heir as a "villain." The romances, by contrast, "serve different purposes," and in some respects at least gloss over what was actually happening in the royal courts that tried suits of guardianship. The essays by Corinne Saunders and Kim Phillips adopt a similar methodology, examining Middle English romances alongside the laws that governed rape and abduction and concluding that the literature reveals nuances in the treatment of women that are for the most part obscured in surviving legal texts.

Several of the contributors bring decidedly deconstructionist and feminist perspectives to wills and inventories, records that have long been favorite sources for historians of the family and of the law. The essays by Victoria Thompson and Katherine Lewis offer fresh, if as yet tentative, arguments about the ways in which these texts can be approached anew. Each emphasizes the unique features of wills as sources in which women's voices may actually be heard, and both suggest that embedded in the wording of their bequests are valuable clues about women's perceptions of themselves as property owners. Cordelia Beattie and Emma Hawkes focus their studies on documents that are in many ways highly formulaic and, in consequence, difficult to penetrate: poll tax returns and Chancery bills. Like the other authors, their contributions lie in the complex questions they ask of their sources and the means by which they set about overcoming the challenges that structured texts present.

If the questions that these authors ask are intriguing, the conclusions that they draw from the varied sources they consult are less satisfying; this is an indication, perhaps, of the contributors' admission that legal records are unique among extant medieval source materials. But in some essays, the arguments are less than convincing quite simply because the authors, distinguished literary scholars though they may be, are clearly unfamiliar with the legal records which they have studied and with the lessons that historians have learned about the use of such materials. Glaring examples include Hawkes's treatment of Chancery bills and Phillips's essay on the legal definitions of rape found in English statutes and treatises. Neither Hawkes nor Phillips appears to have examined the considerable work of Timothy Haskett on the former or Charles Donahue, Jr. on the latter. Some of the statements each makes about the reliability of legal records and texts are at best naïve, at worst ill informed. The series editor at Boydell should perhaps share some of the responsibility here for failing to assign peer reviewers familiar not merely with the

historicist approach but, equally important, scholars well versed in the intricacies and technicalities of medieval law. It is doubtful, furthermore, whether some legal historians would agree with the substantial degree of latitude these authors demonstrate in interpreting the records. While this collection of essays will be of genuine interest to legal, literary, and women's historians of all stripes, the methodology its editor claims is not altogether convincing. True interdisciplinarity demands not merely the competence to apply the methodologies of one area of scholarly study to another but, rather, a demonstrated ability to remain sensitive to the lacunae inherent in any school of thought.

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GRAEME J. WHITE. *Restoration and Reform 1153–1165: Recovery from Civil War in England*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, fourth series, number 46.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xvii, 248. \$64.95.

The period of civil war that erupted under Stephen led some historians to describe his reign as "the Anarchy," a term that in recent years has been criticized as overly lurid given the limited breakdown of royal government that actually occurred. The process by which order was subsequently restored forms the subject of this book by Graeme J. White, which draws principally on the annual records from the exchequer, reports of lawsuits, and documents issued in the king's name and in the names of private individuals. Most of these are available in print, but there are gaps, chiefly in the form of unpublished royal and private charters, and it would have been good to have had some indication what proportion of these, particularly the acts of Henry II, were consulted, in view of the fact that a new edition of Henry's acts (begun by Sir James Holt) is in the offing.

White begins with a discussion of the political context and an account of the extent to which royal administration survived the civil war years, before moving on to look in greater detail at the reconstruction of royal finances and at the personnel of royal government, especially those who held offices in the household and in the shires rather than the powerful but unofficial agents of the court. He provides calculations of the sheriffs' farms paid each year between 1155 and 1165, and in addition offers a summary balance sheet for 1164–1165.

Finally, in what is in some ways the most important chapter of the book, he evaluates the administration of the king's judicial rights in the early years of the reign, before the development of new forms of procedure that were to give Henry II his reputation as the founder of the common law. The extent to which Henry was trying consciously to enlarge the scope of royal justice, or was intervening to hurry along dispute settlement by legal process, is discussed. Was Henry, as S. F. C. Milsom suggested in *The Legal Framework*

of *English Feudalism* (1976), simply trying to make lords' courts work effectively, or was he consciously or unconsciously taking away jurisdiction from them? White argues that, in the early years, Henry's interventions were intermittent and reacting to requests. After the king's return to England in 1163, however, more sustained attention was given to justice and to other areas of government. From this point, the "restoration" of the book's title was overtaken by "reform." The case is well made here that the significance of the judicial and financial measures of the years 1163 to 1165 have been underestimated by undue concentration on those of 1166.

At first sight, White's book overlaps considerably with that of Emilie Amt, *The Accession of Henry II in England: Royal Government Restored 1149–59* (1993), which is also concerned with the process of recovery and draws heavily on the pipe rolls. Apart from the obvious differences in the periods covered in the two books, however, the two volumes do not so much compete as complement each other. Amt had more to say about the process by which royal lands were resumed and about sources of credit, and she used three counties in different parts of England as case studies for the years of transition from war to peace: royalist Essex, contested Oxfordshire, and Angevin Gloucestershire. White's book represents many years' reflection. He takes the opportunity to defend views expressed in his earlier articles about, for instance, the significance of the numerous entries for "waste" in the two danegeld levies of 1156 and 1162: he believes that they did not simply represent the physical devastation of war but a mix of factors, including disputes over liability and administrative considerations. On the motives for Stephen's many grants of earldoms, White takes the line that royal patronage—Stephen's desire to win magnate support—lies behind most of the grants. As the author himself admits, any discussion of the effects of the reception of Roman law on the administration of law and justice, or contemporary ideas about the nature of possession or ownership of land and property, or of the conflict over jurisdiction between Henry and Thomas Becket, is largely avoided here, which is perhaps a pity, but this is nevertheless a useful book.

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HUGH E. L. COLLINS. *The Order of the Garter 1348–1461: Chivalry and Politics in Late Medieval England*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 327. \$74.00.

The "curial" orders of chivalry have begun to receive some serious academic treatment in English in recent years, beginning with Juliet Vale's work, *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalric Society and Its Context, 1270–1350* (1982) and Maurice Keen's pioneering *Chivalry* (1984). Since then D'Arcy J. D. Boulton has provided

a broad context in *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325–1520* (1987). The subject has of course been of great interest to antiquarians and heraldists of several nations down the centuries, but Hugh E. L. Collins demonstrates very ably in this monograph why the history of chivalric orders is too important to be left entirely to the uncritical enthusiast.

The Garter was founded by Edward III of England in the summer of 1348; it was his second attempt at such a scheme after he lost interest in an Arthurian-style Round Table first suggested in 1344. One of Collins's many useful snippets and suggestions is that the characteristic blue garter badge (being used as early as 1346) was a holdover from the earlier Arthurian project. Thereafter, the order was used by successive kings to reward and enhance the military caste that supported the French wars, and as a foreign policy tool to exalt their own status and smooth the way of their anti-French maneuvers. Collins documents this exhaustively by looking at the pattern of installations of domestic and "stranger" knights and the careers of the individuals concerned. This takes four chapters of a seven-chapter book. He finds notable changes of emphasis over the decades: warrior knights—English and foreign—were naturally more favored in the martial reigns of Edward III and Henry V. Richard II used the order as one of the rewards for his favorites, but even then, such men had to have a respectable military record. The reigns of the Lancastrians saw the order's further development as a diplomatic tool among foreign princes and their useful subjects; the Portuguese royal house was particularly favored.

It has to be said that in these central chapters, the monograph reads most like the Ph.D. dissertation it once was, but the reader values the scrupulous thoroughness of the approach, for all the repetitiveness that it involves. These chapters nonetheless contain some surprises, and the brief study of the "Ladies of the Fraternity of St. George" would be a revelation to anyone interested in gender and history. It is in the final chapters that the author finally turns to the sumptuous ceremony and liturgy that surrounded the Garter, and here the pace changes. From such dry materials as accounts, diet books, and ordinances, the rhythm of the ritual life of the order and its clergy is quickened, as also is the life of those functionaries and craftspeople who made it all possible.

This is a careful and considered book, although there is a pattern to such errors as there are. Medieval liturgy is not one of Collins's strengths, so we have the mass being "solemnised," apparently ending with the offertory (collected by "prebends" not prebendaries), and terce located in mid-afternoon, not early morning. The author fails fully to explain the series of promotions of the feast of St. George to a greater double in the calendar of the southern province by 1421 by providing a context for what a "double" actually was. The life of the collegiate chapter is approached only by way of its establishment and endowment. But this does

not detract from a book that is a major achievement, founded on dogged archival work, which will be a great help for students of medieval chivalric culture.

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DANIEL LORD SMAIL. *Imaginary Cartographies: Possession and Identity in Late Medieval Marseille*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2000. Pp. xix, 256. \$37.50.

This study examines changes in spatial terminology in the documents of Marseille between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. Daniel Lord Smail concentrates on seventy-two notarial registers from 1337–1362, with a less systematic perusal of other evidence. Where possible, notably in the case of a Provençal cartulary kept between 1349–1353, he compares vernacular spatial terms to the Latin written by the notaries.

In a period long before urban maps, most documents identified persons by status, occupation, or ancestry but rarely by address. Site clauses that do occur in documents issued at Marseille by or concerning the bishops and the city and royal governments usually identify places in terms of islands (city blocks), while most artisans and tradespeople preferred to situate themselves by vicinity or landmark. But for many property transfers and particularly debt recognitions, citizens and public authorities alike used public notaries, who transcribed their oral statements in Provençal into written Latin. The notaries, when they used specific site clauses at all, had a preference that became more pronounced from the late fourteenth century for the more precise “street.” In transcribing into Latin information that had been dictated to them in Provençal, they often changed other forms of site identification to streets, in most cases giving a precise street or alley name to an address that in the vernacular had described locations in relation to vicinity or landmark. This occasional notarial practice, used only in contracts where the client wanted precision, was adopted by public authorities and thus by the fifteenth century was becoming a state form of classifying persons by street address. In using words to describe space that had not been reduced to the graphic representation of a map, the notaries were using the “imaginary cartography” of the book’s title. This book is thus a study of perception and language, at times using jargon (Smail calls the four most commonly used ways of describing location “templates”). Particularly in the early chapters, he speaks of persons borrowing from different linguistic/cartographic templates as though these were conscious acts.

The street plan of the old city was essentially fixed by 1300, with changes thereafter not being in the layout of the city but rather in the terms used to describe space and to identify persons. Early drawings of towns emphasized buildings, often piled together and on top of one another; over time, the buildings became smaller and the streets appeared between them. Cartography thus became street-based, but “the standard-

ization process in cartography was linguistic long before it was graphic” (p. 106). But in extending this to the statement “the gradual elimination of houses and monuments . . . was a dehumanizing process. Trends in graphic cartography conspired to eliminate all reference to people in the urban imagination” (p. 105), Smail goes too far.

In arguing that concern for more precise cartography was not the work of the state but rather of an essentially private although publicly sanctioned body of scribes, Smail disputes the notions that early modern advances in cartography were an expression of a “scientific revolution” and/or that they resulted from state promotion. He thus sees the nation-state as a latecomer to developments that had begun earlier in the private sector. Although he is at pains to point out that the notaries were not consciously trying to impose their way of thought, and particularly that they were not acting as agents of a category-happy state—although the state authorized the notaries, it did not impose specific language on them—he nonetheless insists that language conveys ideology and reflects power, and thus the victory of “street” presupposes that it satisfied the needs of an elite if not of the notaries who used it. I find it difficult to reconcile this argument with Smail’s evidence that the public authorities (bishop and city council) and nobles during the fourteenth century preferred the island and “vicinal” templates to “streets.” I do not see how he can conclude that there was “popular resistance to seigneurial cartography” and that the usage of the curial officials was “too suffused with relations of power to become the norm” (p. 139), when in fact notarial usage only became the norm when the state adopted it.

Smail uses recent work on some English and Italian cities for comparison and finds that Marseille’s experience was unique, but trying to extend the implications systematically beyond Marseille would require another book. This is an important work, establishing a methodology and analytical framework that I hope will inspire studies of these questions of language, perception, and statecraft elsewhere, including the other towns of Provence and cities in the north that were little affected by the culture of the public notaries.

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GEORGES MARTIN, editor. *La historia alfonsín: El modelo y sus destinos (siglos XIII–XV)*. (Collection de la Casa de Velázquez, number 68.) Madrid: Casa de Velázquez. 2000. Pp. 163.

Although even before the death of Ramón Menéndez Pidal in 1968, his grandson Diego Catalán and Catalán’s pupils, not to mention others further afield, had begun hacking away at the textual undergrowth beneath which the historiographical achievement of Alfonso X of Castile (d. 1284) has long lain and still remains buried, for all but foresters with certificates in

Spanish, the latest intelligible account of that remarkable vernacular enterprise has hitherto remained E. S. Procter's (in many ways still admirable) *Alfonso X of Castile* (1951). Hence the importance of this splendidly rich little book containing the texts of six papers presented at a seminar held at the Casa de Velázquez (Madrid) in January 1995, and introduced by a masterly overview by Georges Martin that provides a clear account of the politico-cultural context and moral-cum-didactic purpose of the ill-starred ruler. Inés Fernández-Ordóñez packs into thirty-three pages more insights than most expositors would have found room for in three hundred. Possessed as she is of the knack of avoiding ensnarement in the *silva textual* of the subject, as well as being familiar with the unedited parts of the *Estoria General*, Fernández-Ordóñez provides a pellucid account of the successive versions of the Alfonsine history of Spain. She identifies the ideological features of the three versions produced during Alfonso's lifetime and also of the so-called *Versión retóricamente amplificada* (1289?) and pays particular attention to the content of the *Versión crítica* (the revision of the work datable to 1282–1284 and to parallels between historiographical and legal works issued in the learned king's name. Her essay is an altogether brilliant tour de force. Emerging from the woods, in an exercise in the course of which (p. 77) he makes large claims on behalf of his work on the *Estoria de España* (and why not?), Catalán then takes us back toward, if not into, the woods with a sharp piece on the derivative *Crónica de Castilla* that will force more than one distinguished Hispanist to consider his or her position. The collection is rounded off by three post-Alfonsine pieces: F. Gómez Redondo on the *Crónica de tres reyes* of the 1340s, the authorship of which is confidently attributed to Fernán Sánchez de Valladolid; and M. García on the chronicles of Pero López de Ayala and J.-P. Jardin on the fifteenth century. The link with Alfonso de Palencia and the future of Spanish historiography is almost established. This is an excellent collection that, although the pace has sensibly quickened since 1995 (there is now *Alfonso X el Sabio y las crónicas de España*, edited by Fernández-Ordóñez [2000], to be taken into account), will long remain required reading for students of this fascinating corner of the historiography of old Europe.

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SALLY MCKEE. *Uncommon Dominion: Venetian Crete and the Myth of Ethnic Purity*. (The Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 272. \$37.50.

Crete in the Middle Ages was home to a thriving agricultural and crafts economy, a literate Greek population noted for its poets and artists, and a prosperous Jewish population. A major commercial entrepot, Crete was visited by innumerable merchants and cov-

eted by Byzantines, various Muslim peoples, and the Venetians, who seized the island and ruled it from 1211 until 1669. Current and recent historiography on Crete, from scholars such as Freddy Thiriet working in the 1950s and 1960s, to Silvano Borsari, Elisabeth Santschi, and Dimitris Tsougarakis working in the 1970s and 1980s, to David Jacoby, Elizabeth Zachariadou, and Maria Georgopoulou working in the 1990s, is as international in scope and as thriving as Cretan trade was in the Middle Ages. Sally McKee's wonderful book is a welcome addition to this historiography and focuses on relations between Latins and Greeks in the first two centuries of Venetian dominion. McKee exploits fully the secondary literature and draws on not only official government documents, such as laws, proclamations, conciliar discussions, and various narrative accounts, but also her extensive knowledge of the fourteenth-century protocols of Latin notaries extant today in the Archivio di Stato in Venice. Included in these protocols are the documents that she edited in her three-volume *Wills from Late Medieval Venetian Crete, 1312–1420* (1998).

Chapter one, "The Colony of Crete," introduces Venetian Crete, the initial Latin feudatory group, the Great Council of Crete, the smaller Council of Feudatories, and the Senate. Chapter two, "The Candiotas and their City," explores the Latin feudatory families of Candia, which included all feudatory families as each was obligated to maintain a residence in Crete's major city, and especially the intermarriage with Greek, usually archontic (noble) families. McKee discusses at some length the Calergi family, which pursued a strategy of marital alliances with Venetian feudatory families generation after generation, and the innumerable "natural" (or "illegitimate") progeny of Venetian feudatory males and Greek women, often commoners and occasionally slaves. She also attempts to chart relations between Latin and Greek commoners of Candia, exploring marriages, apprenticeship and other service contracts, and the suggestion in current literature, not wholly justified, that as Latins occupied the city of Candia the Greek inhabitants were pushed outside the walls to the burg. McKee concludes that "despite the Venetian Senate's appeal to 'flesh of our flesh,' the feudatory group was not uniformly 'Latin' in any way corresponding to what could be called objective. The ambiguity of the commoners' ethnicity in the sources reveals a degree of acculturation in daily life that must have made it impossible to distinguish reliably and consistently between Latins and Greeks by sight and sound" (p. 99).

Chapter three, "The Obligation of Our Blood," discusses the cultural markers of religion and language as they relate to ethnicity in Crete. What made the infiltration of Greek nobility into the feudatory class acceptable, she argues, is that they adhered not to the Greek but to the Latin church. Venice and its Latin feudatories exiled the Greek ecclesiastical hierarchy, imported a Latin one along with Latin clergy and some religious orders, banned Greek clergy from studying or

being ordained abroad, but permitted Greek clergy to minister to its Greek flock, which they continued to do throughout the island. In this chapter's concluding section, McKee suggests that the famed Serrata, or closing, of the Great Council of Venice, now understood to be an ongoing process not completed in 1297 but rather in 1422, when more rigorous reforms were enacted, may have resulted from Cretans of mixed Venetian and Greek ancestry finding their way into the Great Council.

Chapter four explores in considerable detail the famous 1363 Revolt of St. Tito. This rebellion was not the first to challenge Venetian authority, but it was the first to be initiated by the Latin colonists, who then allied themselves with the island's Greeks. McKee relies, as others before her have, on published and unpublished proclamations and the accounts by Lorenzo De Monacis, chancellor of Crete from the 1380s until his death in 1428, and Niccolò Trevisan, a provisor from Venice who arrived with a delegation in 1366. Among the rebel government's first acts was the revocation of previous edicts restricting the travel of and ordination of Greek priests. As Venice organized a sizeable army to crush the rebellion, rebels such as the apostate monk Leonardo Gradenigo threatened Latins who did not support the rebels, and apparently joined forces with a Greek monk Milletos, who subsequently set about murdering all Latin feudatories living outside of Candia. As the Latin rebels turned on Milletos and Genoa refused to lend support to the rebel cause, the Venetian army easily reconquered the island in 1364 and continued a substantial and sustained effort over the next four years to track down rebels and root out rebel support from all corners of the island. What McKee brings to this discussion is an unrivalled knowledge of the Latin feudatories; she demonstrates that the Latin feudatory group, riven by factions, had been warring with itself for years if not decades. She suggests once the revolt got out of hand that to see Greek vs. Latin ethnic tensions as driving the rebellion is both inaccurate and reductionist; she maintains that what prolonged the rebellion were elements of a peasants' revolt. A fifth, concluding chapter argues against "The Myth of Ethnic Homogeneity" for Venetian Crete, and given all the destructive uses in history of ethnic and racial myths for everywhere their "dismantling" and "deconstruction."

McKee's book ought to be read by all historians of relations between ethno-religious groups, ethnic identity, medieval colonialism, the Crusades, and the Mediterranean. It is, however, her own attempts at comparison with which I must take issue, and I gather it was a publisher or misguided reader who suggested she add such comparisons to her introduction and conclusion. She writes that "in 1233 he (Jaume I) began the conquest of Muslim Valencia, and later on he conquered the largest of the Balearic Islands, Majorca" (p. 12). The conquest of Majorca took place in the years 1229–1232, that of Valencia in the period 1236 to 1245, and both were more Catalan than Aragonese opera-

tions, just as it was Catalan merchants, not Aragonese, who frequently visited Crete. "Grenada" (p. 12) was conquered by the U.S. Marines in 1980s, and it was Granada that the Castilian and Aragonese crowns, not "crown" and "united" only in marriage and not yet in much else, conquered in the fifteenth century. "Limpieza di sangre" (p. 100) may be akin to the Mediterranean patois issuing on occasion from my own mouth but conforms to none of our standard Romance languages. This is not picayune carping; the Iberian "purity of blood" statutes were a pernicious step away from some medieval ways of perceiving ethnicity, but they had more in common with attempts to close off the Venetian patriciate or minimize Greek penetration of Crete's Latin feudatory class than they did with, as McKee would appear to have it, racist notions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is David Nirenberg, not Nirnberg (p. 256), who wrote the award-winning *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (1996), and it was the scholar of Spanish literature Angus MacKay who was co-editor, with Robert Bartlett, of *Medieval Frontier Societies* (1989). Other mistakes and typographical errors, such as "perjorative" (p. 175) and "jurically" (p. 176), are far more frequent in the introduction and conclusion than the body of this well-constructed study. I disagree with the author's own assessment of Crete as "a colonial backwater if there ever was one in the late medieval period" (p. 52) and do not think that a study of Venetian Crete needs such far-ranging contextualization to justify its existence. If McKee were more familiar with Catalan, Castilian, and Portuguese colonization and resettlement in the Middle Ages, I do think she would take a more expansive view of "colonialism," and it is unfortunate that attempts at such contextualization distract from an otherwise brilliant volume.

Two last comments must be made. First, the author writes that "notarial documents are seldom appealed to in discussions of ethnicity in the history of medieval and Renaissance Europe" (p. xiii), while it might be more accurate to maintain that they are not appealed to often enough. Innumerable studies of slavery, including studies of Genoese and Venetian slavery, utilize notarial documents and discuss the ethnicity of slaves, both in particular and more generally. The second volume of Charles Verlinden's monumental *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale* (1977), not included in her bibliography, contains an eighty-page section, based almost exclusively on notarial documents, on slavery in Venetian Crete. Robert I. Burns's *Jews in the Notarial Culture: Latinate Wills in Mediterranean Spain, 1250–1350* (1996) is but one of many other exceptions to this assertion. Burns proposes that the patterns of Jewish names occurring in Latin notarial documentation can be utilized to reveal Judeo-Arabic or Provençal antecedents, and that the "use of Romance or Romance-modified names can serve as a barometer of assimilation to the surrounding culture" (p. 5). Second, McKee indicates that "tracking eco-

nomic and social changes over the course of the century through the notarial transactions is an imaginative exercise that I have mostly foregone" (p. x11). She nevertheless downplays ethnic divisions and emphasizes class and gender differences on a number of occasions. If Latin commoners and Greek city dwellers rallied initially to the rebel cause in 1363, and the conflagration was fueled by elements of a peasant revolt, it would be useful for readers to have a fuller picture of Greek and Latin urban and rural dwellers, both before and after the Black Death. As McKee so ably demonstrates, the sources exist for such an urban estimation, if not also for a rural one; perhaps the "artisans" and the "commoners" and the "peasants" would emerge as richly variegated and varied over time as Venetian Crete's Latin feudatory class.

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MIKA KALLIOINEN. *Kauppias, Kaupunki, kruunu: Turun porvareyhitys ja talouden organisaatio varhaiskeskiajalta 1570-luvulle*. [The Merchant, the Town, and the Crown: The Burgher Community of Turku and Economic Organization from the Early Middle Ages to the 1570s]. (Bibliotheca Historica, number 59.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 2000. Pp. 344.

Since the second half of the nineteenth century, economic and social history have been prominent areas of Finnish historiography. Finland's medieval towns and their connections with the urban culture and economic system of the Baltic Sea region have been dealt with primarily in works on urban history but also in studies on more limited themes by J. W. Ruuth, who carried out a thorough study of these questions in his histories of Turku and Viipuri, Finland's leading towns of the period, and Gunnar Mickwitz, who made a trailblazing study of the commercial techniques of the late Hanseatic period in the Baltic sphere.

In its choice of theme, Mika Kallioinen's study of the burgher community of Turku, Finland's most important town, and its economic organization from the early Middle Ages to the 1570s belongs to the Finnish tradition of studies in medieval economic and social history. In its theoretical frame of reference, the study is associated with the New Institutional Economics, in particular the work represented by Douglass North. Kallioinen's study seeks to establish the forms of organization of trade in the medieval burgher community, with Turku as a case study.

The research problems fall into four areas: the urban community, its emergence, and its position in the structures of power within society; the burghers as actors and their relationship with the community of their home town; the burghers' means of livelihood, in particular trade and those engaged in it; and the benefits provided by the urban community for the burghers in the practice of trade. One of Kallioinen's main objectives is to investigate the connection between transaction costs—a core concept of the New

Institutional Economics—and institutional and structural change in the urban community during the period studied, and how these costs changed.

In view of these objectives, the available sources offer a disadvantageous basis for the study. A comprehensive picture of the urban community of Turku and its economic activity is not available before the tax and customs records of the 1550s–1570s. For earlier periods, the source material, with the exception of Lübeck and Danzig customs accounts, consists almost uniquely of individual randomly surviving documents. No medieval town council records or merchants' accounts survive from Turku. Kallioinen has carried out a careful study of all available sources and presents a comprehensive documentation of all individual cases with regard to certain important phenomena. His work contains a list of all the burghers of Turku (some 2,000 in number) identified in sources for the years 1316–1571, their nationality, and their years of activity. Therefore, despite the limited source material, Kallioinen's conclusions are considerably more reliable than those of previous researchers dealing with the same questions.

The study is an extensive and comprehensive economic and sociohistorical account of the urban community of Turku, which was in the sphere of the Hanseatic trade throughout the Middle Ages, although not a member of this community. There is also a thorough discussion of the institutions of urban administration and their functions. The recruitment of the burgher class, its geographical origins, internal social mobility, and the relations between its various groups are also treated with thoroughness. The burghers of Turku constituted a considerably open community that could be easily joined. Nor did medieval Turku have a closed patriciate, which was partly related to the fact that long-term burgher families did not form. Instead, the families in question were represented among the burghers only for two, or at most three, generations. Information from the early 1570s, however, shows that affluence had become concentrated in the hands of a small group. One tenth of the taxpayers owned almost two-thirds of all movable taxed property, which included stocks, monies, and precious and other metals. With reference to transactions in land by the burghers of Turku, Kallioinen comes to the conclusion that landed property in Finland was already within the sphere of a market economy in the late Middle Ages. However, in view of the fact that the transactions in land of the burghers of Turku concentrated on the environs of the town and that over ninety percent of all landed property in the country was in the allodial-type possession of freeholders, Kallioinen does not have sufficient grounds for conclusions of such a far-reaching nature.

The author reviews the Turku burghers' forms of economic activity particularly from the perspective of minimizing risks and transaction costs. In Turku, as elsewhere in the Baltic region, merchants sought to minimize risks in a variety of ways. In the sphere of

ship owning, which required capital, the prevailing (although not unique) practice was shareholding, although the vessels of the town were small in comparison with those of the Hanseatic towns of the South Baltic. Partnerships with burghers of other towns, such as Danzig, were used to some extent in business operations by the merchants and traders of Turku, but it remained most common to operate without partners. The most common form of business operations in the late Middle Ages was for a merchant to commission the shipper in question to sell the goods he sent abroad. In this form of trade, risks were minimized by the trader sending his goods for sale abroad in several small shipments, with each cargo containing consignments from several merchants. Kallioinen also underlines the importance of the town councils in promoting the predictability of foreign trade and the security of commercial enterprise. He presents as a general observation that, during the late Middle Ages, both transaction and transport costs dropped in the Baltic sphere, even though no quantitative calculations can be given in support of this conclusion.

Kallioinen's study is, generally speaking, a careful work, but I cannot concur with all of his conclusions. In some connections, he appears to include the crown castle in Turku in the urban community, even though the town and the castle were at a distance of roughly two kilometers in the Middle Ages. Moreover, identification of burghers with different name variants as the same persons is not convincing in all cases (for example, Detmar Lüdenschien of Turku and Detmarus de Lynde of Riga). Appendix three, on the ownership of land by burghers, does not unequivocally indicate when reference is made to the burgomaster and nobleman Erik Fleming or to his relative, Privy Councillor Erik Fleming. Archbishop Jakob Ulfsson's name is given as Jakob Olofsson.

As a whole, Kallioinen's study can be described as a careful re-examination of the medieval economic and social history of Turku. It is characterized by a descriptive approach and a rich presentation of individual cases. The phenomena of economic activity are treated more thoroughly and analytically than in previous studies. Owing largely to the disadvantages of the source material, however, the discussion on cost factors influencing commercial activity remains at the level of general observations.

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National Archives of Finland

SERGEI BOGATYREV. *The Sovereign and His Counsellors: Ritualised Consultations in Muscovite Political Culture, 1340s-1570s*. (Humaniora, number 307.) Tuusula, Finland: Academia Scientiarum Fennica; distributed by Bookstore Tiedekirja, Helsinki. 2000. Pp. 297.

Sergei Bogatyrev's new book offers yet another examination of the role of consultation at the court of the Muscovite grand princes and tsars, from the formation and consolidation of the Muscovite principality in the

fourteenth century through the period of Ivan the Terrible's *Oprichnina*, when the tsar divided his realm in two and unleashed a reign of terror, particularly devastating his own elite ranks.

The topic of the tsar's council has already consumed many pages of scholarly print in an unbroken line of publications dating from the eighteenth century to the past few years. The historiography on the topic has largely concerned the so-called (and misnamed) Boyar Duma or Boyar Council, an institution that appears not to have existed under that name, although boyars and others certainly met in council to think and consult with the ruler. From the first pages, Bogatyrev sets out his fundamental premise, which is that consultation was an important part of governance in medieval and early modern Russia. According to Bogatyrev, the tsar ruled jointly with his elite inner circle; the tradition of consultation with good and pious men was not mere show but rather was an integral part of Russian political tradition. Following a line of argument most powerfully articulated in the work of Robert O. Crumme, Nancy Shields Kollmann, and Daniel B. Rowland, Bogatyrev accepts that consultation was a required element of Russian rulership and that this tradition derived in large part from a theologically informed political culture. Boyars, princes, and counselors played the part of apostles to the tsar's role as leader appointed by God, and as good, wise, and pious counselors, the advisers participated in every aspect of rule. Bogatyrev emphasizes that the tsar nonetheless retained the ultimate voice in decision making and was able to act independently from his advisers when he so chose, by invoking his religious duty to punish the sinful and cleanse the realm of impurity.

Having established the importance of consultation in Russian theory and practice, Bogatyrev then examines the various categories and subcategories of advisers who peopled the sovereign's court. He argues that there was a separate body of advisers known as the Privy Council, which served as the real advisory panel, with privileged access to the person of the tsar. This group was at once a more exclusive and more varied one than the larger set of boyars. It included some boyars and some men bearing other titles and statuses, and its membership, according to Bogatyrev, depended on the needs of the state, the favor of the tsar, the skill of the individual, and relations of kinship and marriage within the court. Tracing the composition of this inner group over time, the author demonstrates an increasing reliance on the administrative skills of professional administrators over the course of the sixteenth century. He shows that the inner core included a changing group, particularly during the tumultuous years of the *Oprichnina*, when men moved in and out rapidly due to disgrace or, more terminally, execution.

In his examination of the make-up of the Privy Council, Bogatyrev devotes the middle chapters of the book to lengthy discussions of the cast of characters he identifies as members of the favored elite in each passing year. He shows himself well read and informed

on the minutiae, although not all of his claims for inclusion or exclusion of particular individuals seem overwhelmingly convincing.

The book makes several interpretive claims. Most broadly, it argues for a long, indigenous tradition of consultative rule, deriving from medieval models of godly kingship and household administration. It argues for change over time, with the increasing inclusion of skilled administrators in the charmed inner circle. In one of the most interesting discussions, it interweaves these two themes in order to explain the sixteenth-century innovation of consultation with "all the land" as an organic outgrowth of the tradition of consultation, which merged with the tsar's growing need for information and broad consensus. The book tends to diminish the extremity of the *Oprichnina* and to normalize the reign of Ivan the Terrible. Bogatyrev finds a high degree of coordination between the *Oprichnina* and *Zemshchina* administrations during the entire period. He also finds continuity, particularly of the titled princely elite, within the inner council during the *Oprichnina* years, a conclusion very much in agreement with other studies of the period, such as Ann Kleimola's series of publications on the subject. He suggests, rather vaguely, that the *Oprichnina* itself was an outgrowth of strains within the Privy Council.

This is a useful book to have available in English, as most of the recent works on the sovereign's court, such as those by A. P. Pavlov, A. I. Filiushkin, and M. M. Krom, have been in Russian only. The book offers an enormous amount of material, including passages from literary, administrative, and diplomatic texts, to an English-speaking audience.

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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

ANNA FOA. *The Jews of Europe after the Black Death*. Translated by ANDREA GROVER. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 276. \$40.00.

Anna Foa is not the first European historian to construct a new synthetic history of the Jews in the late medieval/early modern period. The books of John Edwards and Jonathan Israel quickly come to mind, especially the latter's highly influential *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism 1550-1750* (3d ed., 1998). Like the others, Foa attempts to understand both the external and internal history of Jews and Jewish culture without access to primary and secondary sources in Hebrew, although to her credit, she has read much recent work in other European languages. Unlike Israel, she implicitly rejects the notion of a distinct "early modern" period and prefers to speak of a "long 'Middle Ages' of Jewish history, which ended only at the dawn of emancipation" (p. 219).

One might legitimately ask: why a new synthesis at this point? What does Foa offer either the specialist or

the layreader in her "richly innovative history of Jewish life in Europe" (as the cover jacket claims)? She claims she is writing a new history, a history of creativity on the part of active protagonists, overcoming the previous conceptions of "lachrymose history"; she is offering a new vision of transformation and intrinsic change, challenging an alleged static image of premodern Jewry; and she is connecting Jewish history to a "surrounding milieu," drawing on tools of the social sciences and non-Jewish historiography (pp. 219-20).

To any student of Jewish history in this period, these assertions cannot be taken seriously. Given the explosion of new and sophisticated historical writing on every subject Foa touches, the claim that she is correcting a lachrymose history, one that sees premodern Jewry as static, unconnected to its surroundings, and unaware of social science tools and non-Jewish historiography, is simply unwarranted. Given her heavy reliance on contemporary historians of the Jewish experience, it is even insulting.

What is new about Foa's approach is her insistence that the Black Death was a watershed in Jewish history and should serve as a meaningful divide between an earlier period and a later one, which she traces until the nineteenth century. This emphatic claim is not based on any original research but on the standard accounts of the plague and its impact on Europe in general. There is no doubt that the Black Plague had a considerably disastrous effect on German Jewry, but as she herself acknowledges, its effect elsewhere was not as decisive. It is also unclear in her account how the plague is to be connected with the other critical experiences that followed: the Renaissance, the expulsions, the ghettos, and beyond. Nor is it apparent that the processes of deterioration in Jewish-Christian relations were triggered by the plague and not by developments discussed extensively by other historians in the thirteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. Additionally, Foa offers no rationale for seeing a distinct period from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century. Her afterword on twentieth-century events seems artificially tacked on, lacking any clear connection to the previous chapters.

Foa's book, as she indicates, is exclusively about Western Europe, and her focus is primarily on Spain and especially Italy. She justifies her omission of the Jewries of the Ottoman Empire and Eastern Europe, the major centers of Jewish life from the sixteenth century on, as taking "us too far afield" (p. 5), but this is clearly unsound. A book treating the Jews of Europe in this era cannot fail to take into account the larger migratory patterns of Jews from the fifteenth century on and the subsequent new centers of Jewish settlement and creativity. Her account is not only limited; it distorts the wider picture. When she claims that Jewish population in the areas she is treating was contracting, she fails to see this in relation to the larger picture of population growth elsewhere (e.g. p. 8).

Foa's chapters on the church and the Jews, on Spain and Italy, on the ghetto, and on more modern times

are essentially competent summaries of other historians' work. Her most expansive and authoritative chapters deal with Italy, and given the genesis of this work in her *Ebrei in Europa: Dalla peste nera all'emancipazione XIV-XVIII secolo* (1992), this emphasis is understandable. Viewing a history of European Jewry over five centuries through the lens of Italy perhaps made more sense when addressing an Italian readership. In its English version, the Italianate focus distorts the larger picture. The book is handsomely produced and elegantly translated (by Andrea Grover) and contains a useful bibliography. But it claims too much in allegedly providing a meaningful picture of European Jewry as a whole, and in offering new insights based on original research.

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OLE PETER GRELL, ANDREW CUNNINGHAM, and JON ARRIZABALAGA, editors. *Health Care and Poor Relief in Counter-Reformation Europe*. New York: Routledge. 1999. Pp. ix, 309.

The twelve essays and editors' introduction under review are the product of a tightly focused conference. Each contributor undertook a survey of ways that church, state, and municipalities in Italy, Iberia, France, and Catholic Germany saw their obligations for health care and poor relief during the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. Each contributor supplied substantial archival evidence and addressed, at varying lengths, how Tridentine reforms made a difference in welfare services for the indigent. Conceived as a project within the social history of medicine, the contributors—too many to list here—all have considerable expertise in medical history of this period. Yet only about half of the essayists struggle to connect ideas and practices of poor relief to the medical ideas, innovations, and practitioners that one would find in standard medical history. A few note that church censorship of books and ideas, while having no direct target in the realm of medicine, distanced the intellectual elite of southern Europe from the Cartesian, mechanistic "conversation" transforming medical science in the north.

Most of the contributors seem to assume that the arena of Catholic social services and health care for the poorest Christians instead offered few opportunities for elite medical practitioners to earn money or to conduct any medical research of interest to them. Medicine, traditionally understood, was simply not yet the objective of poor relief. A number of large cities had begun consolidation of medieval hospitals into one or two great institutions long before the Council of Trent opened in 1543. In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, consolidation and centralization of hospital and welfare services was motivated by growing numbers of mendicants and refugees, by Catholic reform unfolding parallel to the Protestant Reformation, by intensified fear of the poor as disease carriers

and fuel for epidemics, and by the plans of strong monarchs and dukes to impose fiscal, managerial control over pious bequests and properties. With the possible exception of the new "French" disease, epidemic typhus fever, and recurrent plagues, most of the secular and religious reformers before Trent had no direct interest in medicine. Neither do the authors here make other connections between this pre-Vesalius period and Catholic welfare reform, other than to note that some great hospitals designed wards where medical services were important.

After Trent, the objectives of Counter Reformationists are well known: public morality, "Christianization" of ill-taught masses, protection of female chastity, and the use of hospitals to distribute above all else food, doctrinal instruction, and spiritual care. This collection of essays efficiently summarizes the emergence and popularity of numerous service and healing orders over the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, some of which had explicit missions among the sick. Capuchin and Camillian monks were at their social zenith from the 1570s to the 1650s, if selfless dedication to the plague-stricken can be seen as a "zenith." Theatines maintained their thankless ministrations to the pox-stricken, Antonines to those suffering from ergotism or "fire." Followers of Saint John of God (Brothers of Charity) were especially aggressive in collecting alms and building hospices for the poor, and they took a broad enough definition of their medical mission to become renowned as lithotomists in some parts of France. The Portuguese Mercedarians exported such models of Christian healing throughout the world, while the Castilians may have used their larger world as a pious laboratory to experiment with models of Christian care that politically or economically could not be implemented easily at home. Finally, the singular efforts of Saint Vincent de Paul in seventeenth-century France opened the way for women in medicalized nursing, arguing that thorough "Christianization" of nonaristocratic women led a group used to hard work and care-giving to the spiritual benefits of sacrifice to the poor.

Beneath the surface of such particulars—far more abundant in the volume than can be summarized here—lies the weight of suggestion that the Counter Reformation coincided with an almost two-century interval of relentless economic depression. The introduction, as is typical in such efforts, synthesizes the contributions for readers who will not pore over the contents. But it is impossible to estimate, even with the hints and references some contributors provide, the extent to which Catholic Europe faced greater burdens of abject urban and rural poverty. Certainly the authors all emphasize that there were few absolute differences between the ways Protestants and Catholics "gazed" upon, and crafted governmental or religious or theological responses to, beggars. Certainly the essays collectively show that all charity was local, despite generalizations one would like to make about themes, strategies, and perspectives. Only in a few

instances, and those quite late in the time period covered, is there a programmatic aspect to Catholic welfare provision over a wider geographical region. But assessment of the structural economic framework of Catholic Europe generally—the dimension of the problem for which Christian charity had to be invented or reinvented—is not at issue in the volume. There will always be poor, pathetically struggling, we must assume, and so we focus on who will serve and who will be served.

This reviewer's hope for some editorial "epilogue," or some consensus by the contributors in the conference aftermath is not yet in vogue among historians. A collection this strong, on an important topic, appears as string of jeweled beads: each essay will carry its individual value if separated. But unlike contemporary collaborations in the sciences and social sciences, assessing the nature of the string—the fundamental, overarching, working conclusions that can be drawn from state-of-the-art research—has not tempted most of the participants. Some of the essays here include delicious details of medical-career building in the great charitable hospitals, of the uses of the poor as much as teaching material for medical students as opportunities for the salvation of souls. The very localness of most welfare decision making over long periods of time; the production of pharmaceuticals by enterprising caregivers, too penurious to scabble with the marketplace; the protection of physicians' and surgeons' sources of income by limiting medical care in religious institutions; the rarely questioned need to exclude with moral justifications some ill or indigent from the meager benefits of available care: all of these features of early modern Christian medicine have comfortably survived. Traditional medical history, as contemporary medicine, chooses not to see how fundamentally these approaches and attitudes have lain alongside the development of medicine as a science. Social history of medicine must attempt the connection.

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BERNHARD ZIMMERMANN. *Europe und die griechische Tragödie: Vom kultischen Spiel zum Theater der Gegenwart*. (Europäische Geschichte.) Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch. 2000. Pp. 220. DM 23.90.

Appearing in a series on European history, this book's primary value is to certify drama as evidence for history and the central place in Athenian history of dramatic and dithyrambic poetry. Bernhard Zimmermann offers the general reader an overview of Greek tragedy and its continuing life in European culture. The well-arranged selected bibliography indicates many of the special studies of this vast subject. The book is fitted out with a moderately helpful glossary, indexes, a chronological table, and a sketchy, unnecessary genealogical chart. The instructive style some-

times results in formulations more plausible than the evidence allows (such as the chapter on the origins of drama). It often skips from one topic to another, with some inconsistencies: that reproductions were not permitted until 386 B.C. (p. 10) is modified later (pp. 40, 67, and 72) by reference to fifth-century reproductions of Aeschylus. But this relaxed organization is not unpleasant and shows how wide the treatment of ancient drama must be: Zimmermann's description of what happened on each day of the City Dionysia deals as well with the history of each activity and related phenomena. So, for example, the description of the first day includes an overview of the development and importance of the dithyramb as a confirmation of the "new democratic consciousness" of the people (p. 29). But if dithyramb is the "real genre of the Attic people" (p. 30), one would like further explanation as to why poets of aristocratic mind like Pindar were employed to compose for it.

The title's implied promise of reviewing the influence of Greek tragedy throughout the European tradition is met best in separate essays on the reception of each of the three main tragedians and separate chapters on: the choral tradition, tragic theory, the meaning of *tragikos* and *tragic*, and the (particularly) nineteenth-century German interest in the concepts *dithyrambic* and *Dionysiac*. But the treatment of later European versions of Greek tragedy is very selective, and the short list of modern titles (pp. 206–207) must reflect the last century's especially popular interest in the myths of Oedipus and Electra.

The author rightly points to the influence of Greek tragedy as word, spectacle, and music on Richard Wagner's concept of Greek tragedy as a *Gesamtkunstwerk* (see pp. 150 and 185). But in this intellectual history Wagner's importance should not completely overshadow the broadening scope of classical studies already in progress well before his reading of Greek tragedy in the Gustav Droysen translation in 1847 or *Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft* (1859). Philosophers like G. W. F. Hegel and scholars like Karl Ottfried Müller helped create the modern *Altertumswissenschaft* that is basically represented by Zimmermann's work. This is the comprehensive area-studies approach to antiquity that American classicists tend to mean by "philology." Additions and disagreements aside, this book presents a stimulating exposition of a cornerstone of our cultural history.

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JOHN TORPEY. *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship and the State*. (Cambridge Studies in Law and History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 211. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.95.

With the world awash in refugees, immigrants, "guest workers," travelers, and the occasional terrorist, an interpretive study of identity papers and passports is certainly timely—the more so since even as the admin-

istrative reach of individual states keeps growing with modern technology, international norms of human rights and a movement toward open borders in Europe work, ostensibly, to limit state power.

The historical sociologist John Torpey is well equipped to address these issues. By training he is equally respectful of historical detail and nuance and of the interpretive arguments in contemporary social science put forward by such scholars as Rogers Brubaker and Gérard Noiriel. While contributing to the literature on "the institutionalist construction of the nation-state," Torpey does so as a well-grounded Europeanist, especially comfortable talking in depth about France and Germany. True, his study is not globally comparative, and he seems to consider communist practice in the twentieth century ephemeral and scarcely worth dwelling on. Nonetheless, his canvass is wide and does ample justice to his subject.

What, exactly, is that subject, one might ask? The book traces a clash of historical trends in the West. On one side stands the intensifying attempt by European states to "embrace" their subjects or citizens (otherwise known as state penetration or surveillance and control), which dates from the era of absolutism and accelerated in modern times. But this inexorable trend collided with the liberal ideal of freedom of movement, as proclaimed in the opening stage of the French Revolution. This first attempt to end state controls on freedom of movement soon derailed in the face of emigration by implacable foes of the revolution. Successive responses to counterrevolution, real and imagined, ended up burying the ideal altogether. By the time the Thermidorian Convention turned to this issue, it found itself codifying older traditions of restrictions on both foreigners and vagabonds.

The history of internal passports and identity documents in earlier times (such as the French *aveu* or local attestation of good conduct, whose absence stigmatized the almost mythological *gens sans aveu*) reveals markers in the "nationalization of political space" at the expense of parochial municipal definitions of citizenship, and in "the bureaucratic codification of social marginality" in relation to vagabondage and allocation of poor relief. Identity documents also stand alongside the secularized French *état civil* of 1792 and the first censuses circa 1800 in advancing the state's desire generally to identify, track, and if need be control its citizens for such purposes as conscription. But these same states also wished to promote the well-being of their respectable citizens who had to travel abroad. Passports, as Torpey shows in detail, must be viewed from two administrative perspectives: the country of the person's origin, and the country of destination.

The notion of freedom of movement, however, did not depend on the liberal ideology of 1789 alone; it was taken up later for entirely different reasons by interests advocating unfettered market capitalism, which required a "free" labor force of whatever provenance. "The burgeoning fortunes of economic liberalism made free circulation appear an unavoidable necessity

for industrial development," Torpey argues (p. 56), and he illustrates with an illuminating discussion of Germany and a revealing comparative excursus on Britain. Various German states were not happy about emigration (mercantilist doctrines, ingrained traditions of control, and fears of depopulation still had writ), but gradually they relaxed controls on movement. Freedom of exit did not progress as rapidly as the freedom to settle anywhere within the German states, but progress it did.

In Britain, the optic differed. The Aliens Restriction Act of 1836 led to the elimination of controls on internal movements and the displacement of those controls to the national borders so as to prevent an excessive influx of foreign laborers. Conversely, the North German Confederation opened its domestic labor market to all comers, German or foreign, since Prussia, unlike the British, feared a shortage of indigenous labor for economic development. Torpey's discussion of Germany illustrates how freedom of movement could be reconciled with identifying persons for purposes of administration and policing. Nonetheless the trend in North Germany was to "decriminalize" travel, even for the lower orders or so-called dangerous classes. The law promoted the shift from documentary controls on movement to documentary substantiation of identity. Few readers would likely have anticipated Torpey's striking conclusion that, in the later nineteenth century, "passport requirements fell away throughout Western Europe, useless paper barriers to a world in prosperous motion" (pp. 88, 92).

Not that there has been a linear development toward maximal individual freedom of movement. There is the United States, with its Chinese exclusion acts and national origins immigration quotas; the analogous fears that arose in Germany over a flood tide of Slavic immigrants; and the very different concern in Italy over the hemorrhaging of its population through emigration, with the corollary challenge of defending Italian nationals from ill treatment abroad. Finally, in the face of two world wars, the tides of liberal economic interests and ideologies could scarcely deter a reversion to greater controls over citizens and foreigners. In stark contrast to the preceding period, much of the twentieth century saw stringent requirements for identity documents and passports.

Here the refugee and the stateless person bursts onto center stage. The Nansen passports—contrived to aid Russians who had fled from Bolshevik tyranny and who might otherwise have become stateless—mark a first small step toward a kind of humane international law on refugees. Alas, this doctrine did not develop sufficiently in the interwar period to provide much help to German and European Jews desperate to escape the Nazi's new order. The remainder of the last chapter ("From National to Postnational?") deals with recent attempts to create a common European passport and with the unseemly impact that postcolonial emigration from former British dominions has had on notions of British citizenship. A concluding section

offering "a typology of 'papers'" recapitulates some of the general points in this original and suggestive book.

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ANDREAS FAHRMEIR. *Citizens and Aliens: Foreigners and the Law in Britain and the German States, 1789–1870*. (Monographs in German History, number 5.) New York: Berghahn Books. 2000. Pp. xiii, 258. \$69.95.

The growth of the historiography of immigration into Britain during the last two decades has meant that most of the major communities in the country have now received a significant amount of scholarly attention, particularly those who arrived after 1800. In contrast, while immigration and nationality policies after 1945 have received intense scrutiny, the question of law and the alien before 1900 hardly exists. We must therefore welcome Andreas Fahrmeir's pioneering study. It is not just a study of Britain but contrasts that country with the German states before 1871. In this sense, the book resembles the much praised work of Rogers Brubaker on citizenship in France and Germany. Unlike Brubaker, however, Fahrmeir examines a narrower time frame and comes to more tentative conclusions. Fahrmeir recognizes the differences between Britain and Germany but does not claim that British and German laws differed fundamentally. In fact, the most important contribution of Fahrmeir's work is precisely the fact that he has, in a very subtle, sober, and understated way, asked us to rethink the importance of nationality, citizenship, and immigration control in early nineteenth-century Europe.

Fahrmeir's rigorous study depends on a large number of primary sources, and it does appear that he has used all of the necessary material, although he seems to have concentrated on states in the south in his account of Germany. In the British sections, he has used all of the Public Record Office material, as well as the printed government documentation. The use of such information inevitably means that the narrative remains rather dry in places, particularly as the book essentially represents an example of legal history. Fahrmeir tries to bring his narrative to life with accounts of individual experiences of dealing with a particular aspect of nationality or citizenship laws, which he has extracted from particular archives. The author has used all of the secondary sources dealing with issues of citizenship and immigration in Britain and Germany during his period.

As well as its empirical strengths, the book also demonstrates Fahrmeir's comfort in dealing with theory at the beginning and in the conclusion. Nevertheless, this is not a work of theory. Instead, it is a classic historical monograph in which the facts form the basis of the argumentation. We might criticize the author for not revealing his own position more overtly, as he writes about a subject area—the history of nationalism and its consequences—in which much controversy exists. Controls of foreign populations represent one

major manifestation of nationalism, as Fahrmeir demonstrates. In his theoretical conclusion, he divides writers on nationalism into primordialists and nationalists and tentatively places himself into the latter camp, as revealed in his final statement that, while the French Revolution and its ideas may "have done much to supplant the various inequalities of the *ancien régime*," they "have left us" with "the inequality between citizens and aliens."

The rigor with which Fahrmeir tackles his subject deserves comment, because he has dealt with all aspects of the relationship of the German states and Britain with aliens. Thus, after his first chapter, which defines citizenship in Germany and Britain during the nineteenth century, he moves on to consider naturalization in the next one. In chapter three, he tackles passports. In his fourth chapter, he deals with all remaining aspects of residence abroad.

Fahrmeir has produced a genuine comparative history, even if the narrative describes the situation in the German states before dealing with Britain. He concludes that the former controlled both its own and foreign citizens more closely than the latter did. Nevertheless, he does not fall into the trap of glorifying "liberal England." Fahrmeir also makes comparisons with other European states, including France. His narrative depends on the fact that the different German states of the early nineteenth century had their own nationality legislation, which did not completely disappear after 1871. In this way, he questions the Brubaker view of German nationality.

Fahrmeir has produced an extremely important monograph on the presence of aliens in two parts of Europe during the nineteenth century. He seems to have used all of the available sources and covers all aspects of immigration and nationality controls in meticulous detail. The volume represents a major contribution to our understanding of the legal position of aliens in modern European history.

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ALLAN MITCHELL. *The Great Train Race: Railways and the Franco-German Rivalry, 1815–1914*. New York: Berghahn Books. 2000. Pp. xv, 328. \$59.95.

The title of this work suggests a rather more exciting book than it actually is. In fact, it is a study of French and German railway construction and operation in the nineteenth century through to World War I. Allan Mitchell focuses attention on three main themes: administrative organization, strategic motives and economic competition. He divides the period into three smaller units: 1815–1870, 1870–1890, and 1890–1914, dealing with the two countries separately for each period, followed by a comparative chapter in each case.

Despite a large scholarly effort, not a lot emerges from this work that is either new or stimulating. The divergence between France and Germany is obvious

enough: mainly private companies in France as against state ventures in Germany; greater regional particularism in Germany because of vested state interests as opposed to more centralization in France; and frequent attempts at state regulation of the railways in both cases. However, neither country ended up with a truly national and integrated network. The question is which country got the better system? Germany had more railways, but it was larger, and they were more regionalized than the French. And how efficient and economic were the respective systems? Were they better than the haphazardly developed British system to which the author unfortunately makes no reference? How important were they for their respective economies? Mitchell frequently cites scattered data on these matters, but there is no real attempt to assess their economic significance in the light of more modern research work on the impact of railways.

It would be instructive to learn more about the economic performance of the railways and also their comparative efficiency, since these fields of study have been relatively neglected with regard to continental European railways. Also of interest is the role of the state in the regulation of the railways. Almost from the beginning, the state took an active interest in their construction, development, and their operation, perceiving them to be a social utility to be controlled and regulated in the public interest. This was even true of liberal Britain, where control of rates and charges became a very live issue in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The chief question is: did state intervention actually improve matters, or did it inhibit commercial practices to such an extent that it led to suboptimal returns and hence reduced investment? Mitchell touches on many of these issues but rather tantalizingly the reader seeks in vain to find very specific answers.

The strategic or military aspects of railway building were much in evidence in this period, as was the case in many continental countries (in contrast to the British experience). Yet the final outcome was not always a very happy one, as Russia found out later. In France and Germany, the railways did play a pivotal role in wartime, but mainly in the initial stages of hostilities. In the crucial contest—World War I—it is doubtful if either side could claim to have the upper hand in the movement of troops and resources. Although essential for the conveyance of the latter to the battle zones, the role of the railways was somewhat short-lived. As Mitchell points out, the scene of action passed from the trains to the trenches when “the front became a war of mud rather than movement.” “After a few hours of journey in a railway coach and a prolonged exhausting march on foot, they [the troops] were likely to spend subsequent months standing in place, facing a wall of dirt” (p. 267).

Mitchell has raised many issues with regard to French and German railways in particular and continental railways in general. If he does not provide all the answers, his book may well stimulate other scholars

to take up the challenge and explore some of the neglected areas of railway development and operation in greater depth.

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CHRISTOPH JAHR. *Gewöhnliche Soldaten: Desertion und Deserteure im deutschen und britischen Heer 1914–1918*. (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 123.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1998. Pp. 419. DM 78.

The ghosts of the Great War haunt us still. After all these years and many books, you would think that these old ghosts had long since been laid to rest. But, as the popular success of John Keegan's recent book, *The First World War* (1999), demonstrates, the Great War remains very much with us. We still need to think and talk about the war, it seems, and Christoph Jahr is an important new participant in this conversation.

Jahr's book is a comparative study of desertion in the British and German armies during World War I. Desertion, of course, was perhaps the decisive event in the war. The war ended not with a climactic battle but with mass desertion and social and military collapse, first in Russia, very nearly in France, and then in Austria-Hungary and Germany. Until now, though, no one has seriously studied desertion. Thus, Jahr's work explores all but unknown terrain.

The book is organized into six large chapters. The first sketches the relationship between military and society in Britain and Germany. The second focuses on the war itself and particularly on the British and German military justice systems. The heart of the work is chapters three and four, which examine the deserters and the ways the two militaries responded to them. Chapter five relates desertion to nationalism by studying the roles of ethnic minorities in the two armies: Alsations in the German army, and Irish in the British army. Finally, chapter six considers the “political echo” of the desertion issue: that is, how debates about desertion and military justice shaped the British and German armies that would fight World War II.

Systematic analysis is Jahr's task, and it is done very well. Anyone who forgets that history really is and ought to be in large part an empirical social science might well examine Jahr's work. Jahr painstakingly examines long lost trial records, legal texts, and military justice reports, and although some of his findings are familiar, he also turns up some surprising results. The German army, for example, executed eighteen deserters during the war, while the smaller British army executed a shocking 269. German military justice was in many ways closer to the norms of civil justice than was British military justice. The German army was a mass army, and although this contributed mightily to Germany's authoritarianism and militarism, it also meant that military institutions, like the military justice system, were significantly influenced by civilian justice. The British army, to the contrary, was a small,

socially isolated, professional force, and its justice system was shaped not by civilian norms but almost exclusively by military imperatives.

Both armies had a rather difficult time defining desertion and devising effective deterrents for it. Often commanders were reluctant to report it, because a high desertion rate reflected badly on an officer's leadership. Punishing desertion by imprisonment typically backfired; prison for many soldiers was preferable to the trenches. Commanders knew that shooting deserters could have a brutal effect on both military and civilian morale. Jahr convincingly demonstrates that the question of desertion can be a remarkably fruitful perspective from which to examine soldiers' morale, the evolution of the British and German military systems, and the relationship in both Britain and Germany of military to polity. His concluding observations about the legacy of the desertion issue are especially striking. In Britain, after the war, there was a determined effort to inject civilian values into the military. As a result, in World War II, the British did not execute a single soldier for desertion. In Germany, after the war, desertion became entangled in the massive blaming that gave rise to the "stab-in-the-back" legend. Deserters, together with Jews, and all the others, were blamed for Germany's defeat. Once in power, the Nazis created a draconian military justice system, and in World War II, the Germany army, which had executed only eighteen deserters in World War I, executed at least ten thousand.

Jahr's study is an impressive example of solid research and sustained analysis. He effectively joins military, legal, intellectual, and political history to produce a powerful new vision of that terrifying old war that refuses to leave us alone.

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MOGENS PELT. *Tobacco, Arms and Politics: Greece and Germany from World Crisis to World War, 1929–41*. (Studies in Twentieth and Twenty-First Century European History, number 1.) Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum. 1998. Pp. 342. \$46.00.

This book has been translated from the original Danish. A Danish school of specialists in modern Greek history has developed in the last two decades with excellent results (see Lars Bærentzen, Lars Nørgaard, and Ole L. Smith, *Mens vi venter: Studier i det moderne Graekenlands historie* [1980]). Because these Danish scholars know both Greek and German, they have been able to consult important sources not readily accessible to many English-speaking scholars.

For states of limited size belonging to the realm of the developing non-West, like Greece, which lack vital economic or strategic importance for the Western powers, historical studies tend to be limited in number and in depth. Mogens Pelt's study is the only one that has appeared on the subject since my own some years

ago (see Dimitri Kitsikis, *He Hellas tes 4es Augoustou kai hai Megalai Dynameis* [1974]), and it is indeed excellent: very clearly presented and agreeable to read. Based mainly on German sources, it gives special importance to Hermann Göring, whom Adolf Hitler appointed to head the Reich's Raw Material and Foreign Exchange Office. Pelt clearly explains the crucial importance of German trade relations, preferably bilateral rather than multilateral, to its conduct of foreign relations; the exclusive use of countertrade, called clearing trade, which made it possible to buy Greek tobacco without the transfer of currency; the build-up of Greek military defense made possible by the supply of German armaments (Greece had to spend the tobacco payments deposited by the German government in an account in Berlin on purchases in Germany); and the maritime position of Greece, which obliged the pro-German head of the country, Ioannes Metaxas, to pursue a pro-British policy. In 1938, the Greek merchant fleet was the ninth largest in the world, and the Greek flag ranked as number four in British ports. The massive rearmament program, based on national self-sufficiency and sustained industrial growth, promoted a pro-labor policy that gave the Greek nation the material and psychological means to defend itself against the 1940 Italian aggression. Contrary to the misleading arguments of the Venizelist opposition, which pretended that Greece was caught unprepared on the Albanian front in 1940, Pelt concludes that "The policy of the Metaxas regime can best be described as one of national efficiency, modernization and integration" (p. 63).

An important contribution is made by the chapter that deals with the participation of Greece in the international arms trade. During World War I, the Istanbul Greek arms merchant Sir Basil Zaharoff had become famous and had armed the Greek war against Turkey in 1919–1923. Another Greek from Turkey, Athanasiades Bodosakis, owner of the Greek Powder and Cartridge Company, participated in the arming of the Spanish Civil War of 1936–1939. According to an American journalist of that time, the arms trade was Greece's second largest source of income, after tobacco—a statement confirmed by the present study.

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ARISTOTLE A. KALLIS. *Fascist Ideology: Territory and Expansionism in Italy and Germany, 1922–1945*. New York: Routledge. 2000. Pp. ix, 286. \$85.00.

MACGREGOR KNOX. *Common Destiny: Dictatorship, Foreign Policy, and War in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 262. \$27.95.

These two titles exemplify a recent scholarly tendency to elucidate the mysteries of generic fascism by means of comparative history. Published within months of each other, they are remarkably similar in conceptual

outlook and procedural method. If not exactly twins, they are certainly siblings.

The premise of both books is that Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler alike were programmatic thinkers with a consistent geopolitical *Weltanschauung*, and that their expressed views require more serious attention than they often receive. "Both leaders repeated the themes of constant struggle, elitism and living space with a consistency throughout the lifespan of their regimes which should not be dismissed *a priori* as mere propaganda or bluff" (Kallis, p. 59); "In both cases the dictators expressed at the beginning of their careers coherent ideologies that were not necessarily entirely popular or plausible, and continued to profess those ideas both publicly and privately throughout. The steady radicalization of their policies suggests an attempt to bring practice into line with theory" (Knox, p. 59).

Aristotle A. Kallis and MacGregor Knox both start with an analysis of the "separateness" of prefascist Italy and Germany from the general Western European pattern of development, isolating the nationalist preoccupations of these "late comers" to great power status that the fascists would later feed on. The historiographical context here is the well-rehearsed continuity-discontinuity controversy. Each book then proffers a chapter on the ideological theories that informed fascist foreign policies. That Hitler was an ideologue in this area is very much received wisdom, but that Mussolini was so too is more contentious. None the less, Kallis and Knox strenuously rebut alternative interpretations: particularly that the Italian leader was no more than an opportunistic scavenger in world politics, or that he was an astute fencesitter (the *peso determinante* in the balance of power). And it must be said that the parallels they draw between fascist Italy's yearning for *spazio vitale*, mainly in the Mediterranean, and Nazism's obsession with *Lebensraum* in the east carry conviction. In tandem still, the two books move on to consider how these foreign policy ideologies were applied in practice. But within this frame of reference there is some divergence. Knox provides a discussion of Mussolinian foreign policy in action but nothing directly on the Hitlerian equivalent. This lacuna distorts the shape of his volume somewhat, although it is perhaps excusable given the wealth of familiar accounts of ideologically driven Nazi foreign policy. Kallis, on the other hand, supplies a good overview of fascist Italian and Nazi German expansionist ventures, paying special heed to those domestic factors impinging on foreign policy making that in the end allowed Duce and Führer to impose their own world views as their countries' priority and objective in international affairs.

Both Kallis and Knox turn finally to the radicalization of fascist foreign policy culminating in World War II. It is in this regard alone that their theoretical constructs differ in any substantive way. For Knox, fascist territorial expansion was not an end in itself. War and conquest were the means by which the

domestic scene in Italy and Germany, respectively, was to be transformed: "Foreign conquest was the decisive prerequisite for revolution at home that would sweep away inherited institutions and values" (Knox, p. 109). World War II in this sense was a consummation long devoutly wished by Mussolini and Hitler. Moreover, the dual role of war being central in Knox's schema, his last two chapters are military studies that juxtapose fascist Italy's shortcomings against Nazi Germany's effectiveness. Thereby he seeks to explain how and why Hitler came closer than Mussolini to implementing a radical new order at home, although even in the German case total Nazi revolution was achieved only on the battlefield in a *Kampfgemeinschaft*. Kallis, in contrast, posits the dictators' embrace of war in a less starkly intentionalist fashion. While recognizing the glorification of war and conquest always inherent in fascist ideology, he also ascribes the radicalization of policy in the late 1930s to structural and contingent circumstances, both domestic and international. For instance, he makes a very good argument that the Rome-Berlin Axis sparked an "internationalisation of the fascist expansionist vision" and that "the political dynamism of the rapprochement between the two fascist regimes manifested itself in terms of mutual co-operation and growing rivalry, with both elements contributing equally to the radicalization of the style, implementation and scope of their expansionist policies" (Kallis, p. 139). In spite of their differing views of fascist radicalization, however, Kallis does join Knox in denying any "social imperialist" explanation of fascist expansionism; in neither Italy nor Germany was conquest abroad intended to buttress the social order at home.

In their broad range of subject matter these two books are ambitious projects; Knox even uses the term quixotic. Of the two, Kallis's work must be judged the more coherently argued, if only by default, because at the core of Knox's book three of five chapters consist of autonomous and previously published articles. Although these essays have been revised to aid thematic integration, some fissures inevitably remain. However, Knox's book furnishes much livelier reading; it is written with real verve. By comparison, Kallis's book derived from the author's doctoral dissertation and is rather plodding and formulaic in its habit of listing elements of a situation numerically—three of this, four of that.

In the last analysis, both of these works are impressive feats of scholarship, erudite, richly sourced, and authoritative. Taken together, they represent a stimulating and, in some ways, original school of thought that cannot be ignored.

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MARTIN P. C. SCHAAD. *Bullying Bonn: Anglo-German Diplomacy on European Integration, 1955–61*. (St Anthony's Series.) New York: St. Martin's. 2000. Pp. viii, 243. \$65.00.

One point that is not made at the start of this work is that the nature of Anglo-German relations was qualitatively different after 1955. The rearmament of West Germany and its admission to the Western alliance system in 1954–1955 had a number of consequences. One was that French anxieties about the Germans, which had led to their rejection of the European Defense Community proposals in 1954, generally receded. Indeed, as the emphasis in European integration proposals shifted toward economics, it was the British who appeared more anxious about the Germans. The question of whether the various British schemes discussed here reflect not only different economic interests but also alternatives to the Common Market as means of tackling the German problem is not really discussed.

The other consequence of the defense settlement of 1954–1955 is occasionally mentioned. Martin P. C. Schaad is, however, too apt to accept at face value Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's comment that the stationing of British troops in Germany was for the protection of the British, not the Germans. Given the imbalance in conventional forces in Europe at the time, it seems unlikely that British and American troops were much more than expensive hostages, the cost of which British governments were constantly trying to reduce. Although Schaad is right that the British regularly threatened troop reductions to pressure the Germans, he appears not to appreciate that this accorded with the imperatives facing cash-strapped governments with perennial balance of payments problems. Far from being the idle threats Schaad portrays them as, troop reductions would have squared a number of domestic circles.

The same consideration explains the different attitudes taken by the two countries to East/West relations. Schaad rightly comments that the German Foreign Ministry and chancellor felt European integration to be a political imperative, both to rehabilitate Germany and to promote Western unity against the Soviet threat. The British, by contrast, from the 1954 Eden plan onward, were as apt to look for some degree of neutralization/tension reduction in Central Europe, not least as a way of tackling their German stationing costs. Schaad correctly points to the German suspicions of British motives that this fuelled, but he does little to explain the context.

For the British, this German suspicion was unfortunate. After 1955, British responses to the course of European integration were often aimed at Germany. Once the Common Market negotiations were under way, it was the Germans who were expected, for economic reasons, to support British alternative proposals such as the Free Trade Area. When this failed, Schaad argues lucidly and convincingly that the creation of the European Free Trade Association instead was in large measure an attempt to put pressure on the Germans to mediate some way of squaring British economic interests with those of the Six.

British tactics have often been blamed on an over-

estimate of the influence of the Economics Minister, Ludwig Erhard within the German government. In contrast to his chancellor, Erhard was much more concerned to pursue widespread trade liberalization, although the achievement of convertibility across much of Western Europe by the end of the 1950s seems to have substantially met his objectives. Schaad deals very effectively with the resulting tensions in the German government. He also shows that, at least at the official level, the British were under no illusions as to who called the shots in Bonn.

Persuading Adenauer, however, was not easy. A frequently deployed tactic, Schaad suggests, was by threatening troop withdrawals. Nevertheless, the British were in fact quite capable of delaying force reductions if they thought it would appease the Germans, as when a cut in the number of Royal Air Force squadrons in Germany was postponed in 1960–1961 prior to negotiation on British entry into the Common Market. Not that it did much good.

Ultimately, as Schaad points out, the problem was to persuade the French, a doubly difficult task after Charles de Gaulle's return to power in 1958. Before that, he suggests, some kind of mutually satisfactory association might have been agreed. After all, Adenauer was not in principle opposed, and the precedent of Britain's association with the European Coal and Steel Community in 1954 was already established. Whether this would have worked is another matter. As Schaad hints, the key determinant of Anglo-German relations was the relationship of each with France. For the Germans, Britain was to be misleadingly encouraged when its relationship with Paris was rocky. For the British, the Germans were a way of leveraging the French. Perhaps the realization that this did not work led Prime Minister Ted Heath instead to approach the French directly in 1971.

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WHITNEY R. D. JONES. *The Tree of Commonwealth, 1450–1793*. Cranbury, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press. 2000. Pp. 394. \$60.00.

The study of British political thought has a long, contentious history, to which Whitney R. D. Jones himself contributed with *The Tudor Commonwealth, 1529–1559* (1970). In this book, Jones has undertaken a wider temporal study but one narrower in focus. From a medieval view in which "commonwealth" had corporate social and religious overtones, to a late eighteenth-century concept emphasizing individual rights and religious toleration, the term has undergone numerous transformations. Why, then, write a book to profile an expression that, as Jones admits, has meant so many things over a period of three and a half centuries? Perhaps the best answer is that, despite changing understandings, the idea of a "commonwealth" persisted. Thus the focus of this book is less on

continuity than change, with the underlying theme that, despite shifting definitions, "the term 'commonwealth' was recurrently and quite consciously envisaged as embodying a set of values—usually but not always desirable" (p. 14).

Jones breaks his study into six periods. A brief consideration of medieval "roots and branches" emphasizes the corporate model, with king as head and people as body of a state, the health of which depends on each playing their proper, God-given, roles. This static and idealistic view is exemplified by Edmund Dudley's *The Tree of Common Wealth* (1509–1510), from which the present book drew its title.

In the mid-Tudor era, down to 1558, the concept began to take on overtones of reform, inspired by both Christian humanism and Protestantism. How much reform actually took place has been subject to vigorous debate, but Jones demonstrates that, whatever the results, the impulse certainly was there. The Elizabethan and early Stuart periods were "dormant" in terms of real reform, but much intellectual ferment arose from the debate "between those who would stress the identity of church and commonwealth and . . . those who rejected such assertions" (p. 85). More important was the question, raised by Puritans and Catholics alike, of resistance to unlawful action by authority, a concept slow to emerge but one that would come to flower in the chaotic period of the Civil War and Interregnum, during which the state itself became a formal "Commonwealth" with a "Lord Protector."

While Elizabeth and James contented themselves with limited projects of social reform, during the mid-seventeenth century crisis the intellectual and political worlds of England were, quite literally, turned upside down. Amidst wild swings from monarchy to republic and back again, all sorts of radical ideas were set loose, including the horrifying (to men of property) egalitarianism of the Levelers and Diggers. In the process, even the term "commonwealth" acquired a pejorative sense, not easily overcome in a period of conservative retrenchment from 1660 to 1727.

During the Hanoverian years down to 1793 (a date chosen to reflect the impact of the violent turn taken by the French Revolution), the debate over "commonwealth" ideas focused increasingly on individual rights, with fear of government more pronounced than confidence in its ameliorative potential. The communal sense of "commonwealth" began to acquire a connotation of rights protected *from*, rather than *by*, the state. Thus the term itself was turned on its head, several times, during the long period encompassed by this study. The tree, never uprooted, was repeatedly transformed. Yet even with variant understandings, the idea and ideal of commonwealth remained powerful ones in British political discourse.

Jones has certainly done his homework; the bibliography includes nearly five hundred primary sources and a dozen pages of secondary ones (limited, the author notes, only to the works cited or directly relevant!). Although reference to such an extensive

collection of material is a strength, it sometimes becomes a weakness. The famous names—Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Bernard Mandeville, Henry St. John Bolingbroke, David Hume, Edmund Burke—are all here, but one might wish for more attention to a smaller, if still representative, selection, as some passages of the book become compendia of brief quotes from half a dozen forgotten writers of dubious impact. Nonetheless, this book works very nicely on two levels, as an overview of an important aspect of political thought and as a scholarly engagement in a hotly debated issue. That it does both so well is a great credit to the author and his deep study of the topic.

DAVID M. HEAD

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PAUL SLACK. *From Reformation to Improvement: Public Welfare in Early Modern England*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University. 1999. pp. vi, 179. \$45.00.

The Ford Lectures have become a kind of summation by masters of the historical craft, and these, given in 1994–1995, are no exception. Paul Slack has produced significant work in the social history of early modern England since the early 1970s, most importantly perhaps *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* (1985), and if social history no longer has quite the cachet it had in the years from the 1960s to 1980s, this slim volume is a reminder of how rich, evocative, and central to an understanding of politics as well as society such a subject as social welfare can be in the hands of a historian concerned not only with the development and evolution of institutions but also with the ideology, with what might be called the political culture, of social welfare in England from 1500 to the mid-eighteenth century. It is a study unique in its comprehensiveness; it is also a history with contemporary relevance for an era where powerful forces have sought to dismantle state welfare systems and to expose the whole of society to the untrammelled workings of the market.

The rhetoric of the common weal, first current in the Yorkist period, gained a new cogency, first as Cardinal Thomas Wolsey sought to deal with the crises of plague and dearth and then as Thomas Cromwell and his protégés sought to harness civic humanism and continental examples to the total reformation of English society. This was a period richer in ideas than accomplishments, but not without consequences for the next generation, which sought to create a godly commonwealth out of the destruction wrought by the dissolution of traditional religious institutions and fraternities. As Slack shows, between 1560 and 1640, half of the twenty largest towns underwent godly reformations that attempted to combine the creation of urban institutions of poor relief, hospitals, almshouses, and houses of correction with a reformation of manners, and it was their experiments and experience that led to the great parliamentary acts culminating in the Old Poor Law. Slack also reminds us that the

experiments with central prerogative action date not from the personal rule of Charles I but from the later troubled years of Elizabeth's reign, and for all the offense to local governors created by the Caroline Book of Orders, Slack argues persuasively that it was "a predictable sheep in wolf's clothing" (p. 61).

If many of the schemes of the 1640s and 1650s foundered in the wake of the impoverishment left by the civil wars, nevertheless Samuel Hartlib's circle brought the new rhetoric of "improvement" a notion that progress rather than total reformation was both desirable and possible, as idealists dropped the language of millennial hope for a total transformation of society. The later Stuart period saw a rash of public and private schemes for "improvement" and a renewed attempt to tie them to religious renewal in the reformation of manners campaigns. Despite the corrosive ideology that emphasized the centrality of "interest" and that—in the case of Bernard Mandeville—claimed that private vice produced public good, the early eighteenth century saw no lack of schemes for social improvement. By 1740, it is estimated that some 600 workhouses employed approximately 30,000 people, and although the workhouse was in part intended as a means to frighten the poor into work, outdoor relief survived. What Slack aptly terms "the mixed economy of welfare" (p. 148)—a system characterized by "the dominance of the parish, an insistence on labour, and a strong voluntary sector" (p. 154)—persisted until the great nineteenth century changes and, at least in the instance of schools, almshouses, and hospitals, persists to this day.

What such a bald summary cannot convey is the richness of detail and reference—footnotes occupy at times as much as half the page—and the insistence that public welfare be understood in the context of social, political, and cultural change. While Slack sees both the late fifteenth century and the early eighteenth century as similar in the pluralism of provision and association, he concludes with the convincing claim that no other country at that latter date displayed such a high level of civic consciousness or provided so comprehensive a system of basic relief.

PAUL S. SEAVER
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IAN ATHERTON, *Ambition and Failure in Stuart England: The Career of John, First Viscount Scudamore*. (Politics, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain.) New York: Manchester University Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 322. \$79.95.

The leading Herefordshire magnate Sir John Scudamore, first viscount Scudamore of Sligo (1601–1671), led a rich life that intersected many spheres of English political culture. Tracking Scudamore's career as courtier, diplomat, soldier, and landowner, the assiduous Ian Atherton illuminates key areas of seventeenth-century English history.

The name Scudamore will evoke for many the

perfect knight of love in Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, a figure probably based on the esteemed Elizabethan courtier Sir James Scudamore. (The genealogically inclined will think of the relations who came to America and are commemorated by Skidmore College.) James Scudamore gave his son every advantage in life: young John was married to a rich heiress in 1615, matriculated at Magdalen College Oxford in 1616, traveled abroad before being created a baronet in 1620, and was chosen as an MP for Herefordshire that same year.

Everything looked bright for this scion of one of the county's wealthiest families. In his strong chapter on "Scudamore as a Local Governor," Atherton looks over the shoulder of his subject as he executes his duties as *custos rotulorum* of the county. Scudamore shrewdly balanced commands of the Privy Council for assessments and loans voluntary and involuntary against the local obligations of friendship and faction. The material here is rich, the presentation informative.

A persistent royalist, Scudamore found reward for his service, obtaining in 1628 a peerage, albeit an Irish one (James I and Charles I made free with these, often simply for cash). Then in 1635 he was appointed ambassador to Paris, a post he held for nearly four years—the peak of his career, but the beginning of his downfall.

Atherton's chapter "Scudamore as Ambassador," the longest and strongest in the book, expertly demonstrates that Scudamore's position in Paris was hopeless. Charles I was playing a complicated diplomatic game: leaning toward Spain, Charles sent to Paris an ambassador who was himself perceived to be pro-Spanish. Moreover, Scudamore was a meticulous, even pedantic sort who took literally every jot and tittle of the orders he received from London, and he soon found himself in various quarrels for precedence. Worst of all, to counterbalance his ordinary ambassador (Scudamore), Charles sent to Paris an extraordinary ambassador, the earl of Leicester, who leaned toward France, not Spain, and who was far more supple in the way he acted upon instructions. The *DNB* entry for Scudamore reports that the two ambassadors "managed to work harmoniously together"; readers of Atherton will know better. (In his coded correspondence, Leicester called his fellow ambassador Vulcan, the laughing stock of Olympus).

Everything went wrong for Scudamore during the English Civil War. Though known in the 1620s for the excellent militia he led, in 1642–1643 Scudamore acquitted himself with little honor, fleeing with his troops from battle, quarreling with his fellow royalist military leaders, and ignominiously surrendering Hereford. Atherton has no explanation for Scudamore's weak conduct, though pity for the years of imprisonment he suffered until 1648.

Scudamore has, over the centuries, been accorded many accolades, particularly by clerics. The viscount's generosity to the church was legendary (a generosity in no small measure motivated, as Scudamore's corre-

spondence with Archbishop William Laud makes clear, by the local magnate's fears of retribution, much of his wealth being in impropriations and abbey lands). This first professional study offers a balanced view of a timid man, successful at local politics but way over his head in matters international or even national.

At times, Atherton reads too much into his subject. The viscount was a thoroughgoing royalist, but it is unclear that we can learn a great deal about the texture of royalist thinking from a man whose injunction to his fellow MPs was to have confidence in their king. Scudamore also seems too frail a reed on which to hang an assessment of recent revisionist views of Laud.

Rather than a figure from whom we can learn much about movements of thought like royalism and Laudianism, Scudamore emerges from Atherton's finely researched study as a man who was everywhere and knew everybody. When the documentation allows, especially in the two chapters mentioned above, Atherton helps us understand what went on in early Stuart England.

The book has no plates, but the revealing portrait on the dust jacket ought not to be missed (or discarded by libraries). The man is there before us.

EUGENE D. HILL
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PETER BORSAY. *The Image of Georgian Bath, 1700–2000: Towns, Heritage, and History*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 434. \$95.00.

Peter Borsay's book sets out to explore the construction of the "phenomenon of 'pastness'" and heritage in Georgian Bath, focusing primarily on the representations of Bath in the period from 1700 to 1830. While other historians have explored the phenomenon more generally (Eric Hobsbawm, Raphael Samuel, and David Lowenthal, among others)—this is the first such study of Bath. The introduction and the conclusion offer an excellent overview of the central issues surrounding the heritage movement.

Borsay explores the ways in which the Georgian heritage of Bath has been understood in subsequent periods, from Victorian to postmodern. He also looks at a wide variety of media from Georgian architecture to the nineteenth-century novel and twentieth-century film. This is an ambitious book.

Although Borsay concentrates on visual representation, his history of Bath relies as well on the urban historian's more traditional written sources: guidebooks, histories, newspapers, and minutes of council committees. The guidebook is given a particularly privileged place, as Borsay quantifies the amount of space devoted to Georgian Bath in each guide to the city written over the past two hundred and fifty years as evidence of the preoccupation of different historical moments. The appendix includes the number of references in guidebooks to particular places and monuments in Bath, as well as a lengthy list of Bath

worthies. Borsay's work will provide future historians of this city with invaluable references.

The book is most successful when dealing with notions of heritage. Here Borsay examines the changing enthusiasms for particular styles along with their accompanying associations, most notably Bath Abbey, perilously retained, standing as it does outside the dominant Georgian image of Bath. Further, Borsay makes clear the ambitions of varying interest groups in the future fabric and imagery of the city.

Although two chapters are devoted to architecture and a third to media—by which is meant television, cigarette packaging, stained-glass windows, museums, pageants, and exhibitions—Borsay is at his weakest when dealing with visual imagery. Although ostensibly examining visual representation, Borsay offers little more than lists of examples of imagery and key historical texts devoted to them, whether it be architecture or a more ephemeral medium. One example is Pulteney Bridge. The waning and waxing popularity of Robert Adam's bridge is recounted from written texts, but no attention or analysis is directed to the actual images of the bridge: one an early twentieth-century postcard, the other a British Rails 1949 poster. They are considered only in terms of subject matter, ignoring the ways in which form carries meaning. This is curious in a study of the changing perceptions of the city.

Further, there is little application of contemporary methodology of the study of the visual arts, which has changed dramatically over the past quarter of a century, particularly with regard to how the production and reception of art and architecture are understood as bound inextricably to their social and economic histories. This approach has been well known to historians of the city for some time (see, for example, the work of Leonardo Benevolo, Carl Schorske, or Donald Olsen). Indeed, the very organization of Borsay's book runs counter to such an approach. The first half of the book lists and describes monuments and imagery of various kinds, viewing them as "possessing an autonomous existence" (p. 253), and the latter half is devoted to commerce, society, politics, and psychology, separating the imagery from its context. Such expressions as "the wheel of fashion turned" (p. 201) further suggest the independence of art from its historical context.

While the goals of interdisciplinarity are generally understood to be potentially rich and rewarding, this project, defined as it is as an attempt to examine an extremely wide range of imagery and its reception over a long period of time, using the skills of a number of disciplines, proves to be overly ambitious.

DEBORAH E. B. WEINER
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ROBIN EAGLES. *Francophilia in English Society, 1748–1815*. New York: St. Martin's. 2000. Pp. x, 229. \$69.95.

Any historian who sets out to write the cultural history of a particular society is embarking on a somewhat nebulous enterprise. There is a natural temptation to try to impose some kind of synthesis on what might be no more than a fortuitous coexistence of variables, reflecting differences of region, politics, economics, social class, and religion. All periods are also transitional in the sense that they embody both relics of a disappearing past and the early signs of a nascent future. The same evidence can be interpreted in conflicting ways: concerted literary and pictorial satire may suggest the general rejection of the attitudes under criticism or, alternatively, a radical determination to challenge the prevailing orthodoxy. Robin Eagles begins by rejecting what he believes to be a widespread tendency to see eighteenth-century Britain as a society that was already starting to define its identity as commercial, middle class, Protestant, and the antithesis of the Catholic orthodoxy on the other side of the Channel. He believes the two societies to have been basically similar and thinks that the rising middle class in Britain was more concerned to win acceptance by the establishment than to challenge it. It is on these grounds that he argues that British aristocratic society as a whole was well disposed toward a French culture with which it had so much in common. One can accept the first of his propositions without necessarily endorsing the second. The two countries were, after all, at war with each other for most of the period, and the basis of national animosities is not necessarily social.

In his attempt to demonstrate that Francophilia was a general disposition of polite society rather than the preserve of an eccentric minority, Eagles examines in turn the attitudes of satirists, literary writers, diplomats, British expatriates who chose to live in France, and the increasing numbers who crossed the Channel as occasional or regular visitors. Rather oddly, he has little to say about the intellectual exchange between the French philosophes and their British equivalents, which might have provided him with useful grist for his mill. Edmund Burke, for example, thought that Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws* (1748) was, after the Bible, the most important book ever written. Eagles has read very widely, and he produces an impressive amount of evidence in support of his argument, but his book tends to become an anthology of examples that favor his case, rather than a systematic analysis of the relative weight of the pros and cons. He is also inclined to mistake an aristocratic concern for diplomatic proprieties for a hankering after what he calls an "alliance" between the two countries.

His book began as a doctoral thesis covering the period from 1748 to 1783, and he would have been well advised to confine himself within his original chronological limits. The French Revolution and Napoleonic periods—which he relegates to a few brief paragraphs—created an entirely new situation, which was far from being merely a reflection of the overthrow of French aristocratic society. The British government as

a whole came to share Burke's view that revolutionary France was a threat to European civilization. One of William Pitt's followers denounced the French as enemies of all mankind, and the French Convention proclaimed Pitt to be the enemy of the human race. There were not many signs of Francophilia in 1794. Admittedly, such extremes of paranoid xenophobia were short-lived, but Napoleonic France probably seemed to most of the British to confirm their suspicions of their old adversary. Eagles, in other words, is inclined to press his case too emphatically and to extend it over too long a period, but he provides us with a useful corrective to an over-simplified view of British attitudes toward France during the early part of his period.

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PAUL A. PICKERING and ALEX TYRRELL. *The People's Bread: A History of the Anti-Corn Law League*. New York: Continuum. 2000. Pp. x, 304. \$45.00.

In June 2001, violence by French viticulturists protesting against imported wine shut down a commemoration of Frédéric Bastiat, the nineteenth-century French satirist of protectionism. Such economic illiteracy is no laughing matter, commented *The Economist*. Nor is it amusing so long after the free-trade exertions of the Anti-Corn Law League, which are illuminatingly reported in this book. The League ran a tireless national campaign in the early 1840s to get the British "bread tax" repealed.

In their lucid book, Paul A. Pickering and Alex Tyrrell dissect the League meticulously, down to the individual biographies of its leaders. They show that it was provincial, heavily though not exclusively concentrated in the industrial north. Yet the big Mancunian manufacturers did not wholly dominate, for the League was well salted with lesser businessmen. The League, then, was a radical middle-class body, more radical than previous historians have admitted, despite accusations that its underlying aim was to reduce the cost of living so that its members might cut wages. What this would have amounted to was a transfer of income to non-landed employers from the growers of grain. Leaguers often had broader ambitions than that. Although they fought on the other front against the more diffusely radical Chartists, this book concludes that the interests of key figures stretched well beyond single-issue politics. The Corn Laws were merely their first target.

The identikit Leaguer whom the authors describe was a married man in his mid-forties, sometimes hailing from, and not infrequently founding, a distinctly political family. Women and children sat round the table and played their part. Several women escaped from behind the teapot to master political economy, notably the astringent utilitarianism of William Nassau Senior. Lawrencina Heyworth, the daugh-

ter of a Liverpool free trader, certainly did so; she was Beatrice Webb's mother. Andrew Carnegie also grew up in a deeply involved family. It is by touches like these that Pickering and Tyrrell humanize the League's factory-like organizing and relentless campaigning, while at the same time placing it in the context of nineteenth-century political history and pointing out how such a campaign could be mounted despite the limited technology of the 1840s. A substantial roster of public speakers was supplemented by printed tracts. Over nine million items were dispatched from the Manchester headquarters in 1842–1843, one million during a single week in February, 1843! This was beyond doubt a "brilliant page" in political history, drawing on temperance reform for some of its methods but adding a number of innovations.

Pickering and Tyrrell emphasize themes now de rigeur in historical writing: for example, the role of women and of ritual. This does not mean they neglect the older focus on class, a category that, as they note, contemporaries understood to be pertinent. At the time sociological aspects were seldom thought of as having practical, or at any rate independent, significance, although the authors have delved deep and are able to piece together considerable bodies of material about such matters. They do, however, neglect the economy. No explanation in principle is offered of the costs of protection nor of the other side of the coin, the case for free trade. In a study of a campaign whose *raison d'être* was to overturn agricultural protectionism, this is an ironic omission. Political history has chosen to borrow from the social sciences—but from sociology and anthropology rather than from what, at least in this context, is the more apposite subject, economics. In the present work, this may to some degree be the result of intensive concern with grassroots evidence about political organization and League personnel. Some Leaguers may have taken their case almost for granted and confined themselves to endlessly reiterating the effective shorthand, "no bread tax."

Yet some responsibility must rest with choice of intellectual strategy as well as with tactics. The authors claim that class (never mind economics) should not be privileged in favor of *equally important* ways of understanding the past via the roles of women, ritual, religion, and so forth. Yet they do not demonstrate that these phenomena really are as important to the case at hand, and their approach may perhaps be criticized for privileging means over ends. They take occasional swipes at Thatcherism as representing the modern recrudescence of free trade, which suggests that, unlike the League, they have not fully recognized protectionism where it lurks. Margaret Thatcher's governments were highly protectionist with respect to agriculture, precisely the sector under discussion. They went along with the Common Agricultural Policy of the European Union, thus diverting income from consumers on an even broader scale than the Corn Laws ever did, although admittedly (because all in-

comes have risen meantime) with less absolutely impoverishing consequences for the poor. Pickering and Tyrrell have nevertheless written an excellent study of a major political campaign, fulfilling their own stated intentions. They end by inviting others to join them in elaborating the "brilliant page" of Anti-Corn Law League history. The perhaps calculated omission of economics highlights where the next effort might best be applied.

ERIC JONES

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BRUCE L. KINZER. *England's Disgrace? J. S. Mill and the Irish Question*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2001. Pp. x, 292. \$60.00.

At the age of thirteen, John Stuart Mill went to France and developed fluency in its language and a lifelong interest in its thought and culture. The best-known account of this link is Iris Wessel Mueller's *John Stuart Mill and French Thought* (1956). For thirty-six years, Mill worked for the British East India Company, and the definitive study of that connection is Lynn Zastoupil's *John Stuart Mill and India* (1994). The last obvious gap in our knowledge of Mill's links with a foreign country is filled by Bruce L. Kinzer's book. Kinzer is an expert on both Mill and Irish history. His own entries in his bibliography indicate that this book is the natural consummation of the work he has done over the past two decades. Among other things, he was the coeditor of two volumes of Mill's *Collected Works*, which, like this book, have been published by the University of Toronto Press. So Kinzer hails from the heart of the modern Mill industry.

Mill never actually went to Ireland, but he was a trenchant critic of English policy there. His first significant contributions were the forty-three articles in the *Morning Chronicle* between October 1846 and January 1847, at the time of the great famine. As Kinzer points out, Mill vigorously expressed his "conviction that England bore a great moral stain for her treatment of Ireland" (p. 65). Mill also condemned Irish landlords and outlined proposals for peasant proprietorship, ideas that were further developed in the sections on Ireland in the various editions of his famous *Principles of Political Economy* (1848–1865). Between 1865 and 1868, Mill was a member of Parliament, and Kinzer provides a fascinating account of the theory/practice dilemma: of how Mill the philosopher subordinated a principled stand on the Irish University question to the political tactic of supporting Prime Minister William Ewart Gladstone. Then, in 1868, in the face of rising Fenian activity, Mill wrote a highly controversial essay "England and Ireland," which advocated granting permanent tenure to existing Irish tenants at a rate to be decided by the state. Mill's fellow parliamentarians were not impressed, which is hardly surprising given the "pre-eminence of the landed interest in both Houses of Parliament" (p. 197). In spite of acknowledging centuries of English misgovernment, Mill did

not actually favor Irish independence. Rather, he recommended a policy that dealt with the legitimate grievances of the majority of the people rather than the vested interests of English absentee landlords.

The question mark in Kinzer's title is tantalizing. Certainly Mill's own view was that the Irish situation was a product of English mismanagement. Just as, in the utilitarian view, individuals were the products of their own circumstances, so, too, were nations, and the circumstances of the Irish people had for centuries been adversely effected by English domination. Does the question mark indicate Kinzer's disagreement with Mill's view? That we do not find out. What we do learn is that Kinzer doubts whether Mill's proposed land reforms could have stemmed the movement for Irish independence.

Overall, this work is not particularly interpretative. In the blurb and at a few points in the text, Mill's Anglocentric perspective is noted. This is hardly surprising. What might have been added is that Mill's writings on Ireland were entirely free of the racist stereotyping that was so normal for nearly all his contemporaries. Kinzer's final paragraph rightly concedes that "Mill's record on the Irish question . . . distinguishes him from nearly all of his English contemporaries whose work did not include official responsibility for the government of Ireland" (p. 215). It is also interesting that Mill's commitment to the poor of Ireland stands in contrast to his relative lack of interest in the English working class, a concern so vividly expressed by such contemporaries as Elizabeth Gaskell, Thomas Carlyle, Friedrich Engels, and Charles Dickens.

Among the impressive features of this book are the author's excellent understanding and presentation of the economic debates of the time and also of the political events. As well as covering Mill's own writings, Kinzer is able to present them in the context of the relevant books and reviews from both English and Irish newspapers and journals. On the issue of Mill and Ireland, there was a job to be done, and Kinzer has done it. This book is an important contribution not just to our understanding of John Stuart Mill but also to the Anglo-Irish history of the nineteenth century.

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IAN A. BURNEY, *Bodies of Evidence: Medicine and the Politics of the English Inquest 1830–1926*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2000. Pp. x, 245. \$39.95.

In his introduction, Ian A. Burney explains that he will adopt "a thematically recursive rather than a chronologically linear expository framework" (p. 12). He aims to elucidate changes in the nature of the English inquest, from a coroner's jury viewing a corpse ("the body in question"), usually in the local public house, to the 1926 Coroners (Amendment) Act. From that year,

the jury no longer viewed the body directly, but received the report of a doctor's autopsy. Behind this change, Burney describes a narrative of considerable importance to the development of the modern state. Although there is an obvious temptation to see the subject as another example of the "rise of the expert," Burney presents a convincing and sophisticated argument on the coroner's court as a place of contention between the privileged views of the medical witness, and the public's desire for information and participation. In a particularly neat paradox, he shows how the medical profession, while generally supportive of inquests as a boost to their status and influence, were extremely chary of the regulations requiring an inquest into deaths under anaesthetic. The most famous coroner of the earlier period, Thomas Wakley, exemplified some of these tensions when he presented the inquest both as an example of ancient civic liberties and as an arena for the display of medical expertise. The publicity of an inquest breaches the usual rules of medical confidentiality, and in spite of the removal of the body from public gaze, curiosity over mysterious deaths still has to be satisfied by a degree of openness unusual in other medical circumstances. It might be added, however, that the jury's direct encounter with the body was often replaced by a new form of gaze—explicit medical photographs—that present a different set of problems.

Although the themes approached are both interesting and worthwhile, it is a pity that Burney eschews some of the straightforward chronological information, since his book is therefore less accessible to the general reader. Few can claim expertise in this subject, and earlier works like J. D. J. Havard's *Detection of Secret Homicide* (1960) are now hard to obtain. Instead, Burney places much basic factual and statistical material in the sixty-three pages of endnotes.

Burney's evidence relies mainly on metropolitan experience and the views of the medical journals, but it is not clear how far the London debate penetrated the English provinces. The London County Council in the later years of the nineteenth century was prepared to spend money on new coroners' courts, complete with modern autopsy facilities. Elsewhere, local government took pride in investments like gasworks and fever hospitals but saw no votes in new mortuaries. An energetic medical officer of health, together with a threatened or actual scandal, was usually necessary before the coroner and his medical witness could escape from the public house. Outside the cities, autopsies in primitive conditions, usually in outbuildings of the police station, are well within living memory. At the risk of pushing the reviewer's personal interests, it could also be argued that the lack of any comparison with Scotland, however brief, leaves a gap in Burney's argument. The British government did not preside over a single type of inquiry but several: Scottish, Irish, and colonial arrangements were quite different. Burney describes the medical profession's arguments over the use of "expert" pathologists rather

than local general practitioners. Support for specially trained expert witnesses was certainly influenced by continental models; but it is not necessary to go further than Scotland to find a system without coroner or jury, where the medical expert worked in close connection with the state prosecutor. Burney refers briefly at the end of the book to a critical contemporary's dismissal of the "Scotch secret system of inquiry" (p. 171); but quotations in the text from Scottish professors of medical jurisprudence such as Douglas Maclagan, Henry and Harvey Littlejohn, and John Glaister require a comment on the system that produced them. That differences should continue within the confines of one small island makes the concerns of the English even more idiosyncratic. But these are additional reflections provoked by an interesting book, which is further enhanced by some excellent illustrations.

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NIGEL YATES. *Anglican Ritualism in Victorian Britain, 1830-1910*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 455. \$85.00.

The title suggests only part of the story. While the bulk of the book surely fits within the designated period, the first and last chapters extend the range from the sixteenth century to the present. The great strength of Nigel Yates's study is precisely that he encompasses in one look 450 years of the history of Anglican worship. Moreover, he situates the English experience amid events occurring in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, with occasional references to the colonies and Scandinavia.

Yates is careful to identify his focus, however. He is not really concerned with worship or ritual as a whole but with what he calls "ceremonial." When he talks about ceremonial, he refers to very specific matters: vestments, lighted candles, crosses, incense, whether the communion table is made of stone or wood, whether the presiding cleric faces eastward, whether water is mixed into the wine, wafers, the sign of the cross, and the like. He talks about these things as external and visible. Yates depends so completely on his dualist rendering of the subject into things inner and outer, and he keeps his focus so sharply fixed on external ceremonial, that he virtually detaches his analysis from doctrine, liturgy, beliefs, power, gender, social status, and the life of the people. In short, he largely by-passes the complexity of what is involved, and what is happening, in ritual.

The chief explanation he offers for why extraordinary tumult surrounded the use of such ceremonial during the 1850s to 1870s in Britain is that it was visible, and that lay people could see that their clergy had changed what they were used to when they went to church. The point is attached to one of his major theses about ritualism: that it severed the unity of the Church of England in the nineteenth century as ostensibly previously found in what he calls "the Anglican 'High-Church' consensus." It is easy to think of Yates's

view of ceremonial as literally superficial, if he can so readily overlook the diversity in the church before 1830 and dismiss other movements in the Victorian church, such as the Evangelicals and the Broad Church, as relatively insignificant disturbers of the status quo.

Yates is usually very good at seeing the diversity of things in the church. This is another of the strengths of the book. He takes pains not to give a simple rendering of anything pertaining to ceremonial. The book abounds in details, most of which support his view that on any point there were many sides. For instance, he catalogues the various interpretations of the Ornaments Rubric in the Church of England's *Book of Common Prayer*, and he stresses how impossible it became to determine what the rubric warranted or prohibited. He shows how on so particular an item as the practice of the reservation of the Host there were many viewpoints. He makes clear again and again that people ostensibly on the same side took diverse positions on many aspects of ritualism.

The book is least satisfying in the unfolding of its major thesis, which Yates leaves almost unstated: that one can trace ritualism not only throughout the Victorian era but also across the entire sweep of the ages since the mid-1500s. The other theses of the book, to which he gives much attention, rest on this one, which he appears not to notice as a problem. The difficulty relates to the term "Anglican ritualism," which probably best applies to a movement in the Church of England from the 1850s to the 1870s. He stretches the term to cover and connect dissimilar things before and after that time. As we pass through the book, the term seems in some sense to comprehend Tractarianism, the Oxford movement, Anglo-Catholics, High Church, early ritualists, advanced High Churchmen, liberal Anglo-Catholics, and many others in the Victorian era. And when we move to the sixteenth century, it embraces whatever the Ornaments Rubric may have meant, while in the twentieth century it seems merely to refer to "extreme Anglo-Catholics" who, he says, became marginalized in the Anglican world. The changes from one of these terms to another are among the very things that most require explanation in order to support his main thesis.

Yates notices but gives little attention to the most astounding outcome of matters ceremonial. The ceremonial practices that he traces in the book came into common Anglican usage in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Far from reduction to the margins, the ritualists of the 1850s-1870s could claim that their practices have triumphed in the Anglican world.

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S. C. WILLIAMS. *Religious Belief and Popular Culture in Southwark c 1880-1939*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. vi, 206. \$70.00.

S. C. Williams seeks to demonstrate that the south London "Cockney" borough of Southwark remained a closed, traditional, working-class community despite its industrialization and that its inhabitants remained wedded to folk notions of religion that combined magical, superstitious beliefs with adherence to orthodox Christian values in a manner that made their religious beliefs and practices autonomous expressions of a wider popular culture, even as they eschewed formal attendance at church services. Much of this book represents an effort to explain why declining working-class attendance at church services (c. 1880–1939) failed to indicate a declining working-class religiosity—why, indeed, it positively indicated the very opposite. Williams has written a formidable work of revisionism, admonishing even fellow revisionists for remaining prisoners of the modernization paradigm they in principle reject (as in Jeffrey Cox's treatment of popular superstitions), while at the same time extending other of their well-known findings, such as the concept of "diffusive Christianity."

Williams carefully establishes the geographical setting of this circumscribed community in a sensitive and textured way. The author then goes on to suggest the apparent ubiquity of folk superstitions in an urban setting, a ubiquity that would contradict the modernization paradigm; nor were these superstitions mere atavistic rural survivals but served genuine "urban" functions for their adherents. The uses of charms, amulets, and mascots, rather than displacing orthodox Christian beliefs, combined with them to form a complex religious mentality. Orthodoxy inhered in popular devotion to key church rituals such as baptism and "churchings" after childbirth, which, though ostensibly valued for their Christian spiritual content, appear as extensions of superstitious feeling. Williams emphasizes that, in the popular mind, participation in such rituals, which included marriage (but, tellingly, not confirmation), relieved the believer from the obligation actually to attend church services. Sending one's children to Sunday School did the same.

Indeed, working-class people widely regarded these surrogates as legitimate substitutes for formal participation in the life of the church. But why such reluctance to attend services, particularly when whole communities, as Williams claims, embraced particular churches as "our church" and their vicars as local "holy men" to be defended against the taunts of outsiders? The reason, apparently, had less to do with class distinction and more with the patronizing attitude of regular churchgoers for whom such regularity betokened superior Christian virtue. The popular attitude regarded such superiority as hypocrisy worthy of a Pharisee and offered as an alternative the doctrine of the "true Christian," one who practiced Christian virtue in human relations rather than settling for the mere appearance of virtue by regular church attendance.

The author consistently evokes the voices of working-class people through oral history interviews.

Clearly committed to the view that the working class created its own, distinctive religious culture, Williams manifests a quiet, passionate eloquence that pleases aesthetically. But however much I felt drawn in by the argument for this reason, I found myself at the end not wholly convinced. Williams focuses on the close-knit communities of courts and alleys that retained their preindustrial quality. For the author, this fact upends the concept of modernization, despite Gareth Stedman-Jones's (unacknowledged) demonstration that London's industrialization process remained distinctive in Britain and had the peculiar effect of strengthening nominally its "pre-industrial" social structure. Even so, Williams shows that the courts and alleys remained interspersed by the anomic population of transient tenement blocks occupants, classically associated with the negative effects of modernization, and yet they hardly have a place in the narrative. Why should we accept that the "costermonger" community the author has selected for study was truly more representative? More problematic, however, is the central thesis that performance of diverse Christian rituals, including sending one's children to Sunday School or teaching them to pray, betokened entrenched belief, despite the steadfast refusal by the parents to attend church services.

This conclusion seems too heavily dependent on the slight (twenty-nine) oral history interviews undertaken—the author is no fan of the social scientific method but a partisan of the telling, evocative anecdote—and on an uncritical acceptance of the evidence they offered. Interviewees uniformly qualified the admission that their parents failed to attend church with the assertion that they "believed" nonetheless because they liked to sing hymns or sent them to Sunday School. But these assertions may just as easily be read as defensive reactions intended to protect their parents' reputations retrospectively. The evidence adduced may equally suggest that performance of the diverse rituals cited was regarded by parents as the conventional way one dutifully prepared one's children to function properly in the world. Recognizing Sunday as a special day, even for nonchurchgoers, can be explained as a nod to conventional notions of respectability. The parent of one girl sent dutifully to Sunday School flew into a rage of opposition when her daughter announced upon graduation that she intended to get baptized and to join a Bible study group. One might ask (as the author does not) why the intensity of parental opposition if her mother were truly a person of faith? The doctrine of the "true Christian" does not provide a sufficient explanation, since the author cites countervailing examples suggesting that direct working-class participation in the life of the church should have increased, when in fact it did not. "Diffusive Christianity" appears in this context less a matter of Christian values remodeling social behavior than of their actual secularization. Eventually, in the process, they became decoupled from their original religious moorings; that is the true meaning of working-class

undenominationalism, which might have been presented more accurately as a transitional phenomenon, and that is why the story ends with World War II, since after that everything changed (despite the author's feeble effort to assert continuity). Williams succeeds not so much in debunking the concept of secularization but rather in altering its timing (especially evident in the retreat of superstitious thinking); the lag merely stretched a tad longer than we used to think.

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MARTIN PUGH. *The March of the Women: A Revisionist Analysis of the Campaign for Women's Suffrage, 1866–1914*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 303. \$35.00.

This is a difficult book to review, primarily because its intended audience is altogether unclear. It seems a curious hybrid: on the one hand, the footnotes are composed largely of references to primary sources, suggesting a monograph. On the other hand, it contains little that is new to specialists in the field, and draws on no substantial fresh body of evidence. Nor does this self-declared "revisionist analysis" work well as a teaching text, for it fails to summarize the existing extensive revisionist literature on the history of the suffrage movement; indeed, it makes only glancing acknowledgments of that literature. Its claim to be the only recent "attempt to assess the entire campaign to secure the parliamentary vote for women" (p. 1) is not entirely accurate, either, for its coverage effectively stops in 1918. The final granting of equal enfranchisement to women in 1928, and the campaigns that intervened, are dismissed in a single final sentence. In sum, Martin Pugh's account is convincing only in the area he knows best: the party political context of the campaigns.

Some hint of the writer's purpose is perhaps to be found in the references that occur from time to time to "received opinion" and the "traditional view." It would seem that Pugh's aim is essentially historiographical: to put forward novel lines of analysis that challenge widespread misconceptions. But if so, the writer deceives himself. For example, chapter eight, "The Anatomy of Militancy," seeks to identify "the key questions and issues raised by militancy" so as to put this aspect of the suffrage campaigns "into a truer perspective and thus evaluating its significance" (p. 171). Several writers have gone before him (for example, Brian Harrison, Liz Stanley, myself) to establish that militancy changed in content over time, that in its earlier phases it remained essentially "constitutional" in its methods, that the two wings were in "symbiosis" in the early years of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), that much of the initiative in new methods of militancy came from the rank and file and was only subsequently endorsed by the leadership, and that in its later stages it was almost certainly counterproduc-

tive politically. Yet readers would not know this from the discussion within the chapter, or from the footnotes. A similar issue occurs with regard to chapter three, "Decline or Revival? Women's Suffrage in the 1890s." David Rubinstein first challenged existing understandings of this decade as a period of dormancy for the suffrage movement in his *Before the Suffragette: Women's Emancipation in the 1890s* (1986), but this remains unacknowledged. By such a proceeding, Pugh undermines any historiographical intent, often leaving the reader unclear as to where his own original contribution lies.

A "revisionist analysis" ought also to be comprehensive in its relation to the work of other writers, yet some significant contributions are ignored in Pugh's account. Only a handful of the numerous and often substantial books and articles published in the previous five years appear to have been consulted, while there are notable omissions for the period before that. It is, presumably, oversight of the work of well-established writers in the field like Philippa Levine that leads him to argue the neglect of Victorian feminists. There are similar significant oversights with regard to the growing literature on "imperial feminism," on women's suffrage and party-political organization, and on the movement during the 1920s. Such oversights lead the writer to some curious arguments, such as Pugh's suggestion that the suffrage movement might have met with earlier success if it had chosen to demand the vote for married women. An acquaintance with the work of Mary Lyndon Shanley, and others before and since, on the simultaneous campaign for the reform of family law might also have led him to think over such an argument more carefully. There were always suffragists who sought to include married women in the demand for the vote. They perceived very clearly the relationship between citizenship and possession of one's own person, something denied to married women by the legal doctrine of coverture. But they had to work with male parliamentarians, many of whom thought the challenge to coverture a step too far. Suffragists had to campaign with the political realities of their time. For historians such as Pugh, they failed in doing so—but equally they failed if, like the WSPU, they refused to be constrained by such realities.

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K. D. EWING and C. A. GEARTY. *The Struggle for Civil Liberties: Political Freedom and the Rule of Law in Britain 1914–1945*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xvii, 451. \$85.00.

With a British government seriously contemplating removing the ancient right of trial by jury in many cases, a book by two leading academic lawyers that looks at civil liberties in Britain is timely. The title, however, is a misnomer. The subject is not the struggle for civil liberties but the actions *against* civil liberties.

Their starting point is A. V. Dicey's *Introduction to the Study of the Law of the Constitution*, first published in 1885 but reprinted and cited well into the second half of the twentieth century. According to Dicey, although Britain had no written constitution, civil liberties were protected by the common law and by what he called the "Rule of Law." The finding of this book is that none of the institutions that embody the rule of law—the courts, Parliament, and the police—has acted as a defender of civil liberties in the twentieth century. Each has used arbitrary power, doubtful interpretations, and sometimes illegality to assert the authority of the executive over the rights of the individual. It has been, they say, "a case of freedom for all except those who dissent" (p. 35).

Although wars have always been occasions when governments have been able to push through coercive legislation, it was a Liberal government before World War I that rushed through an Official Secrets Act to strengthen the hand of the secret services and to give the police extensive powers of search and entry. Legislation during the war gave successive governments almost unlimited powers to regulate, control, investigate, and interpret what was necessary "for the public safety and the defence of the realm." Parliament granted these powers with few safeguards and little debate. But the end of war did not see the disappearance of such legislation, and the Emergency Powers Act of 1920 was used by the government to harass and persecute the tiny, emerging Communist Party of Great Britain. Meetings were infiltrated or broken up, offices were entered, papers seized, and leaders were charged with sedition under legislation dating back to the Napoleonic Wars. Mild protests from a few newspapers and a handful of politicians had little effect on governments, which talked of there being only a "right kind of freedom of speech" and a "right kind" of freedom of association (p. 153). For Communists, there was no right of assembly or freedom of expression. Similar attitudes and tactics were used in the aftermath of the General Strike of 1926 and against the National Unemployed Workers' Movement in the Depression years of the 1930s. Hundreds were arrested and jailed. The judiciary showed itself loathe to inhibit police action. The treatment of left-wing movements was in sharp contrast to the treatment of Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists. Much police effort was devoted to defending the fascists' right of assembly and freedom of speech against protestors. It required a widespread public outcry and popular resistance before Parliament acted against their paramilitary parades and uniforms.

Nowhere have Dicey's views on the civil liberties inherent in the rule of law proved more flawed than in Northern Ireland. From its passage in 1922, the Special Powers Act gave the police almost unlimited powers of arrest and detention and the Unionist politicians in the devolved Parliament the authority to create "a Protestant Government for a Protestant People," as the first prime minister of Northern Ire-

land had it. Successive governments in London chose not to interfere until civil rights demonstrations eventually forced their hand and brought the suspension of the Parliament and a quarter of a century of bloody turmoil.

Not surprisingly, the strength of the book lies in the analysis of the legislation, the key court cases, and the judges' dicta. In what was a highly politicized judiciary, drawn from a small social caste, the views were rarely in favor of the extension of democratic rights, while the failure of Parliament to provide any serious check on executive power is clear throughout. This important and sobering book should give us all cause for worry. It still leaves room for a work on the struggle for civil liberties, on those few individual MPs who did try to resist the encroachments of power, and on these relatively unknown and unsung figures—such as Ronald Kidd, the founder of the Council for Civil Liberties—who tried to rouse the British to an awareness that their democracy and their civil liberties were fragile things that needed careful protecting.

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JULIE V. GOTTLIEB. *Feminine Fascism: Women in Britain's Fascist Movement, 1923–1945*. London: I. B. Tauris. 2000. Pp. x, 378. \$59.50.

The purpose of Julie V. Gottlieb's book is both to tell the story of the relationship between women and interwar British fascism and also to offer an explanation of why some women were attracted to this particular movement. Before coming to the detail of her account, it is worth locating her work within the historiographical debates. It seems to this reviewer that over the past twenty years, social history has fallen under the influence of cultural and linguistic theory. More and more conventional histories are shaped by this method. When historians concerned are interested in popular movements, the debt can work to good effect, encouraging a due skepticism toward prior accounts. Yet when historians are writing about conservative or reactionary movements, the magical allure of postmodernism often exerts as a baneful influence. It can encourage a naïve fascination with the style of what were violent and antidemocratic movements.

The recent historiography of European fascism has largely been informed by the emergence of such cultural histories. Writers such as Emilio Gentile, Mabel Berezin, and Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi have gone some way toward demonstrating the connection between fascism and modernism evident in Italian painting, architecture, and theater in the 1920s and 1930s. Meanwhile the so-called "new consensus" in the study of generic fascism is for historians to analyze fascism as an intellectual tradition characterized by a synthesis of different ideas, including racism and elitism, anti-Semitism and utopianism, antirationalism, anticonservatism, but especially nationalism and socialism. Roger Griffin, Roger Eatwell, Stanley Payne,

and Ze'ev Sternhell are at the forefront of this trend, and Gottlieb's book is strongly influenced by their work. Consequently, her account shares the strengths and weaknesses of the "new consensus."

What then does Gottlieb argue? Chapters are devoted to different aspects of the British fascist experience, including the role of the first fascist groups in the 1920s, models of female participation in the mature movement, the ideology of feminine fascism, the role played by a small number of former suffragettes within the movement, the relationship between women and the fascist leader Oswald Mosley, and the experience of internment. The style of the narrative is lively, even provocative. We learn, for example, that Rotha Lintorn-Orman, founder of Britain's first far-right party, the British Fascisti (BF), was persistently the victim of rumors that her home was the site of undesirable practices, drugs, and drunken orgies. Using the method of the ideal type, Gottlieb concludes that the BF were not "revolutionary," of the radical right but not fascist.

Given its method, the book is necessarily concerned with the external forms of fascist politics. The speeches, newspaper articles, and pamphlets of British fascism are examined in a thorough but relatively uncritical manner, as a form of political language whose meaning can be taken as read. Thus the chapter on female participation in the British Union of Fascists (BUF) devotes six pages to women's involvement in the 1939–1940 peace campaign and less than half that length to two important splits that led to the departure of a number of female organizers. The same chapter also cites the memoirs of Yolande McShane, BUF district women's inspector for Merseyside, in which McShane claimed that one BUF meeting was attacked by people wielding knuckle-dusters, bicycle chains, and razor-studded potatoes. Given that the BUF, unlike its opponents, possessed a militarized wing, the sheer implausibility of McShane's memoirs seems clear, as does their unsuitability for any naïve historical repetition.

One of the most interesting sections of this book deals with the history of Mary Richardson, Norah Elam, and Mary Allen, three former suffragettes who sided with fascism. Each was accorded considerable publicity within the BUF. Elam was one of the group that had followed Christabel and Emmeline Pankhurst in dropping the suffrage issue in 1914 in order to support the British war effort. By contrast, Richardson had been a Labour Party candidate in the 1920s, later declaring that she joined the BUF in order to support their "policy of Imperialism." Closer in background to Elam, Allen went on hunger strike for the vote twice before leaving behind this activist role in 1909. An incorrigible fantasist, she maintained that she alone had invented the idea of a women's police, and as an officer in Margaret Dawson's wartime Women's Police Force, she insisted that every junior address her as "sir." Despite Gottlieb's claims, we are not dealing with "three woman who fought in the vanguard of the

Edwardian suffrage struggle." Yet the account here is important, reminding us that the women's suffrage movement was politically a more complex phenomenon than is often supposed.

Toward the end of her book, Gottlieb draws together the threads of her analysis. What she claims to have detected is a strand of "Feminine Fascism," something altogether different from its typical male form. Part of this argument is a rejection of previous scholarship, which Gottlieb dismisses as having characterized fascism as "anti-woman, anti-feminist and male supremacist." In contrast, Gottlieb suggests that her own account is "multi-faceted." Another important idea is the distinction between British and European fascism. Gottlieb clearly believes that the former was far less misogynist. Later, however, she qualifies this distinction, indicating that women existed only on the "fringe" of fascism and then citing this claim (rather oddly) as evidence of "the intensity of women's agency." The final paragraphs are a very mixed bag, comparing the ideas of women in the BUF to the feminism of Camille Paglia and criticizing recent television programs for treating the history of British fascism as a story of sexual intrigues before commenting (quite fairly) that fascism was an ideology that stood for world domination, racial persecution, and the abolition of human creativity. If the link between these disparate ideas appears stretched in this review, it is because no connection is given in the book itself.

Overall, there is much to commend about this book. Gottlieb writes in an accessible way, her argument is lively, and it will appeal to people interested in the myths that fascism chose to describe itself. Yet there is a problem. Gottlieb's method takes the ideas of fascism without sufficient distance. Despite the stated intention of the author, her account therefore has a tendency to repeat the movement's impression of itself. Gottlieb's book is by no means the worst of its kind, but it does tend to suffer from the flaws of its genre, including an unhealthy enthusiasm for its subject.

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JAMES ELLISON. *Threatening Europe: Britain and the Creation of the European Community, 1955–58.* (Contemporary History in Context.) New York: St. Martin's. 2000. Pp. xiii, 310. \$69.95.

The complex relationship between Britain and the emerging European Communities of the 1950s and 1960s has attracted much historical research. In part, this is stimulated by the fact that government documents are now available. The trend is no doubt sustained by London's misgivings about the European Union of today.

With scholarly access to primary source material, it is perhaps not surprising that the portrayal of British policy should change in some important respects. A number of studies have sought to correct the hitherto

pervasive impression of Britain as a passive bystander when six continental governments were laying the foundations for what today is the most advanced form of institutionalized regional integration. While the idea of Britain having "missed a bus" sometime during the 1950s may survive as a potent metaphor for pamphleteers, historical attention has shifted away from apportioning blame for inactivity, and now focuses instead on the policies London *did* pursue.

James Ellison deserves praise for illuminating a particularly intriguing episode in this respect: the abortive British-inspired scheme for a wider Free Trade Area (FTA) surrounding and including the European Economic Community (EEC or Common Market). Impeccably researched, clearly written, and extremely well documented, his book examines the origin, negotiation, and ultimate failure of the plan, placing the underlying British motives in the wider contexts of both economic policy and international relations.

Arranged chronologically, the book traces the FTA idea back to the hostile attitude adopted by Britain toward the Common Market project in 1955. Ellison convincingly argues that although at this stage the plan may have been "maliciously conceived" as a counter-initiative, it later gathered momentum as a genuine European policy in its own right, after British attempts to "stifle the Common Market at birth" had gone so disastrously wrong.

In what is the most thorough examination of departmental thinking to date, Ellison uncovers a great diversity of views held by officials and ministers in the Board of Trade, the Treasury, and the Foreign Office. During the formulation of the details of the FTA, such attitudes could simultaneously and paradoxically include the belief that the initiative was meant to save the Common Market from being stillborn, the hope that the Six would falter, and even the expectation that the FTA may have divided the Six by offering an alternative. Ellison identifies the Cold War crises of 1956—above all, the humiliating Suez experience—as the single most important factor in bringing these contradictory departmental views in line behind the wish to negotiate the FTA while leaving the EEC intact. The FTA should therefore be regarded as an earnest British attempt to move closer to the Europeans, yet as one that reflected wider political considerations, was in line with earlier policies, and did not indicate a wholesale conversion to the cause.

With regard to the negotiations themselves, Ellison emphasizes the flexibility demonstrated by British officials, particularly in response to repeated French attempts to use the technical details of the free trade arrangement to stall the scheme. Overall, however, too little attention was paid to the political interests of other nations: turning toward Europe was perceived in London as a radical policy reversal; mistakenly it was assumed that EEC governments would likewise appreciate the step and would therefore unreservedly welcome the British. No detailed assessment of the views

of others was undertaken and when difficulties arose, British negotiators had little positive to offer. Instead they reverted back to threats of disengagement and impending trade conflict; tactics that did little to inspire confidence on the continent. In any case, the British government regarded the FTA as dead and buried long before Charles de Gaulle decided to put an end to the negotiations in November 1958. For nearly six months, officials at Whitehall had been working on a face-saving way out, while at the same time rallying Scandinavian and other EEC nonmembers around the idea of a separate trading bloc—the European Free Trade Association.

Ellison paints a vivid picture of the difficulties experienced by a government that had to reformulate its European policy in a situation dictated by events beyond its control. The first successes of continental integration, the staunch support given to the EEC by the United States administration, the economic projections regarding Britain's relative decline as well as the wider political development of the East-West conflict: all had to be dealt with simultaneously. Ellison's book is a major contribution to the scholarship on the history of Anglo-European relations. By including in his study of the FTA negotiations both Britain's initial negative response to the Common Market plans and the formulation of the EFTA proposals, he reminds us that such policy initiatives cannot be understood in isolation. Multilateral diplomacy as much depends on the ability to navigate a web of interests as its room to maneuver is limited by past performance and by the incremental character of foreign policy making. Britain has yet to break the latter chain.

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PÁDRAIG YEATES. *Lockout: Dublin 1913*. New York: Palgrave. 2000. Pp. xxx, 670. \$65.00.

This book is, in some ways, the story of two individuals. Liverpool-born James Larkin (1874–1947) was general secretary of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union (ITGWU). A Catholic syndicalist socialist, he was—like that other non-Irish-born figure, James Connolly—one of the giants of Irish labor history. An energetic and magnetic union leader, Larkin was a fine organizer and an even finer orator. Indeed, his presence alarmed many Irish employers, including William Martin Murphy. The latter had been born in the 1840s and was, in 1913, a very prominent member of Dublin's capitalist class. He sought a confrontation with Larkin in order that the man and his union might be crushed. The result was the 1913 Dublin lockout, a tale massively told here in Pádraig Yeates's well-researched book.

Larkin had decided to organize Murphy's Dublin United Tramways Company (DUTC), and it was this that sparked the epic struggle of 1913. Murphy was determined to defeat Larkinism and had already told

his employees at the *Irish Independent* that they would have to choose between the ITGWU and their jobs. In August 1913, Dublin tram drivers and conductors stopped work; as ITGWU members, they had refused the demand of the DUTC boss to renounce their union. There spiralled a grand conflict involving sympathetic strikes and an employer-generated lockout—a battle that ended in effective defeat for the strikers in January 1914. But although workers returned to work and simply took the best terms they could get, the lockout had failed to crush Larkin's union. At the end of 1913, the ITGWU had 22,935 members, compared with 24,135 at the start of the year. Moreover, as Yeates's narrative makes clear, the union had in fact come close to winning this conflict.

It was a fierce, determined struggle by both sides. At its heart was the crucial question of union recognition, of great significance in a Dublin that had recently seen considerable industrial conflict. Murphy claimed not to oppose trade unions as such but rather Larkinism in particular, and certainly the labor leader himself took it personally. "The employing class have determined in the interests of themselves and all the capitalist class that one individual must be broken and the organization he represents must be smashed into chaos," Larkin argued (p. 13). Murphy's *Irish Independent* declared, for its part, that "a deliberate attempt is being made to establish a reign of ruffianism in the city" (p. 76). Larkin did have something of the factious demagogue about him and was clearly a difficult man. Even Connolly, his comrade, observed that Larkin was "consumed with jealousy and hatred of anyone who will not cringe to him" (p. xxvii). Another sympathetic observer, the revolutionary nationalist Maud Gonne, described Larkin as "too vain and too jealous and too untruthful to make a really great leader" (p. xxviii). Like William Shakespeare's Cicero, Larkin preferred not to follow anything that other men began. But his project was a major one, involving as it did the idea that trade unionism was far more than just a means for improving wages and conditions: trade unionism offered a way of creating within capitalism its socialist successor.

Yeates has written the first full study of the 1913 conflict, and it is a valuable narrative to add to the shelves, alongside works by scholars of Irish labor history such as Donal Nevin, Desmond Greaves, David Howell, and John Lynch. The book is helpful in preventing 1913 from being viewed merely as a prelude to the Easter Rising three years later (although one of its most important legacies surely remains the effect on Connolly's thinking). Yeates presents the lockout as an unnecessary dispute, a conflict that would probably not have occurred but for the personalities of Larkin and Murphy. He describes a battle in which passions became too enraged for rational compromise to prevail, and throughout the book he offers a humane view of this "tragedy" (p. 581).

The 1913 strikers gained wide sympathy from artists and bohemians, from many people not themselves

committed to Larkin's specific political vision. These included figures such as the later Irish Republican Army leader, Ernie O'Malley, who sympathized with the strikers while not himself being a socialist. There is a related danger, perhaps, of seeing this drama as indicative of too great a socialist possibility for Ireland. Yeates himself suggests that the 1913 lockout provides us with "a glimpse of an alternative Ireland that people strove for before competing nationalisms imposed their own social straitjackets" (p. x). But was Larkin's ever truly a viable alternative Ireland? The reason that competing, socially conservative nationalisms gained such dominance within post-1913 Ireland was less that they were somehow imposed on an unwilling population than that they reflected the instincts, aspirations, and views of the majority of Irish people. Despite the extensive research that went into it, nothing in this impressive book makes a socialist Ireland appear to have been a plausible twentieth-century likelihood.

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DANIEL ROCHE, editor. *La ville promise: Mobilité et accueil à Paris (fin XVII^e-début XIX^e siècle)*. Paris: Fayard, in association with Centre national du livre. 2000. Pp. 438. FR 175.00.

Paris has long been a privileged destination for many, both provincials—that is to say, inherently disadvantaged Frenchmen—and foreigners. In addition, Paris, like other large cities, has needed a flow of newcomers to sustain its numbers, let alone fuel growth. Many of its more permanent residents have been without a fixed abode. Add up newcomers and the floating population, and it is clear that however far back one goes, demand for lodgings—furnished accommodation rented on a relatively short-term basis—must have been substantial. During the very long eighteenth century that concerns us here, that demand was also enormously varied, since the clientele ranged from English milords to humble laborers eager to take most of their earnings back with them to the Creuse or the Savoie at the end of the season. The lodger population was of special concern to the authorities, in part because it included elements inimical to public order—spies, adventurers, wanted criminals, and prostitutes—but also in part by the mere fact that its members did not have a respectable fixed abode and community.

The lodgers and the institutions that dealt with them form the subject of the present volume edited by Daniel Roche. Using a variety of sources, many relatively unfamiliar—for example, the Foreign Ministry reports on foreigners from the late *ancien régime*—contributors examine police surveillance, guidebooks (which I ignore), lodgings and their providers, and what can be known of the clientele. The subject is promising, and a great deal of work has gone into the research. To this reader, however, the book remains difficult and ultimately frustrating to read. Anyone not

truly fluent in French and knowledgeable about pre-Haussmann Paris is likely to find the effort great relative to the return.

The trouble begins with the subtitle, since the word *accueil* is hard to translate. The book makes clear that no great welcome was extended to newcomers; indeed they were assimilated to the most suspect of the "settled" population. At best, they shared the congestion and insalubrity that characterized the whole city before Napoleon III's much-maligned prefect undertook his drastic renovations. While one could lodge cheaply enough—less than 10 livres/francs per month in places—any adequate accommodation must have been quite expensive, and if one had servants or horses to put up, even more so. It is, of course, hard to generalize about cost, since lodgings ran from luxurious hotels, or noble houses with a courtyard and a garden, through inns and furnished apartments (*garnis*), to shared floor space in some squalid corner of a house or flat. The hotel in its modern sense, with numerous private bedrooms, only gradually took over as the more common meaning of the term.

Numerically, the bulk of newcomers to Paris who stayed in lodgings were seasonal male workers, with a concentration in the building and carrying trades. Although data are sparse and estimates vary greatly, the floating population (in registered lodgings) is here put at five percent of the city's total as a rough average from 1750 to 1840. By the 1840s, 6,000 lodging providers were enumerated, and it is estimated that 200,000 persons entered Paris each year. How many left and how soon one cannot say, although the city was by then growing rapidly, indeed spilling out into the soon-to-be-incorporated faubourgs.

Despite great efforts by the police to require that purveyors of lodging register, signpost their establishment, and keep strict data on their clients' comings and goings, much of the activity escaped their vigilance. It was not for want of effort, motivated by fiscal as well as security concerns. So eager were the authorities to keep track that they even mandated private citizens to declare visitors who stayed with them, although it is doubtful that many complied. In this respect, it may be said, the continuity from the days of Louis XIV right through the revolution and into the Third (and the Fourth) Republics is remarkable. Inspector Jules Maigret's men, combing cheap hotels for shady characters, would have felt right at home with their *ancien régime* predecessors, to say nothing of the more draconian revolutionary system of the 1790s.

The geography of lodgings gets a good deal of attention in the book, although the reader will have some trouble situating the neighborhoods (only one map lists the contemporary names of the districts). The overall story is fairly straightforward. The right bank gained on the left as business (and tourism) developed, while the better establishments tended to migrate north and west of the old center. To the east, the popular and industrious faubourgs were home to much of the low-end supply. Students and visiting

aristocrats, presumably together with writers and artists from elsewhere, remained south of the river despite the loss of fashion. Notwithstanding the prevailing impression of continuity from the late seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth century, a kind of sea change did take place over the period. In the time of Louis XIV, mobility was still perceived as evidence of misfortune, save for specific groups, from soldiers and pilgrims to carters and rivermen. Receiving a stranger was a matter of charity or hospitality at best and public order at worst. Ho(s)tel, hospice, hospital, host: the words tell the story. By the reign of Louis Philippe, on the other hand, at the dawn of the railway age, travel and lodging were becoming an identifiable and growing economic presence in the city. It is hard to imagine today that, just before the revolution, barely 5,000 foreigners came to Paris in a year, most from countries bordering on France. Today, a score of jumbo jets can disgorge that many in a day at Charles de Gaulle Airport alone, to say nothing of arrivals by train and car. A revolution indeed. The present book, although not the last word on the subject, uncovers worthwhile sources and shines the spotlight on the transformation of a relatively neglected aspect of urban history.

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WHITNEY WALTON. *Eve's Proud Descendants: Four Women Writers and Republican Politics in Nineteenth-Century France*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2000. Pp. 308. \$49.50.

This is an elegantly written, meticulously researched, and well-argued analysis of the lives, careers, writings, and political views of four prominent French writers: George Sand, Marie d'Agoult, Hortense Allart, and Delphine Gay de Girardin. Born within four years of each other (1801–1805), these women were major figures in the French literary establishment from the final decade of the Bourbon Restoration to the early Second Empire. Their works encompassed a variety of genres. Sand, the most famous of the group, was primarily a novelist, although she also wrote political tracts for the fledgling Second Republic in 1848. D'Agoult wrote novels and political essays, but she was most known for her histories, including a three-volume history of the revolution of 1848. Like d'Agoult, Allart wrote fiction and essays but was best known for her histories of Athens and Florence. Girardin began her writing career as a successful poet and then turned to plays and journalism, analyzing contemporary politics and society under the aristocratic male pseudonym Vicomte de Launay in a column entitled "Courrier de Paris" published in her husband's journal, *La Presse*.

Acclaimed for their intelligence and their writings, Sand, d'Agoult, Allart, and Girardin formed a loose group or, as Whitney Walton calls it, a subculture within the Parisian literary elite. They knew each other (Allart and Girardin were cousins), wrote to each other, and alternately supported and criticized each

other. They also consciously sought to distinguish their writings from one another. Collectively as well as individually, they violated prevailing notions of proper female behavior in their personal lives and by writing about sex, passion, and sexuality. Sand and d'Agoult left their husbands and conducted publicly visible affairs with other men. D'Agoult and Allart bore children out of wedlock. Girardin married relatively late (at age twenty-seven) and remained childless.

Their personal behavior combined with the subject of many of their writings produced considerable prejudice and criticism. Most annoying were repeated male attempts to undercut the women's literary achievements by identifying them as bluestockings (i.e. physically unattractive, mannish women who were sexually promiscuous, neglectful mothers, and overly proud of their "presumed artistic genius" [p. 85]). As Walton persuasively argues, all four women fought against this stereotype, ridiculing the men who wielded it, presenting themselves as artists and individuals rather than as a type, and writing about the discrimination women faced. Girardin cleverly pilloried the journalists who perpetuated the image with a counter-stereotype: "the male journalist who eats and drinks luxuriously and to excess, who is lazy, stupid, and immoral, and who carelessly maligns decent and honest folk merely to meet a deadline and with the connivance of his unholy brotherhood" (p. 101).

Politically the women were feminists and republicans, although here, too, they did not present a monolithic front. Generally speaking, they opposed laws that gave men authority over women and challenged the notion that men were intellectually superior to women. In both their lives and their writings, they demolished the barrier between private and public that governed and confined the lives of most women of their era. Believing in marriage but not in its current guise, they argued in their individual ways for egalitarian families in which men and women would share intelligent work and responsibility for child rearing. If anything, their personal lives were more radical than their writings. They were fully prepared to head their own households, pursue their careers, and live without men. More radical role models would have been hard to find in the nineteenth century.

While individual readers will surely wish for the more detailed information about each woman that only separate biographies can provide, Walton's decision to write a comparative, intellectual biography gives her insight into the collective significance of these women and makes complex and nuanced analysis possible. The book is a difficult undertaking, and Walton carries it off well. She argues that through their personal behavior and published writings, Sand, Allart, d'Agoult, and Girardin "shifted the ground of discussion from the political rights of the individual to the implementation of republican principles in a truly egalitarian family . . . [E]liminated the barrier between private and public life . . . and challenged certain assumptions about femininity . . . [to create] the figure

of a republican woman to replace the more limited ideal of the republican mother" (p. 200). At the same time, she explores the differences in the women's ideas, careers, and personal lives and presents them as individuals rather than as examples of a literary type. The book is a major achievement.

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ARNE JARRICK, editor. *Only Human: Studies in the History of Conceptions of Man*. (Stockholm Studies in History, number 61.) Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International. 2000. Pp. 383.

This volume of essays presents a range of research by a group of historians (mostly at Uppsala and Stockholm Universities) into changing reflexive attitudes to the human condition itself during the period from the Reformation to the late nineteenth century. Throughout, the emphasis is very much on Swedish published and unpublished source material, but all the essays are written in clear English (there is no indication of who undertook the translation), and each has detailed footnote references as well as a bibliographical list including (where applicable) unpublished archival sources.

Unlike many collections of essays, this particular volume attains considerable unity of purpose partly because of its Swedish focus, and the resulting common ideological unity underpinning most of the source material. The papers are also held together by the quite specific remit of the research project of which they were part, concentrating, according to editor Arne Jarrick's explanation, on human motivation rather than action, on man's and woman's balancing act between aspirations and self-control, and on the key features that distinguish humans in what was once seen as the great chain of being. The papers fall into two sections: the first ranges from the debates between Swedish theologians at the time of the Lutheran Reformation, across aspects of seventeenth-century mercantilist thinking, to the cautious adoption of Enlightenment ideas in the later eighteenth century. The second, more imaginative section concentrates on particular issues within society: on changing attitudes to childhood and children across a broader time-span, on incipient gender debates in the Swedish press and other writings from the period of the French Revolution through the nineteenth century, and on contemporary responses to criminality and suicide. These issues, however, are not tackled according to conventional quantitative social history methodology; instead, contemporary observations (mostly in print) are treated selectively, as representations of individual intent, rather than in terms of collective experience or of the diffusion of ideas. When this comes off well, the result can be both refreshing and distinctive.

Inevitably, in a volume pitched so consistently toward the history of ideas, some authors do not go much beyond summarizing key issues raised by the writers

whom they have studied—sometimes framing their argument within a summary sketch of the Swedish historical context, which may well appear superficial to the specialist and tantalizingly brief to those less familiar with northern European history. Similarly, in the essay on mercantilism, the initial historiographical discussion of Eli Heckscher could have been more effectively reviewed in the light of later scholarship, just as the survey of early modern Swedish commentators might well have been better placed in the contemporary European context on which they themselves relied. Elsewhere, for example in the discussion of attitudes toward childhood, the emphasis on the law and on normative descriptive sources, although interesting in itself, raises questions of interpretation and empirical contextualization that (no doubt for reasons of space) are not tackled effectively in this volume. Reliance on published material, in a country that for most of the period had very strict censorship combined with thorough regulation of imported printed material, clearly has its methodological limitations.

Nonetheless, a number of the contributors succeed in making the most of such deliberate limitations by providing innovative and stimulating reflections on their material. David Tjeder casts some unusual light on nineteenth-century conceptions of ideal manhood, including criteria such as usefulness, vanity, greed, and competitiveness, while pointing to outright confusion over gender roles in the publications themselves. Christine Bladh finds, not surprisingly, a much more conventional view of women among the mostly male writers contributing to Swedish newspapers between 1770 and 1830. Jarrick himself, analyzing suicide in terms of “a social action in which redistribution of shame and guilt between the suicide and the survivors” is the central motif, not only delves into a wide range of European commentaries before and after J. W. von Goethe’s *Werther* but also takes the reader away from the more well-established agenda of community response and social prejudice, and from conformist religious condemnations of suicide. Historians already familiar with Jarrick’s research will not be disappointed with this challenging conclusion to a volume that deserves a wide readership.

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PIRJO MARKKOLA, editor. *Gender and Vocation: Women, Religion and Social Change in the Nordic Countries, 1830–1940*. (Studia Historica, number 64.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 2000. Pp. 245.

Among historians of the modern world, the Nordic countries are predominantly known for their elaborate welfare state systems. In addition, feminist scholars have often noted the exceptionally high percentage of female representatives in the Nordic parliaments. Less commonly known is the long tradition of Evangelical Lutheran State churches in all Nordic societies and the

fact that around ninety percent of the Danish, Finnish, Icelandic, Norwegian, and Swedish populations still belong to these churches. Lutheran Christianity thus constitutes an important, though often ignored, component of Nordic history, including Nordic women’s history.

Possibly because of the predominance of secularized worldviews in the region today, until recently few Scandinavian women’s historians have chosen to delve into this topic, resulting in a Nordic women’s history that has been all but “religion blind.” This volume of scholarly essays is part of current efforts to redress this shortcoming, and as one of the first sources of information about women and religion in the Nordic countries available in English, it provides an international audience with important new insights into nineteenth and early twentieth-century Nordic women’s history. Moreover, for scholars of religion it offers interesting discussions of the particularities of Lutheran theology and its impact on social and cultural change in modernizing societies.

Taking their point of departure in the Lutheran ethic of vocation, which bids every person to work for the kingdom of God according to his or her qualifications, each of the five contributors explores how this religious mandate impacted women’s lives. As they note, Martin Luther specified women’s vocation as that of wife, mother, sister, and helpmeet of man, yet this prescription left considerable room for interpretation of the actual duties of a Christian woman. As Nordic women soon discovered, it could in fact be used both to justify and to challenge gender orthodoxy.

In her fascinating essay on the origins of women’s organizing in Sweden in the mid-nineteenth century, Inger Hammer, for example, documents how early women’s rights activists used theological arguments to justify their demands for female emancipation and a larger sphere of activities for women. Drawing personal strength from the conviction that human equality was sanctioned by Christ, they insisted on women’s right to develop God-given intellectual talents and on women’s religious duty to expand their sphere of influence beyond the home. Contrary to common assumptions that secularization and women’s emancipation go hand in hand, Hammer concludes that religiously anchored arguments were critical to the promotion of women’s rights in nineteenth-century Sweden, and that increasing secularization at the end of the century proved more problematic than advantageous to the existing women’s rights movement.

According to Bjørg Seland, pietistic Norwegian women involved in nineteenth-century missionary work also took advantage of the ethic of vocation as a means to break gender conventions. Perceiving themselves to have a special calling from God, many of these women were able to claim positions that gave them fairly wide authority both within their own circles and in the broader community. In spite of widespread opposition to female preachers, a few strong-willed individuals even managed to win support and financial

backing for international missionary work. In 1870, the Norwegian Missionary Society thus sent its first official female missionary abroad to convert "heathens" to the Christian faith.

Less concerned with religious conversions but equally committed to realizing their religious convictions in everyday life, many urban middle-class women also contributed to the expansion of women's social role in the late nineteenth century. Confronting the miseries associated with early industrialization, such women increasingly interpreted their calling as the duty to provide care not only for family members but for the community as a whole. As Pirjo Markkola, Karin Lützen, and Inga Huld Hakonardottir point out in their respective studies of Finnish, Danish, and Icelandic women's history, this reinterpretation of Christian women's vocation brought thousands of women out of the home and into a broad range of philanthropic and moral reform work, in effect laying the foundations for the later Scandinavian welfare systems. Private charity would ultimately prove insufficient to meet great social needs, however, a realization that led some of these Christian women to argue in favor of political reform, including the extension of suffrage to women.

Even though the individual essays present national case studies, careful editing and close cooperation among the scholars have contributed to a remarkably cohesive volume of interesting and thoughtful scholarship. Readers unfamiliar with Nordic history will appreciate Markkola's substantial introduction, which outlines the broader historical context. In addition, the individual authors carefully situate their findings in the particular national contexts. Ultimately, these findings could have been highlighted by more specific discussions of how Lutheran Protestantism differentiated itself from other forms of evangelical Christianity. As several of the authors note, Nordic women drew inspiration from international Protestant women's organizations such as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, but it remains unclear whether the ideological foundations for similar organizations in the Nordic countries were modified to fit the Lutheran context. Scholars with a particular interest in the history of the Scandinavian welfare states would probably also have appreciated additional information about the transition from religiously motivated private charity to state-funded welfare programs, and about the impact of this transition on women. Nonetheless, this volume should find many interested readers.

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PIRKKO-LIISA KASTARI. *Mao missa sä oot? Kiinan kulttuurivallankumous Suomen 1960-luvun keskusteluissa*. [The Discovery of Chairman Mao in Finland in the 1960s]. (Bibliotheca Historia, number 65.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 2001. Pp. 471.

The title of this volume translates as *Mao, where have you got to?* Pirkko-Liisa Kastari has written a professional monograph, solidly grounded on extensive archival sources, including the Finnish foreign ministry documents and the reports of the Finnish political police, who kept close watch over the activities of their political radicals and revolutionaries. Basically it offers a well-documented narrative of the impact on Finnish politics and thinking of the Chinese Cultural Revolution and the interest in Mao Zedong's thought that it generated, and of the parallel upsurges of revolutionary enthusiasm among the student generation all over the Western world generated by the Peace Movement, the anti-Vietnam War movements, and enthusiasm for Third World anti-imperialism and the search for a socialist "third way" that would be neither communist nor social democratic. Kastari concentrates on the years 1967–1970, when Finland was touched, although rather mildly, by the international left-wing excitements of the period. These were further stimulated by the Prague Spring and then brutally halted by the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and the deepening antagonism between Russia and China, which split the Communist camp between Moscow and Beijing, to the point that Russia and China engaged in armed conflict on their mutual border in 1969.

Kastari shows that the worldwide development of Maoist political movements on the radical left, with Mao Zedong's *Little Red Book* as its sacred text, did not have much lasting impact in Finland. The Finnish Maoists were an utterly insignificant fringe group of university and school student activists, who never got as far as founding a serious political movement of their own. China was a great unknown in Finland; there was no previous history of lasting contact between the two societies. Finland was committed to a special relationship with the USSR, embodied in the Mutual Assistance Treaty of 1948. After 1949, when China and Russia were allies, Finland sought to develop positive contacts with the new China. When the alliance began to break up in the 1960s the Finnish leaders were desperate not to get involved in the dispute and sensibly decided to say nothing but quietly put relations with China on hold. When the Cultural Revolution broke out, Finland got its meager information from a mixture of official Soviet propaganda and Western views often mediated through Sweden, where there was serious interest in China and Maoist thought.

But the broader revolutionary enthusiasms that swept the student and youth movements touched Finland as well. There was a peace movement, there was the movement to support Vietnam, and there were student revolutionaries whose heroes tended to be Fidel Castro or Che Guevara. Interest in Mao and his thought fed into this political ferment. But Finland is basically a reserved and disciplined society that proved unreceptive to revolutionary enthusiasms. The various radical groups achieved very little in the end: a brief occupation of the student union building at Helsinki

University, street protests and demonstrations, and a series of "Red Saturdays" during the summer of 1968, with mass meetings in central Helsinki whose focus gradually shifted from the Vietnam War to Mao's revolutionary thought. The tiny groups of Maoists organized discussions, distributed leaflets, and sent their own contingents to the street demonstrations. It was a measure of how uptight the Finnish establishment was that, when a single protester burned an American flag in front of the United States embassy on the Fourth of July, it was treated as a major challenge to law and order. Then the invasion of Czechoslovakia interrupted the debates. This action, and the Brezhnev doctrine of justified intervention to defeat counter-revolution, looked threatening to Finns on the left and right. The most dramatic internal consequence was that the Finnish Communist Party, a powerful, disciplined force that regularly got as much as a quarter of the vote in Finnish elections, split under the pressure. The majority openly rejected the Soviet action as a departure from Marxist-Leninist ideology; a minority of hard-line Stalinists broke away to form a Communist opposition. This schism, in time, led to a reordering of leftist politics in Finland that marginalized revolutionary radicals even more. The hope it generated among the Maoists that there was now an opening for a true Marxist-Leninist revolutionary politics proved groundless. The devoted group of activists who had briefly attracted public attention in 1968–1969 were pushed to the fringes of politics, while the Social Democrat Party benefited and moved toward the dominant position in Finnish politics that it currently enjoys. Finland is still waiting for Mao to come and change everything.

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FABIENNE TARIC ZUMSTEG. *Les sorciers à l'assaut du village Gollion (1615–1631)*. (Etudes d'histoire moderne, number 2.) Lausanne, Switzerland: Editions du Zèbre. 2000. Pp. 363.

The Pays de Vaud, conquered in 1536 by the Swiss Protestant canton of Bern, which ruled it for over 250 years, holds the unenviable distinction of being, for its size, the most intensely witch-hunting region of Francophone Europe and probably of Protestant Europe as well. No fewer than 971 executions have been counted here between 1580 and 1620, scattered across ninety-one of its 142 seigneurial jurisdictions. Until 1595, Vaud averaged fifteen executions for witchcraft a year; over the next quarter-century, they doubled. Witch burnings continued every year long after 1620, with over a hundred executions recorded in 1629–1630. Although this region has produced important recent scholarship about the fifteenth-century origins of the witches Sabbath, the Pays de Vaud has had no recent monograph about its peak witch-hunting period.

Profiting from a recent discovery enabling her to blend fresh archival information with scattered older

materials, Fabienne Taric Zumsteg, with customary Swiss attention to detail, has dissected the gruesome history of witch hunting in a completely unremarkable Vaudois village of fewer than fifty households (pp. 96–101). Almost forty residents of Gollion were accused of witchcraft between 1616 and 1631, and over two dozen of them were put to death. Like other villages in Vaud, Gollion had no single traumatic witch hunt, although nine people were once burned within two months; with microscopic precision, Zumsteg distinguishes no fewer than six separate *affaires* in seventeen years, each involving several people and sometimes overlapping, chronologically.

Any careful monograph reveals many congruences with well-known general models, but Gollion also has a fair share of unexpected features. Not surprisingly, its suspected witches included some stereotypically old and poor women. Local Sabbats offer no surprises. As in Germany, Vaud's witchcraft accusations accelerated during times of poor harvests and also during attacks of plague; if both coincided, as they did in 1629–1630, witch trials reached record peaks (p. 159 n. 509). A majority of Gollion's witches, including seven married couples, were closely related to each other. One clan, the Semossaz, were involved in all six of Gollion's witchcraft *affaires* between 1615 and 1631 (pp. 102–115). Five of them were burned, five others fled to avoid arrest, and one managed to remain in Gollion despite being denounced; two brothers had been burned previously, while two married daughters were arrested in other villages in 1630–1631. Some people, including Semossaz relatives, were simultaneously victims and perpetrators of witchcraft in a tightly knit small village with multiple legal and economic inequalities, rife with rivalries within as well as between families.

However, in Switzerland dead cows rather than dead infants provoked most witchcraft accusations, which helps explain why a large share of such defendants were men. Gollion's convicted witches included no herbal healers (p. 136) but three highwaymen (pp. 146–50); brigandage infested early modern Switzerland as much as Fernand Braudel's Mediterranean, but here they were sometimes burned as witches rather than hanged for homicide. If two men were simultaneously victims and judges of witchcraft (p. 48 n. 133), Gollion's "dishonor roll" of convicted witches also included two men who had been both officers of the local *seigneur* and *gouverneurs* of their village (pp. 119–121) and some others who were relatively well off.

The author explains the local circumstances that provoked these six *affaires* but never asks why Vaud's general record on witch burnings was so awful. We know that two factors usually reduced witch hunting in the 1600s: careful religious indoctrination at the local level and scrupulous supervision of local judges by an appellate court. One must say that, in governing their *Welschland*, the Bernese failed on both counts. Bern expressed official worries about an excess of witches in Vaud as early as 1543 (p. 44 n. 113; p. 65 n. 197), but

produced no effective educational remedy until 1665, when they issued a special catechism against *sortilège* (p. 87 n. 255). And although the Bernese soon created a special appellate court for civil cases from the Pays de Vaud (p. 42 n. 108), they never tried to interfere with the local nobility's rights of "high" justice by establishing a parallel court for criminal cases. So when Bern's magistrates perfunctorily reviewed Gollion's twenty-seven death sentences for witchcraft between 1615 and 1631, they pardoned only one defendant, while another prisoner committed suicide before they made a ruling (pp. 70–71). Such a record constitutes criminal, not benevolent, neglect.

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SABINE ULLMANN. *Nachbarschaft und Konkurrenz: Juden und Christen in Dörfern der Markgrafschaft Burgau 1650 bis 1750*. (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, number 151.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1999. Pp. 563. DM 116.

German local histories, products of devotion to the historian's craft or the nostalgia for *Heimat*, existed alongside histories of German-Jewish communities, parallel worlds separated by historiographical design. In the past decade or so, their points of congruence and interplay have finally begun to merit the careful scholarly attention they deserve. Sabine Ullmann's book can serve as the model of an integrated approach to German Christian and Jewish local history. (For a recent work that views the two communities as parallel rather than integrated, see Claudia Ulbrich, *Shulamit und Margarete: Macht, Geschlecht und Religion in einer ländlichen Gesellschaft des 18. Jahrhunderts* [1999].) Based almost entirely on primary research in hitherto unexplored archives, it challenges some long enduring notions in European and Jewish historiography.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, most large cities in Central Europe expelled their Jewish inhabitants, with a few exceptions such as Frankfurt, Worms, and Prague. The demographic profile of the Jewish population changed dramatically from primarily urban concentrations to a thinly dispersed rural presence. Most German Jews lived in small towns and villages in close proximity to Christians, with no physical ghetto walls. These Jews lived, worked, socialized, traded, and even gambled and drank with non-Jews. Ullmann's book analyzes the Jews who settled in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the Burgau region surrounding the imperial city of Augsburg. Although Augsburg expelled its Jews in 1439, the municipal archives and those of the surrounding towns contain rich documentation of varied transactions between Christians and Jews, testimony to the proximity of Jews just outside the city limits. Jewish settlements clustered around the central trade arteries on the highways to Augsburg and brought the products of the city to the countryside and vice versa, primarily a trade in livestock, agricultural produce, and textiles.

Ullmann's painstaking analysis of four Jewish settlements—Kriegshaber, Pfersee, Bittenwiesen, and Binswangen, each with a different relationship to the big city—illuminates the way Jews lived, worked, formed communities, and interacted with their Christian surroundings in early modern German lands. While in the sixteenth century Jewish settlement in these areas was too sparse for community formation, after the Thirty Years' War many local nobles aggressively pursued Jewish settlement to intensify economic development in their territories. Always closely monitored by rival economic interests, by the mid-seventeenth century the numbers of Jewish households reached the minimum critical mass for community formation. Moreover, several localities legislated that every economic transaction between Jews and Christians be formally registered as a means of controlling revenue and protecting both parties in the event of disputes, a boon for the historian.

Ullmann finds exciting and repercussive patterns within the dense detail. Jews loomed disproportionately important in the smallest locales and figured least in larger cities. For the period she studies, Jews were thinly dispersed over vast territories in some regions; yet in certain villages, Jews formed a substantial minority, as high as thirty to forty percent of the population, constituting a significant presence in these *Judendörfer* or Jewish villages. This population profile should lay to rest the medieval image of Jews isolated in urban ghettos or living as single units engulfed by a hostile Christian society after the sixteenth century. Most early modern Central European Jews lived well integrated into the economic, social, and judicial world of their Christian neighbors.

Living space was a scarce commodity in the villages of Burgau. Jews generally lived with several families crowded into one house while most (but not all) Christian families had their own home and the land around it. Jewish homes clustered near the synagogue, although they were never segregated from Christian homes, and never situated outside the center of the village. Common lands for grazing were essential to almost all livelihoods; efforts by nobles to reallocate them met with fierce resistance from local inhabitants, who continued to graze their livestock right over the Jewish cemetery, as a sign of religious abasement as well as economic protest. In reversal of the stereotype images, Jews borrowed money from Christian creditors, stood accused of defaming Christian neighbors in litigation over honor, and in general, formed essential social and economic ties within their communities. While in this genre of archival social history we never quite get to know any of the subjects in their whole human dimension, since they primarily exist as statistics, the overall picture represents a tremendous advance over the existing historiography. The precise contours of Jewish life in German lands in this period varied tremendously from place to place. Only by studying the specifics in many locales can we eventually piece together a fuller picture of the whole. Ullmann's

book contributes an outstanding chapter to the history of Jews and Germans in the early modern period.

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MORTEN REITMAYER. *Bankiers im Kaiserreich: Sozialprofil und Habitus der Deutschen Hochfinanz*. (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 136.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 2000. Pp. 428.

Banks and bankers are not central topics for social and economic historians. A fair number of histories of individual banks have been written, focusing in particular on a few relatively well-known private Anglo-American and continental European banking houses and on the dominant joint-stock banks in the industrialized nations. Studies that explore the social structures of the groups behind these businesses are still thin on the ground, despite the huge influence bankers had, and still have, on political decision making. Morten Reitmayer's thoroughly researched and highly readable study of the "high finance" of the German Empire deserves much praise for bridging the gap. It examines the social background of bankers and the ascendance and transformation of this prominent yet elusive group over a period of forty years. This includes a discussion of the shifting position of bankers in the social hierarchy of the empire and their integration into its upper classes. Central to the inquiry is an examination of the avenues through which the financial elite managed to convert economic might into political power and social standing.

Reitmayer's reference group is based on a sample of 376 individuals, selected for their membership of the consortium that issued loans on behalf of Prussia after 1859 and the empire from its foundation. They represent thirty-nine different private or joint-stock banks, either as owners or as managers. Reitmayer preempts criticism of his method of selection by enumerating its disadvantages and comes to the convincing conclusion that, while his subjects of investigation did not constitute absolutely German high finance, they were definitely representative of such. They figured prominently in genealogical and biographical dictionaries and the compendia produced within the financial elite itself. These, together with many bank and local archives as well as a systematic review of economic newspapers and journals, provide the sources of Reitmayer's prosopography. The subjective characteristics and orientations of the historical personalities are then linked to the objective structures they acted within through the application of the concept of "genetic structuralism" developed by Pierre Bourdieu. This methodology is strictly adhered to and provides a useful thread to the reader. However, while it appears to be beneficial to employ, for example, the idea of different sorts of convertible capital at the disposal of individuals (economic, cultural, social) or also the concept of "habi-

tus," it seems at times that the study would have profited more if some of its results were not forced into a sociological straightjacket.

In the early decades of the empire, German high finance was still dominated by a comparatively small group of mostly Jewish owners of private banks who resided in the traditional merchant cities, notably Frankfurt and Hamburg. These individuals, although often immensely rich, were politically and socially isolated from the upper classes, in particular the Prussian nobility. The 1890s, Reitmayer demonstrates, were the years of decisive transformation, and by the beginning of the new century the ethnic and social composition of high finance had become much more diverse. Still many—but not the majority—of bankers were Jews. The public image of bankers was dominated by some very wealthy individuals, but in reality the group had become quite anonymous and consisted more and more of managers of different social backgrounds who lacked great personal fortunes. Most represented joint-stock banks, and the core resided in Berlin, where good connections to political decision makers were crucial for business success. Although they wielded considerable political influence, Reitmayer denies that bankers were the elite of the empire. On the whole, bankers accepted a subordinate social position within the Prussian-German upper classes, which included not only the nobility but also high ranking civil servants and the bourgeoisie of education. Reitmayer details the mechanisms of exclusion and the prevalent anti-Semitism that made social acceptance for Jewish bankers especially difficult, if not impossible.

In his conclusion, Reitmayer attempts to place the results of this study in the framework of the history of the German middle classes (*Bürgertumsforschung*) that has flourished over the past two decades. He flatly rejects the idea that bankers fit into the theory of the feudalization of the middle class, since their ethos and system of values were overwhelmingly bourgeois, but otherwise he supports the old argument of the weakness of middle-class structures in an empire dominated by the monarchy and the nobility. This rather short and not very convincing analysis regrettably comes as a mere adjunct to an otherwise coherent and carefully crafted study.

A final and rather minor criticism could be directed against the periodization of the book. It may be true that methodological and archival constraints speak in favor of ending the inquiry with World War I. However, the Weimar Republic with its volatile economic and political conditions would have been a highly interesting testing ground for the prewar results of the study, and it can be assumed that here a second major transformation of the role of bankers has taken place, something at which Reitmayer only hints.

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BEN LIEBERMAN. *From Recovery to Catastrophe: Municipal Stabilization and Political Crisis in Weimar Germany*. (Monographs in German History, number 3.) New York: Berghahn Books. 1998. Pp. ix, 221. \$35.00.

As the author of this book correctly recognizes, his study runs against the strong pessimistic current that has driven recent Weimar historiography for over two decades and has turned even the 1925–1929 period of stabilization into a “crisis before the crisis.” Much of the gloom and doom has been provided by economic historians, especially Knut Borchardt and Harold James but also William C. McNeil and this reviewer, who have portrayed Weimar’s “good years” as a period in which the republic was able to live well beyond its means thanks to the massive influx of short-term American money. Once this money dried up at the end of the 1920s, the inevitable crisis took place, resulting in massive unemployment, bankruptcies and bank crashes, and a broadly based loss of confidence in both the economic and political system that had fatal consequences in a society whose democratic traditions and commitments were deplorably weak. The stabilization thus appears in the recent work of most economic historians as an illusion-filled intermezzo between inflation and depression.

Ben Lieberman seeks to shift attention back to the promise of economic and social reconstruction during these years as it was reflected in the effort of German municipalities, above all Düsseldorf, Frankfurt, and Hanover, to take advantage of stabilization and the availability of foreign loans to undertake a host of projects designed to promote social welfare, housing, sports and cultural facilities, and an improvement of living conditions in general for their citizens. The result is a valuable account of the various measures undertaken toward these ends: for example, the Gesolei exhibition of 1926 in Düsseldorf devoted to the promotion of better health, social conditions, and physical activity; the numerous construction projects and expansion of municipal facilities under Mayor Ludwig Landmann of Frankfurt; and the housing construction provided by Hanover. Lieberman’s most important contribution, in this reviewer’s opinion, is his demonstration that these projects, despite portrayals in the right-wing press and other venues, were by no means the exclusive product of the left but rather were often undertaken with the support and under the leadership of the bourgeois center and right. There was more consensus about many of them than one would have thought, although of course there were the inevitable differences with respect to emphasis and who the beneficiaries should be, especially in the cultural sphere.

At the same time, Lieberman fully recognizes how divisive municipal spending became. The most important opponents of what some decried as “cold socialization” came from industry and finance and found their most formidable supporter in Reichsbank President Hjalmar Schacht. They argued that municipal

expenditures were “unproductive,” that they deprived private industry of needed capital, and that the use of short-term American loans for such purposes was risky and irresponsible. They also increasingly sought to portray the municipal authorities as corrupt, a charge much strengthened by the Sklarek scandal in Berlin. Within the municipalities themselves, the Economic Party provided constant criticism of “municipal socialism,” especially in the housing sector, and it was soon joined by the other bourgeois groups as the financial situation worsened and bourgeois supporters of municipal public sector expenditure began to jump ship. Lieberman is sharply critical of the arguments used against municipal expenditure, pointing out that the “productivity” debate was misguided and failed to properly perceive much municipal expenditure as an effort to preserve and reproduce human capital. He sees the entire debate and its sad outcome as a confirmation of Detlev Peukert’s view of Weimar’s fate as the outcome of a “crisis of classical modernity.”

Perhaps so, but modernity requires funding, and as the banking crisis and especially the much-neglected collapse of the Rhenish State Bank at the beginning of the July 1931 banking crisis demonstrated, municipal lending contributed mightily to the vulnerability of the banking system. The fatality was that both public expenditure and private capitalism were discredited in the crisis since the critics of the former often conveniently overlooked the extent to which misguided private lending and private corruption were part and parcel of the “system” that Weimar’s enemies succeeded in bringing down. The laudable efforts of Weimar’s municipalities and their democratic potential described by Lieberman certainly deserve to be remembered and appreciated. It is hard to wax enthusiastic about unaffordable municipal expenditure, however, and as the highly relevant example of contemporary Berlin shows, it can be a habit that crosses political lines and that helps to undermine confidence in democratic practice and political institutions. This suggests that other and different lessons are to be drawn from Lieberman’s interesting and useful book.

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ALEKSANDAR-SASA VULETIC. *Christen jüdischer Herkunft im Dritten Reich: Verfolgung und organisierte Selbsthilfe 1933–1939*. (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte, Abteilung Universalgeschichte, number 169.) Mainz: Philipp von Zabern. 1999. Pp. x, 368. DM 78.00.

Until the publication of Victor Klemperer’s diaries, the special fate of “non-Aryan” Christians in Nazi Germany and their “Aryan” relatives was mainly a matter for specialists, but since then it has become well known. The late 1990s was thus a time when interest flourished in the fate of Christians in Germany who

were Jews or partly Jews by Nazi definition. Aleksandar-Sasa Vuletic's book is part of this development.

The fact that Nazi ideology and policy forced people into a particular group does not mean they shared any real common identity before that. This is certainly true for "non-Aryan" Christians, who beside their Jewish ancestry did not have anything in common before the racial policies of 1933. The only collective history they shared was the outcome of Nazi persecution. This artificial creation of a group by the Nazis and the reaction of its forced members is the main topic of Vuletic's book.

Vuletic largely reconstructs their experience by extrapolating from the "non-Aryan" Christians' official organization. His book follows this organization through three different stages, from its foundation in 1933 until its forced liquidation in 1939. At its greatest extent, out of 300,000–400,000 potential candidates, less than 6,000 opted for membership. This and other factors raise questions about the organization's representativeness. However, the organization does provide an opportunity to study the paradoxes inherent in Nazi racial policies.

The organization was founded in Berlin in July 1933. It first took form as the "Federal Organization of Christian German Citizens of Non-Aryan or Not Entirely Pure Aryan Decent." As a result of the Nuremberg Laws, "half Aryans" and people of pure Jewish descent lost their German citizenship. In consequence, the organization had to be renamed. In September 1936, it became the "St. Paul's Brotherhood and Union of Non-Aryan Christians" (or the Paulus Bund for short). It thereby gave up its initial emphasis on Germanness, patriotism, and national pride. A third renaming of the union was to follow in July 1937, after the forced retirement from the group of the members with "pure" Jewish backgrounds.

The organization's potential candidates were found among four different categories defined by the Nuremberg Laws: racially "pure Jews," racially "half Jews," racially "quarter Jews," and "full Aryan" relatives of the other three categories. Vuletic shows how this categorization immediately created the main obstacle for developing solidarity within the newly established organization—which was of course part of its purpose. For the organization to have maximum potential influence, it would be preferable for its members and officers to come mostly from the least Jewish category, that of "quarter Jews." But it was precisely these candidates who had the least interest in joining. They had a chance of "passing" and a strong interest in doing so. Joining the organization would make that impossible, since membership was proofed by the Gestapo. The "pure Jewish" members were less desirable on account of their weaker legal status and lower respectability under the Nazi regime; they were also by and large the most wealthy members.

Most of the contradictions that faced the group stemmed from the impossibility of being a "non-Aryan Christian" in Nazi Germany. Jews had long had an

organized tradition of aid and welfare that was almost untouched by the widespread process of assimilation. Baptized Jews did not. From the point of view of many Christians, the organization was completely artificial because it was compounded of both Protestants and Catholics. This alienated it from both Christian establishments and diminished its chances of getting aid from these quarters. In addition, the Protestant Church actively began to put distance between itself and its "racially" Jewish members as it fell under the influence of the official National Socialist church organization (Deutsche Christen). So even if the Paulus Bund had been wholly Protestant (and it was mostly so), the church would not have been disposed to provide much help.

The rest of the group's problems arose from members' profound misconception of German politics. Caught between a rock and a hard place, their reaction was to try to strive to please the authorities. This plan of action reflected a naïve belief in the reasonability of those authorities and a complete ignorance of the real relations of power between the National Socialist Party and the German state. In regard to its two main goals—improving the chances of its members to get jobs and improving their chances to emigrate—the organization achieved virtually nothing. In light of this failure, its only real draw was the joys of sociability, which, as an artificial group, it was also ill suited to provide.

The book does not go into the biographical details of the organization's leading members in any detail and consigns what information it does have to the footnotes. In some ways that seems a shame. Members' dilemmas must have had an impact on their private lives, and a fuller consideration of those dilemmas might have enriched this book's organizational history with some social history.

YFAAT WEISS

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RUDY KOSHAR. *From Monuments to Traces: Artifacts of German Memory, 1870–1990*. (Weimar and New: German Cultural Criticism, number 24.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2000. Pp. xvi, 352. \$45.00.

Rudy Koshar's new study of Germany's "memory landscape" from 1870 to 1990 provides a persuasive and very un-Nietzschean vindication for Friedrich Nietzsche's claim that Germans suffered from a "consuming fever of history" that "stifled cultural innovation"—from an "excess of memory and history" in Koshar's own "impertinent" phrase (pp. 6–7). In a balanced combination of synthesis, analysis, and well-chosen anecdote, Koshar takes the reader from the Kaiserreich's monument and museum frenzy through the interwar period's dark "forecast of ruin," the Nazis' fulfillment of it, the reconstructions, recastings, and recollections of the postwar decades, and the scattered processes of "rememoration" that marked

the last decades of the twentieth century. He shows decisively that never since the German nation-state began has there been a period of silence about the past or indeed anything less than deep and widespread absorption in its lessons and artifacts. Even though he accounts for an astonishingly diverse array of activities under the rubric of memory work, he holds his narrative together both by maintaining a brisk chronological pace and by attending consistently throughout to the "three-cornered relationship" among the things or objects of memory, the groups and individuals who undertook to memorialize the past, and the "framing devices" by which they made sense of their world (pp. 10–11). Koshar relies particularly on the concept of framing strategies or devices, which amount to the consistent themes of German history, the meanings that imbued this particular group of people with the significance and continuity of an ethnic community. This community—or *ethnie*, as Koshar sometimes calls it, following the practice of the theorist of nationalism Anthony Smith, who evidently decided some years ago that he too needed to coin a term to distinguish his own ideas about nationalism from those of others—"has remembered itself not so much as an invention or product of the imagination" (thus is Benedict Anderson rebuked), "but as an enduring and tangible community capable of enormous societal success as well as fierce human trauma" (p. 14).

As a synthesis of considerable scope and power, Koshar's work provides an accessible and reliable guide through the vast array of writings now available on monuments, memorials, tombstones, museums, reconstructed old buildings, historians' squabbles, and everything else that attests to the presence of history in the present. He has performed a great service to students of both German and European history, for his account is generous with comparative perspectives, balanced judgments, and well-told stories. He has the ease of a practiced master of German cultural and social history, having written extensively already about historical preservation (*Germany's Transient Pasts: Preservation and National Memory in the Twentieth Century* [1998]), communal solidarities and organizations (*Social Life, Local Politics, and Nazism: Marburg, 1880–1935* [1986]), and tourism (*German Travel Cultures* [2000]). What comes through clearly in this culminating work of several decades of research on related issues is Koshar's own vision of German distinctiveness as something that we can find in the Germans' constant struggle to maintain a sense of continuity across great ruptures in the social and political fabric of German life. There is plenty of room in his narrative for alternate visions and abandoned paths, for "persistence as well as slow but palpable innovation," "acceptance as well as rejection" of traditions. Yet he comes back throughout to assert the existence of a broad process by which "memories and myths" were "etched in" and thus worked "to solidify a sense of shared being" (pp. 289–91).

By undertaking such a work of synthesis and broad

chronological sweep, Koshar does run the risk of blandness. There are times when the book presents so balanced a view of German memory work that generalizations about the spirit of any particular age fall away in the face of his determination to be completely fair and even-handed. Thus the chapter titles, moving in chronological succession from "Monuments," "Ruins," "Reconstructions," to "Traces," might each have served almost as well for any of them, since elements of these phenomena appear in every chapter. What all this reveals is that memory work itself is just a reflection, albeit a complicated and fascinating one, of the actual stuff of history. It moves nothing forward; it constitutes no engine of change; it is, in short, not in itself innovative, no matter how revolutionary the design of a particular memorial or the argument of a particular historian. And important though such studies are to our understanding of European culture in these modern times, it is impossible, from moment to moment, not to wonder if Nietzsche was, after all, right.

CELIA APPLIGATE

University of Rochester

MARK CORNWALL. *The Undermining of Austria-Hungary: The Battle for Hearts and Minds*. New York: St. Martin's. 2000. Pp. xvi, 485. \$69.95.

Propaganda has become an established element of modern warfare, yet owing to its very nature, its contribution in determining the outcome of wars remains open to speculation and debate. His title notwithstanding, Mark Cornwall investigates the role of Austria-Hungary not only as a victim of wartime propaganda, but as a producer of it. His account begins in earnest early in 1917, when, after thirty months of generally inconclusive fighting, most of the belligerents of World War I were reassessing their strategies. At that stage, the Central Powers opted to employ subversive means against Russia in order to force it out of the war, then did so with great effect, from the German decision to send V. I. Lenin home via the "sealed train" in April 1917 to the German and Austro-Hungarian use of front propaganda prior to their eastern-front offensive that July. Austria-Hungary subsequently made extensive use of front propaganda before the Central Powers' offensive against Italy in October 1917, which resulted in the breakthrough at Caporetto. According to Cornwall, the collapse of Russia, coinciding with the near-collapse of Italy after Caporetto, caused the Allies to take their own propaganda efforts more seriously. Under the direction of bodies such as Lord Northcliffe's Enemy Propaganda Department in Britain, Allied propaganda became increasingly sophisticated, culminating in the campaign against Austria-Hungary directed by the Padua Commission in Italy during the last six months of the war.

Russia's demise also left the remaining belligerents aware of the need for "defensive propaganda" aimed

at one's own troops and people, to complement the "offensive propaganda" waged against the enemy. Cornwall points out that Italian public and military morale actually improved after the defeat at Caporetto in October 1917, and he contrasts Italy's decisive measures with the relative inaction in Austria-Hungary, where concerns about enemy propaganda resulted in little action until late in the war. Even then, the "defensive propaganda" of the army's Feindespropaganda-Abwehrstelle proved to be ineffective. Unlike some other leading belligerents, Austria-Hungary never had a ministry of information or central coordinating body for all propaganda, civilian and military. As Cornwall demonstrates, Austro-Hungarian military leaders persisted in viewing the armed forces as a realm separate from the civilian world, leaving the government unable to speak with a single voice to the troops as well as to the population on the home front. The army ultimately failed in its attempt to establish a "news quarantine" to prevent the ills of the increasingly unstable home front from infecting the troops, leaving an opening for enemy propaganda to fill this void by satisfying the soldiers' hunger for news. Enemy propaganda against Austria-Hungary was so effective because, for a significant number of Habsburg troops, it rang truer than what their own army was telling them. Indeed, after Emperor Charles lifted censorship and reconvened the Reichsrat in the spring of 1917, articles and texts of speeches from a variety of socialist and nationalist newspapers published openly within the Dual Monarchy (but not available to troops at the front) provided much of the material for the propaganda leaflets of the Allies.

Throughout his work, Cornwall accounts for the evolving methodologies of the propaganda war. Well into the conflict, armies on both sides continued to distribute front propaganda primarily by depositing stacks of leaflets or newspapers in no man's land. Such tactics became less effective later in the war, owing to vigilance in all armies against troops collecting and reading such material. By 1917, the propaganda bureaux and air forces of the various countries clashed frequently over the issue of air-dropped propaganda. The air forces, emerging as important (and, in some cases, separate) armed forces, argued that if pilots and planes were to be put at risk over enemy territory, they should be dropping bombs. Nevertheless, it could not be denied that propaganda raids such as Gabriele D'Annunzio's famous flight over Vienna in August 1918 had a demoralizing effect on those targeted. The growing use of air forces to disseminate propaganda made control of the air (such as that enjoyed by the Allies over the Italian front throughout 1918) all the more important.

Cornwall provides a detailed account of the evolving wartime policies of the leading Allied states toward the various nationalities of Austria-Hungary, and links these policies to the propaganda campaign against the army of the Dual Monarchy. Sidney Sonnino, the Italian foreign minister, appears as very much the

traditional diplomat, insisting on upholding the Treaty of London (May 1915), in which Britain and France promised Italy territorial gains at the expense of Austria-Hungary, including land inhabited by South Slavs. Sonnino also stood by international law in objecting strenuously to the recruitment of troops or propaganda agents from among Austro-Hungarian prisoners of war. The latter happened over his objections, but the results reflected the fact that, until the very end of the war, the Czech or Czechoslovak ideal remained far stronger than the Yugoslav: by October 1918, the Czech legion in Italy included 17,000 men, the Yugoslav volunteers just under 1,000, most of whom were Bosnian Serbs. Ultimately Italy compromised on the London treaty, at least for the duration of the war, in an effort to attract the Slavic nationalities in general (and South Slavs in particular) to the Allied cause. Cornwall gives a particularly effective account of the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities (April 1918), held in Rome amid great fanfare. He sums up the cynical nature of Italy's conversion to the cause of South Slav nationalism by quoting an unnamed Italian nationalist commentator at the event: "As long as the war lasts, we'll utilize these people; when the war is over and victory is ours, we'll [expletive deleted] them" (p. 196).

This is the best and most significant book on a topic related to the Austro-Hungarian armed forces since István Deák's *Beyond Nationalism: A Social and Political History of the Habsburg Officer Corps, 1848–1918* (1990). The research is impressive, reflecting the author's command of most of the languages of the former Habsburg empire. Owing to a generous page count from his publisher, Cornwall is able to cover in great detail virtually every relevant aspect of his topic, leaving the reviewer with little to criticize. His meticulous account of the interrelated stories of the propaganda efforts of the Allies and Central Powers sheds new light on the nature of the ultimate collapse of Austria-Hungary and its army and makes this work required reading for all scholars and students interested in the subject.

LAWRENCE SONDHUAUS
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SERGIO TOGNETTI. *Il banco Cambini: Affari e mercati di una compagnia mercantile-bancaria nella Firenze del XV secolo*. (Biblioteca Storica Toscana, number 38.) Florence: Leo S. Olschki. 1999. Pp. ix, 398. L. 74,000.

Sergio Tognetti deserves a great deal of credit for compiling a history of a fifteenth-century Florentine bank and for attempting to tie the details of that story to the larger themes of early modern business and social history. The subject is interesting, too, because it concerns an enterprise belonging to a relatively minor family in Florence. So Tognetti's story is also that of the "new men" who emerged from the crucible of the fourteenth-century crisis and whose ventures were emblematic of the troubled, halting recovery from the

great disasters that the fourteenth century had brought to Florence, Italy, and Europe.

Tognetti's narrative straddles business and social history as it traces the fortunes and the misadventures of the various branches of the Cambini family. One branch chose the way of artisan entrepreneurship, in the linen trade of the family's progenitor. Another chose the riskier but potentially more profitable way of banking enterprise, and it initially prospered from involvements throughout the Italian peninsula and other areas in Europe. That international connection, however, ultimately proved fatal to the Cambini bankers as a liquidity crisis in their Portuguese branch forced them into bankruptcy in 1482.

The work is based on a great variety of archival sources, ranging from the Cambini bank's extensive documentation to Florence's innovative individual tax-return records (*catasti*) and a rich selection of other unedited material. These are intricate and difficult texts to work with, requiring a great investment of time, care, and expertise, which Tognetti has very clearly made. The sources are also proverbially rich, as the works of Raymond de Roover, David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, among others, have amply shown.

Unfortunately, though, much of that archival material appears in this volume almost as raw data, in tables that run for about seventy pages and that, in a great many cases, brim with figures drawn out to the third decimal place, very few of them with data of any broad import or general consequence. The text itself is grounded in accounting minutia, so that it makes for tiresome reading even for someone very much interested in this type of history. The connections to the broader and fascinating story of the Florentine and European economy and society in the aftermath of the great disasters of the fourteenth century remain undeveloped, limited mostly to the preface, a brief introduction to the volume, and the beginnings of each chapter. Beyond that, the account is generally descriptive and episodic.

The work does combine business and social history, but the latter is a very poor relative to the former, being hampered by the mass of detail and limited to some rather general and not always fresh or helpful observations. Few would still claim, for example, that the fifteenth century saw a lack of entrepreneurial spirit, or a "return to the land," or severely restricted opportunities for social mobility, in Florence or Italy in general; arguing against them lends the work a curiously old-fashioned flavor. Similarly, few would agree that "capital flight," as in Florentine investments abroad or in money transfers by banks to their branches elsewhere in Italy and Europe, might help account, of all things, for Florence's failure to make up in the fifteenth century the population losses it had suffered ever since the early fourteenth.

In general, then, the work suffers from the all-too-common, restricted focus of a dissertation, from the author remaining much too close to his sources to craft

a sophisticated analysis of financial history in its social context. Perhaps the culprit is Italian academic culture, which tends to rush archival research into print before it is properly sifted. In any case, the material in this volume could profitably have been compressed into a much smaller scope, that of an article (like the very respectable one Tognetti wrote on prices and salaries in fifteenth-century Florence ("Prezzi e salari nella Firenze tardomedievale: Un profilo," *Archivio Storico Italiano* [1999]: pp. 263–333). Alternately, with judicious pruning, it could have been used as a grid for a broader study connecting the vicissitudes of the smallish Cambini bank to the larger themes of European history in the time of recovery from the disasters of the fourteenth century, to the story of the "new men" whom that recovery bore aloft, however hesitatingly and briefly, in the changed economic and social landscape of the Quattrocento.

ANTONIO CALABRIA
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DONALD WEINSTEIN. *The Captain's Concubine: Love, Honor, and Violence in Renaissance Tuscany*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2000. Pp. xix, 219. \$39.95.

"Microhistory" disguises two distinct approaches to history. The best known, exemplified in the work of Natalie Zemon Davis, Carlo Ginzburg, Gene Brucker, Judith Brown, and Robert Darnton, center on a highly unusual case—a good story from the archives; the other sort, no less valuable, exemplified by Osvaldo Raggio's study of Fontanabuona (Genoa), investigates intensely a vast range of documents in a small place to get at big questions (in Raggio's case, nothing less than the character of the early modern state). The documents of this second sort, taken individually, are hardly unusual and have little story-telling value.

Donald Weinstein's book has been cast as the first sort. Yet his archival story is no lesbian nun or return of Martin Guerre (to which Weinstein compares it); rather, it revolves around one of the commonest acts to be found in late medieval or early modern criminal archives—an armed assault. On Holy Thursday of 1578, two Pistoiese noblemen, both cavaliers of Cosimo de' Medici's newly founded military order of Santo Stefano, came to blows. In a matter of seconds, Mariotto Cellesi slashed Fabrizio Bracciolini's nose. By Mariotto's account, it was a face-to-face challenge to avenge his father, Captain Lanfredino, whose "whore" Fabrizio had pursued. By Fabrizio's charge, Mariotto, accompanied by four accomplices, seized him from behind without warning or provocation.

What is unusual (and never fully explained) is the amount of investigation, court deliberation, and paper that trailed from this unremarkable event as the case moved between four tribunals located in Pistoia, Pisa, and Florence. With the fight as its focus, Weinstein builds the context, which proves much more interest-

ing than the case itself. We learn about factionalism in Pistoia, the new state-building strategies of the Tuscan grand dukes, the politics of gossip in a small town, the vertical ties of class forged in venues such as barber-shops, the Order of Santo Stefano, and, most importantly, how the judicial courts of early modern Tuscany functioned.

The suspense of this book has far less to do with the book's subtitle than with the grand dukes' legal system, which is illuminated by Weinstein's painstaking piecing together of court depositions, testimonies, laws, and other supporting documents scattered across at least four archives in three cities. The protagonist of this story is neither Fabrizio nor Mariotto (as Weinstein casts it) but the lawyer Ser Giovanni Politi, who masterfully turns the tables on the hapless Fabrizio, in effect converting him from plaintiff to defendant, and exposing him as liar and honorless fool. Still more intriguing than Ser Giovanni's craft was seeing how and where the wheels of justice turned in early modern Tuscany. After witness tampering, intimidation, court notaries who changed testimony at will, an authoritarian legal structure, and an unbalanced contest between Fabrizio (who had no legal counsel for reasons Weinstein does not explain) and the wily procurator Ser Giovanni, the delivery of justice appears remarkably enlightened and humane. Mariotto was not acquitted, as one might have expected, but given a lenient sentence, and the arrogant underdog Fabrizio was not further victimized by the courts.

Weinstein's microhistory gives us too much and not enough. On the one hand, it centers on a humdrum story of assault made more tiresome by needless, often verbatim, repetition of the courts' already repetitive record. Certainly, the researcher must be attentive to such repetition in search of change and nuance, but where the repetition adds nothing to the story or its interpretation, the reader might be spared. On the other hand, Weinstein might have dug deeper into the origins of this conflict, linking it more adroitly to Pistoia's violent, faction-ridden past.

We are given little hint why Fabrizio began his pursuit of Captain Lanfredino's concubine, Chiara, other than Fabrizio's supposed need to notch up another female conquest. Weinstein asks us to believe that Fabrizio wished to keep it quiet, even though it had become the talk of the town, largely by Fabrizio's own doing. He publicized the affair with late-night advances accompanied by others who played loud music, while he sang love songs to Chiara and directed insults at the Cellesi, waking the entire neighborhood. As Lorenzo de' Medici's novella *Giacoppo* illustrates, the real objects of such sexual contests were not women. Men, their mates (and, in the case of Lorenzo's story, even city-states), were the targets. Quite rightly, Weinstein begins his story by placing it within what Lorenzo a hundred years earlier had seen as the essence of politics and society at Pistoia—its faction-ridden past. But this thread is left dangling.

With the Panciatichi's Pyrrhic victory over the Can-

cellieri in 1499–1502, both of the city's historic factions were exhausted, leaving room in the sixteenth century for new contenders to rise: in fact, the Cellesi replaced the Panciatichi as Pistoia's chief pro-Medici faction. Is it any accident that Simone di Filippo Panciatichi egged on Mariotto (seemingly against his will) to avenge his father's pride—an act, which despite some legal success, led to further mockery of the Cellesi family, court costs, and increased enmity with the Bracciolini? Two years later, Simone emerged again, this time as the object of a Cellesi assault, initiated again by the aged paterfamilias Lanfredino with his other son, Teodoro, doing the dirty work. Weinstein asks us to believe that there was no connection between the two events. I wonder.

This book does not make suspense-filled or easy bedtime reading as its title may suggest, but it is a book that forces the reader to think. Both student and scholar will learn much from it about early modern society, state, and the law, much of which goes against the grain of received wisdom.

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DESMOND GREGORY. *Napoleon's Italy*. Cranbury, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press. 2001. Pp. 242. \$43.50.

Desmond Gregory quite rightly points out in the preface of this volume that, "while there are numerous books in English about the empire of Napoleon as a whole," there is no general work available in English on Napoleon's impact on Italy (p. 11). This book makes a brave attempt to plug the gap, by providing a synthesis of the considerable secondary literature that exists on the peninsula during the era of French domination. Following an introductory chapter in which the author sketches a picture of Italy in the late eighteenth century and the dramatic consequences of the arrival of French revolutionary armies in the 1790s, the book divides roughly into two halves. The first consists of a series of chapters that deal with the different regions of Italy, how they fell under Napoleonic sway, and how they fared under French control, whether ruled directly from Paris or as satellite states. The second adopts a more thematic approach with chapters examining, in turn, administrative and legal reform, the armies raised in Italy, the economy, reactions to Napoleonic rule, the awakening of national sentiment, and, finally, the Napoleonic legacy in Italy. That the course of events is not always easy to follow is not the fault of the structure the author has chosen: the complex changes in frontiers, and the bewildering array of different rulers and regimes in Italy from 1796 to 1815 do not make for a simple narrative. However, Gregory could have assisted readers new to the subject by including a separate chapter on Piedmont and Liguria and their incorporation into metropolitan France. Better maps showing the territorial division of

the whole of the peninsula at different stages would also have been helpful.

It would be wrong to suggest that this book is not without its strengths. Perhaps foremost among these is the way in which Gregory resists the temptation of some historians to act as apologists for Napoleon. Always even handed, Gregory is happy to acknowledge the advantages derived from the wide range of modernizing reforms introduced under the auspices of Napoleonic *monarchia amministrativa*. However, the picture that emerges of the French emperor is ultimately of a man whose chief characteristics, beyond a frightening energy, were arrogance, petulance, and vanity. It is clear, too, that Napoleon held most Italians in contempt, especially when it came to their military abilities. He did not seem to have entertained a much better opinion of those he selected to run Italy. Any attempt by his stepson, Eugène Beauharnais, to act on his own initiative as viceroy in the Kingdom of Italy seemed to generate reproach. Meanwhile both Napoleon's brother, Joseph, and his brother-in-law, Murat, found their hands tied as kings of Naples by a man who "was completely indifferent to the reactions of the peoples he ruled" (p. 120). This indifference was manifest in the sheer rapaciousness of the French. Indeed, Napoleon's driving motivation for control—beside intense personal ambition—was to squeeze cash and conscripts out of the local population: Italian taxes filled Napoleon's coffers, and Italians provided his army with cannon fodder. Napoleon was furious at suggestions that Italy could not sustain such burdens and considered any protest a sign that Italians were ungrateful subjects and unworthy of the so-called liberty he had bestowed.

Unfortunately, the book's flaws outweigh its merits. One of the biggest problems is that Gregory does not always make the most of recent scholarship. Works by Livio Antonielli, Michael Broers, and Franco Della Peruta certainly do appear in references and the bibliography, but Gregory seems happier to plunder them for detail than to engage with the debates they raise. Moreover, there are a number of examples of apparent confusion or contradiction. Thus, for example, we are told that the navy of the Venetian Republic was in "a state of decay" before the French arrived in 1797 (p. 24). Later Gregory asserts that Austria "never seriously developed the navy she had inherited from Venice . . . [after the Treaty of Campoformido], and had allowed most of it to rot" (p. 72). In fact, the French had either seized or destroyed such vessels as they found in Venice before they handed over the former republic to the Austrians. To all intents and purposes, there was no Venetian navy when the Habsburgs arrived in January 1798. This sort of mistake should have been avoided through more rigorous editing. This process would have also corrected the spelling errors, poor punctuation, and slightly haphazard approach to notes that constitute a constant irritation. Although the book is an ambitious project containing plenty of interesting material, I cannot

wholeheartedly recommend it as an introduction to the subject.

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SANDRO ROGARI, editor. *La confagricoltura nella storia d'Italia: Dalle origini dell'associazionismo agricolo nazionale ad oggi*. Bologna: Mulino. 1999. Pp. 1013. L. 150,000.

Sandro Rogari and his academic colleagues have, in this giant tome (984 pages of text), written the definitive history of the general confederation of Italian farmers (Confagricoltura), the organization that has represented, since its inception in 1884, the interests of Italian landowners. Although there are some striking gaps in the book—for example, we learn relatively little about the position of the organization and its members on the *battaglia del grano* or *bonifica integrale*—the gaps result from insufficient information, not an absence of mind. The authors have, in short, produced a comprehensive, detailed, thorough, and—mercifully, given its length—well written, often engrossing, historical account of Confagricoltura. It is not for everyone. Readers lacking a fairly intimate knowledge of contemporary Italian economic and social history will find parts of the book obscure. Those with an adequate background will, however, welcome this massive addition to the history of Italian farming. Agriculture, after all, has played a central role in Italy's economy for much of the period since unification, and the contributors do a splendid job in weaving the history of Confagricoltura into the fabric of the country's economic and political development. Every major issue that has affected the nation's economy over the last one hundred and twenty years has also touched on the interests of Italian farmers. Thanks to Rogari and his colleagues, we now have a comprehensive guide to the position of landowners on most of them.

Arcangelo Maf Ricci, the current director general of the general confederation of Italian agriculture, observes in his preface that, until now, there has been no authoritative work dedicated entirely to the history of Confagricoltura. In the introduction that follows, Rogari provides the reader with a brief overview of the history of the organization and an account of the method (with one exception, straightforward historical narrative) and sources on which the subsequent chapters are based. The first of the chronologically arranged historical chapters, also written by Rogari, traces the complex evolution of the organization from its origin as the general society of wine producers through its transformation in 1895 into the Società degli agricoltori, and, in 1920, into the short-lived Confederazione generale dell'agricoltura (Confagricoltura). In 1924, Confagricoltura merged with its fascist rival the Federazione Italiana dei Sindacati Agricoli to form, in 1926, the Confederazione Nazionale Fascista dell'Agricoltura. The chapter ends in

1930, with the termination of Gino Cacciari's presidency. Rogari provides an exhaustive account of the struggles both within the organization and between it and the government over every significant economic issue of the day, including free trade and protection, agricultural versus industrial development, taxation and government spending, labor contracts and workers' rights. Although the author occasionally fails to provide an adequate assessment of the impact of Confagricoltura on legislation, the organization's position on issues is crystal clear.

In the second chapter covering the years between 1930 and the republic of Salò, Fabio Bertini details the efforts of the leadership to maintain some autonomy in the face of strong centralizing tendencies of the fascists, particularly Edmondo Rossoni and Roberto Farinacci. For anyone interested in the formation of fascist agricultural policies, this chapter is essential reading. The reconstituted Confagricoltura in the years between 1943 and the peak of the economic boom in 1960 faced three major challenges: land reform, modification of sharecropping contracts, and trade liberalization associated with the Bretton Woods' agreement and Italy's participation in the European Common Market. The political landscape had changed dramatically with the rise to power of the Christian Democrats and their arch rivals the Communists. Both were committed, in different ways, to economic and productivity growth, to reduced unemployment, and to greater equality of opportunity and income. As Alessandro Spinelli shows in his excellent chapter on this period, the leadership of Confagricoltura learned slowly (and often painfully) how to function in this new environment. While it was unable to block all legislation that it opposed (agrarian reform, for example), it did manage to moderate, contrary to the conventional wisdom, what it considered some of the more extreme proposals. In the final historical chapter, Gianni Silei describes the efforts of Confagricoltura since the 1960s to defend the interests of landowners against the continuing challenges of trade liberalization and initiatives from the left. The organization has struggled with some success to secure financial assistance from the government to facilitate modernization and has become an ongoing source of technical and other advice for its members. Ottaviano Perricone provides, in the book's last and most analytically interesting chapter, a detailed review of the evolution of the structural and functional characteristics of Confagricoltura and its relationship with its members.

In spite of its overall high quality, the book has drawbacks. Its lack of an index makes it difficult to trace changes over time in the position of Confagricoltura on almost any major issue. This is a serious shortcoming in a text that most readers are likely to use as a reference work. Most of the contributors fail to provide readers with a guide to their narrative or a summary of their findings. As a result, the book is less user friendly than it could be and is, therefore, less likely to attract the readership that it deserves. This

said, for those interested in Italian agricultural history, it is an indispensable reference work.

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SUSAN ZUCCOTTI. *Under His Very Windows: The Vatican and the Holocaust in Italy*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2000. Pp. 408. \$29.95.

Susan Zuccotti's book is a fervid indictment of the Holy See for its muted response to Nazi Germany's policies and, later, murderous crimes against the Jews. While her attack is clear enough, however, Zuccotti's complete separation of the Holy See from her discussion of the larger issue of Italian Catholicism renders the purpose of the book something of a problem.

Zuccotti takes pains to avoid an anti-Catholic bias and properly acknowledges the aid rendered to Jews by Catholics across Italy. Along with Denmark, in fact, Jews found no greater haven from the Holocaust than in Catholic Italy, and, across Nazi-occupied Europe, no organization sheltered more Jews than did the Catholic Church. Zuccotti occasionally stumbles, however, and some Catholics will find offensive (or at least odd) her claim that Rome was "far less committed to humanitarian goals" than it was to "protecting its own institutional interests" (p. 89). Zuccotti correctly discusses the embarrassing and shameful prelates like the bishop of Aosta (p. 242); the papal nuncio to Germany, Cesare Orsenigo (pp. 74–75); and Venice's Cardinal Adeonato Piazza (pp. 268–76). But fortunately, the heroic actions of men and women in the Italian church, many of whom gave their own lives, are more numerous and speak with greater volume.

Pope Pius XII's conduct and that of the Holy See, however, constitute the core of Zuccotti's work and she joins the heated polemics that began almost forty years ago with the debut of Rolf Hochhuth's controversial play, "The Deputy" (1963). Since then at least a roomful of books and articles have addressed Pius XII, the Catholic Church in Italy and elsewhere, and the Holocaust. Along with Zuccotti's earlier and excellent study, *The Italians and the Holocaust: Persecution, Rescue, and Survival* (1987), Meier Michaelis, Robert Graham, Renzo De Felice, Ivo Herzer, and others have contributed to the scholarly side of the debate. In her new study, Zuccotti levels particular blame on the Israeli diplomat Pinchas Lapide as the chief culprit in spreading the "myth" that Pius XII worked to help Jews, although she also heaps scorn on De Felice and Graham. Her somewhat heavy-handed attacks on the integrity of Graham (p. 147) and De Felice (p. 199), however, appear unfortunate, particularly in the light that the two men died barely three years before this book's publication and cannot answer from the grave.

The "silence" of Pius XII is an honest question without easy answers. Most observers, including Zuccotti, agree that, despite his germanophilia, the pope did not promote Adolf Hitler nor his cause. Nonethe-

less, many charge that the pontiff failed to do more than he did. While a fair number of scholars will at least award him some credit for good intentions, Zuccotti takes extraordinary pains to concede as little as possible. Denying the worth of any of Pius XII's statements on Nazi racism, she asserts that he had little if any, impact on any aid given to Jews, even those hidden in his summer residence at Castel Gandolfo or at the Vatican itself. Zuccotti claims, moreover, that Jewish leaders and those who were sheltered in churches, schools, convents, and monasteries—and who publicly thanked the pope after the war—were simply misguided victims of “benevolent ignorance” (p. 313).

Much of Zuccotti's argument rests on the lack of any written order from Pius XII to his bishops and clergy to protect the Jews. Such an order was probably never written, and Zuccotti interprets this void as proof that the pope had no interest in helping them. She fails, however, to address the obvious question: why would the pope write and distribute such an order in Nazi-occupied Europe when Catholic institutions in Italy and elsewhere were, with uneven but not insignificant success, already undertaking the work of rescue? Furthermore, the clerics, it can be argued, needed no directives from Rome to tell them how to act in a Christian manner.

Presentation of such controversial material, finally, demands a clarity that is sometimes absent in the book. One day after Benito Mussolini's first decree against the Jews, for example, Pius XI condemned anti-Semitism as “a hateful movement with which we Christians must have nothing to do” (p. 45). Zuccotti claims twelve pages later that the pontiff “remained silent” on the Duce's racial laws. The Holy See's intervention with Italian authorities on the position of Croat Jews is described as “clear and unambiguous” (p. 120), while in the next sentence Zuccotti turns around and labels it “rather mild and discreet.” Such ambiguities lead Zuccotti to assume something, often something worse, than what might have been the case. In response to Jewish pleas, for example, she records Genoa's Cardinal Boetto's statement that “They are innocent; they are in grave danger; we must help them regardless of all our other problems” (p. 235). Zuccotti then immediately reminds the reader that the request for help came from the Jews. “The Catholics,” she writes, “no matter how extensive and self-sacrificing their ultimate contribution to the rescue effort, did not offer.” One wonders whether the reputations of Cardinal Boetto and of the Holy See might fare better when the facts are left to themselves.

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GRAEME MURDOCK. *Calvinism on the Frontier 1600–1660: International Calvinism and the Reformed Church in Hungary and Transylvania*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 359. \$80.00.

English-language studies of the history of the Reformation in Eastern and East Central Europe are still rare enough to make almost any of them welcome. Graeme Murdock's monograph is doubly so, for it examines a significant topic in a thoughtful, often illuminating, way.

Calvinism flourished in eastern Royal Hungary and its associated crownland, the principality of Transylvania, from the second half of the sixteenth century to around 1700. The Reformed Church of the region became the largest in Central Europe, making it a compelling illustration of the pan-European appeal of Calvinism. Murdock gives us here the details of Hungarian Calvinism's relationship with communities abroad, along with a very interesting picture of the Calvinist enterprise in Transylvania. Despite the title of the book, coverage of the topic in Habsburg and Ottoman Hungary is more sketchy.

Hungarian Calvinists shared important convictions with their colleagues abroad. They viewed themselves as covenanters with God and looked to Old Testament models to explain their position. They wrestled with the controversies that troubled Calvinists in the Old World and the New. Students from Hungary were in Zurich and Geneva for confessional schooling in the 1560s; others later moved on to Germany, the Dutch Republic, and even England. Wherever they went they took part in thorny academic disputations over such questions as anti-Trinitarianism and church organization. The Puritanism and presbytery that they took back to Hungary from England after 1630 triggered thirty years of conflict with local ecclesiastical authorities, who supported more hierarchical governance. The presence of these young scholars in Western Europe also strengthened the confidence of their hosts in the vibrancy of the Reformed creed abroad, an important point that is unfortunately underdocumented here. Although Murdock deserves credit for raising it, further research is in order.

Teachers came to Hungary from England, Germany, and the Netherlands to enrich the curricula and faculties of schools and colleges run by Calvinists. Much Calvinist literature from Western Europe was translated into Hungarian as well, proof that Hungarian Calvinists took print culture as seriously as did their colleagues elsewhere. Indeed, Murdock thinks that the quantity of reading material available in Calvinist Hungary suggests that popular literacy was more widespread than historians have routinely assumed.

Like so many other areas in Europe where the Protestant Reformation thrived, Calvinism in northeastern Hungary and Transylvania received benevolent treatment from rulers who were themselves Calvinists or could use the movement to personal advantage. Policies that displeased the ruling princes of Transylvania got nowhere. Presbytery, for example, which made it more difficult for central authorities to supervise individual congregations, never took hold in the principality. An ethnic and confessional melting pot, however, Transylvania was one of Europe's few re-

gions where confessional pluralism made political sense to those who governed it. On the cusp of German Lutheranism, Habsburg Catholicism, and Ottoman Islam, the territorial diet wished to avoid self-destructive confessional conflict at home. In 1568, the body recognized Lutheranism, Calvinism, Roman Catholicism, and anti-Trinitarianism. Although not officially represented, Romanian Orthodoxy was also allowed to minister to its constituency.

Murdock's work is not problem-free, especially in the first chapter. Paragraph transitions can be quite rough as the author moves from political and administrative organization of Hungary's tripartite divisions to religious developments and then back again. His commitment to detail forces him to compress his writing, to a point where some passages lose key referents. Names and events whiz by unidentified at first mention—the Fifteen Years' War begun under Emperor Rudolph II against the Turks in 1593, for example. The Hungarian magnate Thomas Nádasdy comes across more one-sidedly than he should. While he did indeed behave kindly toward Calvinists, he was also instrumental in engineering the election as king of Hungary one of the Reformed movement's most implacable enemies, the Habsburg Ferdinand I.

Heavy dependence on materials from one Hungarian county alone in his discussion of the Reformed church's practical operations weakens any generalizations he makes on this topic. And concerned as he is to demonstrate the parallels between the Hungarian and Western Calvinist experience, Murdock misses the opportunity to point out that Calvinist intransigence not only in Transylvania but in Germany furthered the breakdown of interconfessional peace by the seventeenth century.

Nevertheless, the positive features of this book more than offset such lapses. Readers will appreciate Murdock's thorough index and table of place names with German, Hungarian, Slavic, and Romanian equivalents. His admirable command of Hungarian grants him sovereign control over the substantial secondary literature attached to his theme. He exploits the primary sources honestly and imaginatively. The sure-footed clarity with which he analyzes the complex doctrinal, ceremonial, and political issues that shaped Hungarian Calvinism comes only with meticulous scholarship. In short, this is an accomplished piece of history.

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WŁODZIMIERZ BORODZIEJ. *Terror und Politik: Die deutsche Polizei und die polnische Widerstandsbewegung im Generalgouvernement 1939–1944*. (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte; Abteilung Universalgeschichte; Beihefte, number 28.) Mainz: Philipp von Zabern. 1999. Pp. viii, 302. DM 58.

In such a rapidly evolving field, for a 1984 dissertation to be translated from Polish, the original must still

have something valuable to contribute. Yet Włodzimir Borodziej says he has revised less than one-half of one percent of the original, including restoration of a few passages stricken by the Warsaw censor. Consequently his work could not benefit from either the then secretly held Nazi documentation released during the 1990s or any scholarship since the early 1980s. Borodziej even had to rely on secondary sources in order to exploit the British-held documents of the exile government. Despite all such impediments, his work was ahead of its time.

In 1984, Borodziej was motivated by "western revisionist" denigration of the effectiveness of the resistance. He rejected their focus on military effectiveness and emphasized instead political ramifications. Employing primarily the surviving records of the Nazi Security Police offices of the Radom district for a case study plus interrogations and testimonies from German and Polish investigations, he focused on the interaction between the Gestapo and the Polish Resistance and how that struggle shaped the Nazi occupation regime, its policies, and the postwar future of Poland. This translation is timely, given the current focus on how Nazi frustrations in pursuit of their racial-imperialist goals contributed to the development of genocidal programs in general and the Holocaust in particular. Some of the author's conclusions are remarkably close to the currently emerging consensus among scholars focusing on both the Holocaust and the Gestapo.

One appreciates the rich detail even when it becomes a catalog of persons, places, and organizations. Borodziej provides a comprehensive picture of the organization and composition of the police establishment, its strengths and weaknesses, and its internal tensions. His accounts of the corruption and frustration of police personnel in the environment of the General Government provide an important supplement to our understanding of their dehumanization. There is a thorough analysis of the Polish agents of the police, who, along with forceful interrogations, were the main sources of Gestapo information. The picture of the organized underground—its operations, strengths, weaknesses, effectiveness, and internal divisions—is equally rich.

Borodziej attributes the unprecedented growth of the terror in Poland not only to Adolf Hitler and Heinrich Himmler's genocidal intentions but also to the insufficient resources available to the police in the occupied zones. Both the ideology and the problems of achieving inherently contradictory goals in the occupied territories drove the expansion of Gestapo authority and terror. The Security Police had no plan for fulfilling its multiple missions. Applying the not always appropriate police organizational structure and procedures developed for the Reich hardly compensated for understaffing and an overwhelming quantity of information on the resistance that exceeded the Gestapo's capacity to sort and evaluate. Caught up in the Nazi polycratic power struggles, their judgment about par-

ticular resistance groups was distorted by their own involvement in occupation politics. Even when they had precise knowledge of a threat, police resources were often insufficient to prevent it. Frustrated, often problematic superiors could not control undisciplined and poorly trained personnel whose bungling sabotaged operations. Efforts to co-opt representatives of Polish society were frustrated by Hitler's intransigence about the Poles' place in the future empire. Unable to develop any appeal other than a common front against the Polish communists and the Soviet Union, they escalated the sadistic terror as the means of control.

Opposition grew and could not be destroyed, primarily because of the genocidal policies directed at the Polish population. The opposition likewise suffered from shortcomings. No aspect of its organization or operations permanently escaped Gestapo detection. The right betrayed and attacked the Communists. Just as the Gestapo could not shoot the entire Polish population, likewise the underground, given its massive character, could not cover all its tracks. The author juxtaposes his depiction of the complex Polish political spectrum, ranging from Communist, pro-Soviet to anticommunist, anti-Semitic right, with Gestapo and Abwehr assessments of this spectrum and frustrated hopes to exploit it.

Regarding the debate over the strategy of armed resistance, Borodziej argues that, since the police operated under limitations that they could not overcome, even as the opposition grew considerably, the contention that armed resistance simply exacerbated the Nazi terror greatly distorts the actual relationship. He concludes that his analysis of the relationship between the plans of the occupying forces, their application, and the history of the activist part of the population remains fragmentary but raises important questions for further research. That self-evaluation remains accurate, but overly humble.

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LAURA ENGELSTEIN and STEPHANIE SANDLER, editors. *Self and Story in Russian History*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2000. Pp. ix, 363. Cloth \$52.50, paper \$22.50.

This book, a collection of fourteen essays by historians and literary scholars, is concerned with the development of personal identity and self-expression in Russia over the past two hundred years. The subject has particular resonance in Russia, where there has always been a complex relationship between individual identity and the collective ethos. In prerevolutionary times, the countryside was dominated by the peasant commune, a social and political structure responsible for the distribution of power, land, rewards, punishments, and much else. A democratic institution, at least for its male members, it was idealized by many nineteenth-century Russian intellectuals who saw it as evidence of

a Russian instinct for socialism, a willingness on the part of the peasant population to renounce individual concerns for the sake of achieving common accord. After the revolution, the Bolsheviks planned to turn the entire nation into a commune, the inhabitants of which would willingly sacrifice their own needs and desires to the collective. As noted by Laura Engelstein and Stephanie Sandler, editors of this volume, there is a strongly held belief among both Russians and non-Russians that Russia's interest in the collective meant that individuality was neglected even before the revolution and was virtually wiped out afterward. They aim to show that this was not the case: that the urge to distinguish themselves from others and to tell their own stories was present in Russians of all social strata at all times.

The book works its way back in time from the Soviet era to the eighteenth century. The editors explain that this retrospective approach emphasizes "the extent to which current concerns shape our vision of what we leave behind" (p. 4), but this is not entirely convincing. In any case, the final essay allows the book's time span to come full circle, since it is concerned with the Skoptsy, a religious sect that came to light in the eighteenth century and survived into the twentieth.

Unfortunately, this symmetry does not extend to the choice of individuals appearing in the essays. Although we are told that the impulse "to set oneself apart" was not confined to the educated (p. 19), the subjects from the Soviet period were all well-known writers and scholars, such as Mikhail Bakhtin, Lev Vygotsky, and Anna Akhmatova. These were hardly, as the editors acknowledge, your "average folk." In contrast, the chapters dealing with earlier periods air a much broader range of voices, which include those of the last tsar, Nicholas II; the schoolgirl fans of novelist Lydia Charskaia; a provincial grain merchant; patients undergoing treatment for hysteria; silent movie audiences; and the Skoptsy, whose self-identity rested largely on the practice of self-castration. These chapters were, at least to this reader, more fascinating than those analyzing the work of professional writers and scholars, and the absence of any "ordinary" voices from the Soviet era is a sad omission. That said, this is an excellent and fascinating collection that goes some way toward, as the editors put it, "identif[y]ing the personality of the nation" (p. 4).

One of the points that emerges strongly from the book is that self-expression has to have an audience. Lydia Ginzburg believed that writing for oneself was an unhealthy and unnatural endeavor (p. 26), but she was a professional writer. More surprising is the determination of letter writers and diarists to reach an audience and explain their lives to others. One of the Skoptsy, Nikifor Latyshev, kept up a twenty-five year correspondence with a scholar working on religious sects in the hope that his letters would become historical documents and enlighten "future people" about his experiences and beliefs (p. 349). Charskaia's readers sent floods of letters, poems, and tributes to the

journal in which her stories were published, ensuring that as well as increasing Charskaia's visibility, they "also made themselves visible" (p. 146). The grain merchant Ivan Tolchenov kept meticulous detailed diaries out of the conviction that "his personal story was worth recording and preserving" (p. 328).

Yet however unique one's own story seems, it is heavily influenced by its social and political context. One might wish to stand out from the crowd, yet one still remains part of it. One might revile the social system in which one lives, but one accommodates oneself to it. This is particularly clear in the essays on the Stalin era. Jochen Hellbeck, analyzing the diaries of playwright Alexander Afinogenov, shows how desperately Afinogenov attempted to fit in with the Stalin regime and turn himself into a model "new man," even when he was accused of engaging in a Trotskyist conspiracy. The poet Akhmatova, in contrast, was resolutely opposed to the regime. Yet as Alexander Zholkovsky shows, her own behavior was in some respects a reflection of Joseph Stalin's; in the literary circles in which she moved, she had considerable power, and she used it to ostracize colleagues and make them "virtually 'unpersons,' Orwellian-style" (p. 64).

The perils of getting one's own image wrong are particularly clear from the story of Tsar Nicholas II. One significant feature of his times was the development of the mass media and commodification, which he used to publicize his image. Yet as Richard Wortman points out, he failed to understand that having his face appear on postage stamps and commemorative knickknacks, and details of his life broadcast in newsreel, newspapers, and even an authorized biography, made him seem too ordinary and challenged the worshipful admiration he still felt he was due. He was also taken in by his own publicity, which among other things, "magnified his belief in . . . his capacities as ruler and military commander" (p. 118). This was a contributing factor in his fateful decision to make himself commander in chief of the Russian army during World War I, ensuring that he was held personally responsible for its failings—which in turn was a contributing factor in the onset of revolution. Nicholas's own story thus had an enormous impact on history.

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B. N. MIRONOV. *Sotsial'naia istoriia Rossii perioda imperii (XVIII-nachalo XX v.): Genezis lichnosti, demokraticheskoi sem'i, grazhdanskogo obshchestva i pravovogo gosudarstva* [A Social History of Russia (Eighteenth to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century): The Origin of Individualism, the Democratic Family, Civil Society, and Law-governed State]. St. Petersburg: "Dmitrii Bulanin." In two volumes. 1999. Pp. 547; 566.

BORIS N. MIRONOV. *The Social History of Imperial Russia, 1700–1917*. Assisted by BEN EKLOF. Boulder,

Colo.: Westview. In two volumes. 2000. Pp. xxxiv, 562; ix, 398.

Boris N. Mironov's two-volume social history of imperial Russia is a tour de force; it is perhaps the most impressive overview of this subject written by anyone, anywhere. No topic that can possibly be identified under the broad rubric of social history has escaped the author's piercing eye, and almost every one of these topics is expertly analyzed, not in the superficial manner that one might reasonably have predicted, given the magnitude of the coverage. Moreover, though focused on the imperial period (Peter the Great to 1917), the two volumes are replete with interesting background material on the Muscovite period and, especially in the more extensive Russian edition, refer forward to the implications of Mironov's findings for the Soviet period. The presentation of factual material is extremely detailed, with many tables and charts, some statistical correlations, exhaustive explanations of regional, ethnic, class, gender, and age differentials over long time spans (in the spirit of the *Annales* school), many apposite photographs, and pages and pages of references to both primary and secondary sources in several languages. It was a real and rare pleasure, given the number of Russian monographs whose references to Western literature are perfunctory and ritualistic (though that is becoming less and less true), to remark Mironov's genuine mastery of and engagement with the works of Western scholars, including the works of specialists in other fields, leading in some cases to informative comparisons of Russia with other countries. The book is pitched at a high level, and will be appreciated most by Mironov's scholarly peers and by graduate students, though the English translation could be used by undergraduates writing specialized term papers and will certainly be of value to professional historians who do not read Russian. Based on an earlier, less thorough version of the manuscript, and at times concealing the linguistic nuances that add depth and grace to Mironov's presentation, the English translation, although ably overseen and brought to fruition by Ben Eklof, and clearly the labor of love of several American translators, is no substitute for the Russian. (It does, however, include a fascinating autobiographical essay, innocuously titled "Preface and Acknowledgments," that is absent from the Russian text.) In recognition of Mironov's achievement, an entire panel of the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies was devoted to the book, where it encountered some reasonable but also, in my view, excessive criticism (especially for its handling of historical demography, which, together with social psychology, is actually one of Mironov's strongest points).

Space does not allow a full rehearsal of the topics explored in the book's numerous subsections, but the long yet pithy chapters, each covering a broad area of inquiry, deal with the following: (Volume 1) territorial expansion, borderlands, and the Russians' encounter

with other ethnic groups (including an interesting comparison of Russia's eastward expansion with the expansion of the American frontier); social structure and social mobility; demographic processes and characteristics; the rise of the "small democratic family" and the appearance of the self-conscious individual; the modernization of urban and rural Russia (in comparative perspective); the rise, fall, and (especially) perseverance of serfdom; and the social organization and "mentality"—an important concept for Mironov—of Russia's major social groups, urban and rural, including both estates (*sosloviia*) and classes; (Volume 2) the uneasy progress of the Russian state, its modes of governance, and its justice system (law, both criminal and civil, criminal procedures, punishments) toward a unified *Rechtsstaat*; relations between state and society (*obshchestvo*), and the evolution of the latter in the direction of a full-fledged civil society (*grazhdanskoe obshchestvo*); and—as a concluding chapter to the Russian volumes—the relationship between prerevolutionary and Soviet Russian processes of modernization and resistance to modernization.

Hard as it is to summarize so long and rich a scholarly work, the thread that seems to run through the story Mironov wants to tell looks something like this: Russia was, at least potentially, a "normal" European country, but a European country that was not lacking in important peculiarities, including what is sometimes described as the relative backwardness of its economic, social, and political development. To use Mironov's language, Russia experienced all the important developments in these areas, but they were "asynchronous" (*asinkhronnye*) in the way they evolved. Russia's peculiarities, most of which are familiar to specialists, are not presented as virtues (in Slavophile style) but as obstacles or impediments to a broad and balanced "social modernization," an outcome whose positive value Mironov has no wish to deny. But these were obstacles that could be mastered with time, and Mironov goes to great pains to help us follow the sometimes tortuous but nonetheless rapid processes that suggest that the obstacles were being genuinely if (on the eve of world war and revolution) incompletely overcome. At the same time, he is too honest a historian to ignore the contradictory, more depressing, "pessimist" evidence of incomplete modernization and continued, even growing, social tension and political crisis, so much so that one can read whole paragraphs—his discussion of the civilizing of the Russian village versus the partial "peasantization" of the Russian city is a good case in point—that seem to take opposite positions, or at least to produce conflicting moods and expectations in the reader as one moves from page to page. In the still contested (if by now somewhat hoary) debate over the degree of influence of close peasant background on the social and political volatility of industrial workers, Mironov judiciously explains the case for each side but ends up with something resembling a neo-Menshevik position: that peasant disrespect for private, individual wealth, and

peasant attachment to collectivist institutions and habits help explain the rapid rise of working class radicalism and indifference to market-based liberalism in the early twentieth century. For this and many other reasons, Mironov's admittedly forceful case for Russia's evolution toward a "normal" European form of social and political life is undermined by an equally forceful if at times reluctant recognition of significant evidence to the contrary. If, as he concludes, the October Revolution was in some respects an "anti-modernist" rebellion, then popular resistances to the Europeanizing processes that he values weaken the case for the approaching advent of "normality."

This is a book that cannot be bypassed by serious historians of Russia and that should also be read in translation by serious historians in general. It works well as a reference book in many areas, especially in its long, superb section on matters legal. We are all in the author's debt for years of first-class research (some of which he has already shared with us in books and articles that anticipated parts of this work) and for the limpidity and discretion of his nonetheless passionate writing.

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KLAUS GESTWA. *Proto-Industrialisierung in Rußland: Wirtschaft, Herrschaft und Kultur in Ivanovo und Pavlovo, 1741–1932*. (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, number 149.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht. 1999. Pp. 680. DM 142.

Klaus Gestwa's well-researched monograph on proto-industrialization in the Russian provinces illustrates the continuing vitality of the "new social history," whether of the *Annales* variety pioneered by figures such as Marc Bloch and Fernand Braudel, or of the social science variety still so evident in German historical training. In the tradition of "total history," Gestwa focuses on two proto-industrial villages in European Russia—the textile village of Ivanovo (Vladimir province) and the metalworking village of Pavlovo (Nizhnii Novgorod province)—to provide an integrative account of economic, demographic, social, political, and cultural evolution primarily during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As a practitioner of social science history, Gestwa offers a case study, based on microlevel empirical research, that he uses both to evaluate theoretical models of proto-industrial development and to draw transnational comparisons. Whatever the limitations of the "new social history"—limitations highlighted in recent decades by poststructuralism and cultural studies—Gestwa's monograph underscores the fundamental value of research designed to test theoretical models. One can see in this careful and thorough account a dynamic example of how empirical methods tend eventually to produce conceptual shifts.

Gestwa's paradigmatic framework is proto-industri-

alization, defined as the transition from “feudalism” to early industrialization: a transition achieved when the agrarian economy and merchant capitalism joined to produce mass goods for transregional and international markets. Much more than the prehistory of modern factory production, proto-industrialization constituted a branch of the consumer goods industry, which in the Russian case remained closely tied to rural handicraft production until the onset of Stalinist industrialization. However the historian defines proto-industrialization—and Gestwa is keenly aware of the theoretical and comparative European variations—the experiences of Ivanovo and Pavlovo show that the transition from proto-industry to factory production did not correspond to distinct phases superseding one another in linear progression. Like other historians before him, Gestwa rightly questions, and reveals to be inadequate, the notion that a clearly identifiable industrial “revolution” marked the onset of economic modernity.

To document the multidimensional nature of industrialization, Gestwa traces successive economic transformations of Ivanovo and Pavlovo from centers of trade in the sixteenth century to centers of manufacturing in the eighteenth to centers of mechanized factory production in the nineteenth. For the period from the mid-eighteenth to the early twentieth century, he describes living and working conditions, the demographic profile of the locality, the social groups (entrepreneurs and workers) directly involved in the production process, and the organization of social and political authority, whether in the form of noble lordship prior to the 1861 emancipation or bureaucratic factory management from the late nineteenth century. Nor does Gestwa ignore the cultural and religious aspects of proto-industrial or modern factory life. In both Ivanovo and Pavlovo, successful entrepreneurs came from communities of Old Believers, and in every phase of proto-industrial and industrial development, peasants and former peasants played prominent roles. Thus, Gestwa traces the interdependence of manufacturing and farming both in terms of economic change and in terms of the relationship of cottage producers, workers, and entrepreneurs to the village community and the land. The question of worker culture also receives its due, as when Gestwa describes the blending of older and newer forms of sociability, labor dispute, and conflict resolution. While he cannot avoid the linear language of phases, even within proto-industrialization, his descriptive narrative consistently stresses pluralistic continuities and gradualism.

Echoing scholars of the late imperial economy, Gestwa portrays proto-industrialization and modern industrialization as a single evolutionary process in which small-scale production in homes and workshops overlapped with and complemented mechanized factory production. Appropriately, his integrative approach does not produce an idyllic vision of a lost world. Thus, although the economics of proto-industrialization suggest that serfdom did not impoverish

the Russian peasant—peasant buying power spurred the transition to mass production—proto-industrial cycles of growth and contraction could be abrupt and severe. The effects of lordship were similarly ambiguous: whether the serf owner hindered or promoted economic development depended on the individual and on local conditions. Finally, the benefits of economic progress were everywhere uneven. Historians have long counted among the social costs of material progress the degradation of skilled labor that accompanied the establishment of the factory system, but they also have recognized that social hierarchy and its myriad abuses could be found in conditions of agrarian and proto-industrial production. The advantage of a comprehensive account such as the one presented by Gestwa—even where it reiterates well-known research—is that it encourages a balanced, judicious appraisal of the social benefits and costs of proto-industrial and industrial change.

In addition to highlighting distinctive features of Russian industrial development—the complementary relationship to serfdom, the significance of agricultural exports, the ability of peasants to establish themselves as factory magnates due to the small size of the urban middle classes—Gestwa rejects the notion of a tsarist *Sonderweg*. The ways in which proto-industrialization in Ivanovo and Pavlovo differed from the theoretical models were not the result of Russian divergence. Rather, the differences highlighted the variability in patterns of industrial development characteristic of all Europe, and indeed of all the world.

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DZH. D. KLIER. *Rossiiia sobiraet svoikh evreev: Proiskhozhdenie evreiskogo voprosa v Rossii; 1772–1825* [Russia Gathers Her Jews: The Origins of the “Jewish Question” in Russia; 1772–1825]. (Sovmestnyi izdatel'skii proekt; Bibliotheca Judaica; Seriiia “Sovremennye Issledovaniia.”) Moscow: Mosty kul'tury. Ge-sharim, Jerusalem. 2000. Pp. 351.

Since the appearance fifteen years ago of his path-breaking study, *Russia Gathers Her Jews: The Origins of the “Jewish Question” in Russia, 1772–1825* (1986), John D. Klier's work has done much to cast light on the difficult and controversial subject of the “Jewish question” in imperial Russia. With the significant increase in interest in Jewish history within Russia and among the enormous Russian-speaking population in Israel, the publication of Klier's important study in Russian translation can only be applauded. This is, however, more than just a straight translation. Klier has taken the opportunity to update the bibliography and to expand certain sections of the book on the basis of archival research carried out subsequent to the work's initial publication. On the whole, however, this is not a new book but an updated and somewhat expanded version of a familiar and excellent work. It

should be stated that the translation is very competent and generally remains close to the original.

One of Klier's major points in this work has been to document the lack of coherence in "Jewish policy" during the first two generations of Russian rule over significant numbers of Jews. To be sure, official Russian attitudes (and these form the center of Klier's interest) were very deeply affected both by religious prejudices and by the (not unrelated) perceived need to *obezvredit' evreev*—to make Jews useful, productive, and "harmless" subjects of the tsar. Klier also makes clear that Jews themselves, in their religious communities (*kagaly*) and through the venerable institution of *shtadlanut*, or intercession with the authorities by Jewish elites, did not remain passive objects but from the start attempted to influence and in their own way "render harmless" this policy. The central issues and theses of this translated version do not differ from the original English volume.

The differences between the volumes are quickly described. Every chapter has more and longer citations in the translation than in the English original. Aside from this, however, chapters one through four, taking the story up to 1801, are nearly exact translations of the English. Chapter five, on the Jewish statute of 1804, has been expanded in particular to include more material on the reactions of *kahals* (Jewish communal organizations) in Minsk and Kiev to proposed Russian legislation. In chapter six, the coverage of the Napoleonic period has been expanded. But the greatest changes come in chapter seven, which corresponds to the English version's chapters seven and eight. Besides integrating the two chapters, considerable new material has been added on Odessa, on Wilno, and, in particular (once again), on attempts by the local Jewish communities to present their own case and interests to the Russian authorities. The translation (but not the original!) ends with a useful short conclusion.

No doubt any specialist in Russian or Jewish history will be familiar with Klier's *Russia Gathers Her Jews*. The translation certainly belongs in any respectable research library, and some specialists may wish to acquire it for the new material it contains. On the whole, however, the obvious target audience for this translation will be native speakers of Russian who might have missed the original publication.

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SHANE O'ROURKE. *Warriors and Peasants: The Don Cossacks in Late Imperial Russia*. (St. Antony's Series.) New York: St. Martin's, in association with St. Antony's College, Oxford. 2000. Pp. xiv, 200.

Shane O'Rourke has succeeded in the goal he set: writing a social history of the Don Cossack community in the late imperial period based on local as well as central archives, surveys, and newspapers. He presents

the Don Cossacks as one of the many subcommunities in late imperial Russia whose diversity in local conditions, history, family and gender relations, and concepts of community should give any historian of "rural Russia" serious pause before declaring general conclusions. Because his monograph is the first English-language study to draw heavily on local archives—and especially the files of the Don Statistical Committee—he has provided more description than analysis, more data than narrative. At times, this work reads like an expanded encyclopedia entry, a style both typical of this form of social history and indicative of the book's value as a reference work for other historians of rural Russia.

Before moving to O'Rourke's contributions to our understanding of the Don Cossacks, a few words are in order about the technical production of this book. A product of MacMillan Press in England and St. Martin's Press in the United States, this is one of the most poorly edited publications I have ever read. I could only conclude that O'Rourke was asked to provide a "print-ready" copy of his manuscript, without benefit of a copy editor. As the spelling, typographical, and grammatical errors multiplied, I even began to wonder if O'Rourke had mistakenly submitted a draft version as his print-ready copy. How else to explain such mistakes as several instances of the construction "had began" (e.g. p. 37), the misuse of "principle" and "principal," the alternating spelling of "pastural" and "pastoral," the inconsistent capitalization of "Commune/commune," the confusion of "there" and "their," such phrasings as "more different to" instead of "more different from," and frequent missing words or repeated words in the text? Assigning this book will obligate instructors to offer a caveat about the many compositional errors the students will find. It also undermines the effort to convince students that good writing matters, and that careful proofreading is a requirement of good scholarly work. Skimping on copy editing was in this case a false economy.

These lapses are all the more regrettable because O'Rourke's study has much to offer in content. The overall structure is logical. He moves both chronologically and in subject matter from the broad lens to a more narrow focus, from the history of the Don Cossacks (1549–1920) to the internal dynamics of family life and women's roles at the end of the imperial era. The result is an effective presentation of the external factors pressing on the Don Cossack community, the internal systems that evolved in response, and the products of the interplay between external factors and internal dynamics. O'Rourke is most illuminating on the social, ethnic, and economic diversity within the Don Cossack host (e.g. Muslims, Orthodox, Old Believers, and Buddhists); the environmental consequences of the overuse of natural resources in the nineteenth century in response to population growth and the expanding costs of military service; the status and roles of Cossack women; and the broad latitude the Don Cossacks enjoyed in local self-government.

Each of these subjects deepens our understanding of "rural Russia" and offers important refinements of our current interpretations. The discussion of environmental degradation through deforestation and inadequate use of fertilizers or fallowing to protect waterways and soil makes these processes (common throughout European Russia) vivid and contributes to the historiography of the incremental deterioration of Russian farming. O'Rourke's close description of local administrative practices offers a good corrective to the general view of Alexander III and Nicholas II as wholly resistant to all loci of authority beyond the autocrat and imperial bureaucracy. And his discussion of Cossack women is so engaging in its explanation of how "The Cossack way of life depended absolutely on women and this was recognized by men" (p. 170) that any student of women in late imperial Russia should read it.

By the end of the book, two scenarios came to mind. The first was Leon Trotsky's quip that the Revolution of March 1917 came to Russia "under the belly of a Cossack's horse." O'Rourke's discussion of the heavy financial burdens of military service (including just how much it cost each soldier to buy and maintain a horse to ride while in the tsar's service) and the Cossacks' strong identity as mavericks suggests why this would be so. The second is imaginary. I found myself asking what happened when Cossack women and peasant women from central European Russia found themselves sharing student or workers' dormitories in Moscow in the late 1920s and 1930s. O'Rourke's study suggests that they would have had much to debate in defining their roles as wives, mothers, and workers in the socialist order. It is a measure of his accomplishment that his study left me with such a strong image of the cultural diversity of late imperial rural Russia and questions about what that legacy meant for the Soviet society that inherited it.

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ELENA OSOKINA. *Our Daily Bread: Socialist Distribution and the Art of Survival in Stalin's Russia, 1927-1941*. (The New Russian History.) Edited by KATE TRANSCHEL. Translated by KATE TRANSCHEL and GRETA BUCHER. Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 2001. Pp. xv, 254. \$64.95.

I first came across Elena Osokina's work in 1994. At that date, she published some of the archival evidence (that also became the basis of this book) in *Hierarchy of Consumption: On People's Lives under Conditions of Stalinist Distribution, 1928-1935* (written in Russian). It is reassuring that the data presented in English look as striking and interesting today as they did then. The book covers the period between 1927 and 1941 and provides an insight into the economy of shortage from the perspective of a social historian. The archival data used to support the main theme of the book—the symbiotic relationship between centralized distribu-

tion and the market under socialism—are revealing in many ways. The efforts of the author, editor, and translators make the book a fascinating read despite its detail and heavy referencing throughout.

Although the book is organized structurally and conceptually around the theme of socialist trade, I find Osokina's argument particularly strong on the themes of rationing, hierarchy, and survival. There was little equality in the allegedly egalitarian society. Instead, the centralized distribution system could be characterized as hierarchical, privilege-based, and corrupt.

The centralized distribution system was fundamentally hierarchical due to the ranking of social and occupational groups introduced for the purposes of rationing in conditions of shortage. Data presented in the book include qualitative and quantitative information on the rationing and hierarchy of the supply of food, goods, and services to the military and nonmilitary elites, foreign specialists and workers, industrial and nonindustrial workers, intelligentsia, students, rural populations, special regions, and cities throughout the period. (The most striking quantitative differences in rations for these groups can be found in the appendix.) According to Osokina, the rationing system in the Soviet Union in 1931-1935 was one of the most stratified in world history, unsurpassed even by that necessitated by exigencies of World War II.

Privileges were an intrinsic part of the centralized distribution system, an institution of so-called "closed distribution" came into being to designate the hierarchy of stores and cafeterias where only certain groups of customers could shop and eat. The whole network of "closed distributors," "closed workers' co-operatives," "departments of workers' provision," and restaurants and cafeterias for trade unions and professional organizations was just one of the society's open secrets. It is hard to refrain from referring to Mikhail Bulgakov's satirical description of "the Griboedov," a special access restaurant for the Moscow literary elite. Privileges were centrally granted and withdrawn for the purposes of the policy making and served as "the carrot" of the system.

The relatively rigid centralized distribution system was complemented by *blat*, the practice of "beating the system" that developed in the late 1920s and 1930s. By *blat* one could use personal connections to qualify for a better ration or receive access to a privilege to which one was not entitled. *Blat* is not something one could find documentary evidence for easily, but Osokina offers a convincing account of the ways it worked in the 1930s in conjunction with other survival strategies involving "flea markets," "dead souls," "freeloaders," "pilferers," and "speculators." Such phenomena became fairly well established in the studies of the second or informal economy in the 1970s and were associated with the Soviet system almost as strongly as the totalitarianism. But it is somewhat shocking to discover that they were an integral part of Stalinism in its peak. This confirms the social revisionist view that the Soviet regime did leave room for consumerism in

all times, or rather, could not help tolerating the strategies of survival.

The theme of survival or "everyday anti-Stalinism," as one might call it, is another important one in this book, especially as regards the account of the famine and peasants' responses to the regime. The book provides almost ethnographic accounts of peasant life and in this respect it is a must for students of the period. The photographs reproduced in the book are also extremely helpful. They illustrate the whole spectrum of society, from "Peasants returning to their village after selling milk and buying bread in Moscow 1929" to "A closed NKVD distributor in Moscow in 1936," and allow us to eyewitness various aspects of socialist trade.

One obvious weakness of the book, in my opinion, is the lack of at least a brief description of the archives in which Osokina worked. The story of gaining access to these supposedly classified archives could furnish yet more evidence to support the book's general conclusions about the "closed distribution" system or the end of it.

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STEPHEN LOVELL. *The Russian Reading Revolution: Print Culture in the Soviet and Post-Soviet Eras*. (Studies in Russia and East Europe.) New York: St. Martin's, in association with the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London. 2000. Pp. viii, 215. \$65.00.

This book is an addition to the emerging books on the publishing and reading culture in Russia, both imperial and Soviet. The book also adds new information on the last years of the Soviet regime and Boris Yeltsin's era. The narrative follows expected outlines. It provides a brief overview of the publishing and reading culture in the last years of imperial Russia, the turbulent era of revolutions, and the time of civil war. It provides more details on the New Economic Program (NEP) period. Stephen Lovell rightfully states that NEP Russia was characterized by a competition of state publishers and private publishers. Upon the end of the NEP, private publishers ceased to exist. The next part of the book deals with late Stalinism, Nikita Khrushchev's period and Leonid Brezhnev's "stagnation." Several important details are provided here that indicate the importance of books in the overall culture of Brezhnev's time.

Lovell points to the *defitsit* (i.e. the existence of hard-to-obtain books, ownership of which was quite prestigious). One of the most detailed and most useful chapters deals with the late Soviet and early post-Soviet eras. Indeed, no one has tackled the subject of book publishing and reading culture for this period of recent Russian history. Here the author demonstrates how the old system of publishing declined and a new reading culture emerged.

Yet the book should be taken as a preliminary

sketch and should be supplemented by many other works. Taking it as it is, especially if the reader has little or no information about Soviet and post-Soviet history, Lovell's book could be misleading. A major problem is that the narrative is placed outside of the social/cultural context, without which the role of the book cannot be understood. Take, for example, the Brezhnev period. The author states that books were proudly displayed by Soviet citizens in their apartments. He presents a Soviet caricature that shows a Soviet couple thinking about how to use books to decorate their apartment. Lovell states that this phenomenon could be easily compared with the period in Western European history when books were displayed by the people as a sign of their education (p. 68). This comparison is essentially wrong, for books had never played in Soviet Russia the same role that they did in any Western European country. The Russian elite were not the Western middle classes but intellectuals/bureaucrats who would be better compared with Chinese mandarins. Education was one of the major roads to success in Russia and for this very reason the ultimate manifestation of power and status. Knowledge became prestigious in itself, even if it was not directly connected with material benefit.

One could hardly understand the political/intellectual discourse of Brezhnev's period without describing the two major intellectual political trends. One was found among Russian nationalists who tried to create sort of a "national bolshevism," and the other represented a more liberal trend. These two trends were manifested into the famous conflict between two major magazines such as *Novyi Mir* and *Nash Sovremennik*. The reader will find nothing about these ideological/political arrangements and for this reason might wonder about the reason for the popularity of such authors as Valentin Pikul', who is mentioned as the author of nationalistic books (p. 94). As a matter of fact, Pikul's popularity was first due to the direct support from above and many members of the elite hold the positive views on the spread of his ideas. Second, Pikul's popularity was due to encouragement from below. A considerable part of the Russian public (ethnic Russian, of course) was quite pleased by the nationalistic transfiguration of official Soviet ideology.

Similar problems could be seen in other chapters, including those dealing with the post-Soviet era. The author states that the decline of the popularity of serious books and magazines in the post-Soviet era was due to the saturation of the market and rising costs. This was only part of the reason. Serious books, abstract knowledge itself, was important in Soviet Russia because the intellectuals were part of the elite. With the decline of the intelligentsia's position, abstract knowledge and, consequently, books on philosophy and history ceased to be essential furnishings of one's apartment.

While discussing the publishing of newspapers in post-Soviet Russia, Lovell does not spell out that most of them were supported by various groups of the

business elite and represented not the readers' but the elite's views. In discussing at length the role of *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, Lovell fails even to mention the name of Boris Berezovsky, who controlled this vehicle. In short, the book could be seen at best as a preliminary sketch, as an outline for future study. While some of the author's observations are useful, taken alone they do not provide an adequate picture of the Russian publishing and reading culture.

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MICHAEL DAVID-FOX and GYÖRGY PÉTERI, editors.
Academia in Upheaval: Origins, Transfers, and Transformations of the Communist Academic Regime in Russia and East Central Europe. Westport, Conn.: Bergin & Garvey. 2000. Pp. xi, 334. \$69.95.

The volume covers a long period, from the 1920s through to the 1990s, and provides a broad overview of the organization and reorganization of scholarly research and the financing of science in the Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc countries. As editors Michael David-Fox and György Péteri explain, the idea of "[t]he present collection has been to approach the Soviet academic regime at three key moments: its origins . . . its export, import, and domestication in the 'communist bloc' . . . and its demise in the wake of 1989 and 1991" (pp. 6–7). To accomplish this goal, the volume includes eleven studies, three on the origins of the state socialist model of science, three on its transfers to other Eastern European countries after World War II, and another three on the post-Communist reorganization. These rather informative and very well-researched studies are framed by an introduction and a conclusion.

The volume presents a convincing case that the characteristic Soviet academic model was not established according to a preplanned pattern; moreover, its transplantation to other Eastern European countries was not based on a master plan by Joseph Stalin. Improvisations and frequent changes played an important role. One of the most important findings of the volume, and especially of Péteri's contribution, is that the organization of Soviet science was largely a consequence of the overly ambitious program of industrialization and economic modernization. The Soviet Union wanted to create an extremely efficient, centralized organization, with the almighty Academy of Science—connected to a huge network of research institutions—in the center, to meet economic and technological requirements. The main motivation, of course, was to catch up with the West. This was also the reason for extending the research network, as well as expenses, far beyond the economic potential of any of the countries. The reasons for the reorganization of the Soviet higher educational system, and then that of the entire state socialist one as well, are made clear by David-Fox, whose study explains the particularly

stormy and unplanned process of restructuring the Soviet university system during the "Great Break" in the late 1920s and early 1930s. In addition to the powerful research capacity at the Academy of Sciences, the universities had to accomplish teacher training, and therefore "were pressed into a subordinated and vocational . . . mold" (p. 73). Two extremely interesting episodes, or rather portraits of great scholarly personalities, Petr Kapitsa (in Paul Josephson's study), and Albert Szentgyörgyi (in Péteri's chapter) deserve special attention. They describe the considerable political naïveté and strong moral *Haltung*, missionary zeal, and stubborn attitude that combined to ensure more financing and created a stronger research potential in the countries.

The reader is given a dramatic picture of the consequences of the collapse of state socialism, which generated "draconian fiscal restriction" (p. 287) and deep financial crisis for such an "overstretched" institutional research network. It also led to a struggle between the monopolist Academy of Sciences and the degraded universities, which sought to regain their Humboldtian role and character. Interestingly enough, however, the Academy of Sciences was able to preserve its status and basic scientific network during the 1990s (with the exception of the former East Germany). In the long run, and "despite its relative success so far," as Stephan Fortescue writes, "one doubts that the academy's position can be maintained" (p. 248). "The establishment of a reasonable balance between economic capacity and academic activity," explains Péteri, "may necessitate further cuts and retrenchment" (p. 293). The brain drain also undermines this inherited academic regime. The former Russian Academy of Sciences lost twelve percent of its research workers—forty percent of them physicists and seventeen percent biologists, respectively—to foreign countries during the first two years after the collapse. The internal brain drain, due to the migration of researchers to lucrative jobs in private industry, has been even more devastating.

Like all edited collections, this interesting and valuable volume has its weaknesses. Studying the three periods of major transformation in the academic regime, the editors and authors are unable to show how the system worked and what it was able to produce. The reader is left with the impression that the state socialist academic regime was in a permanent state of transformation and reorganization. While this may be true in some respects, there were also many peaceful decades and real achievements during these times. One reads about interesting struggles, but little is said about some of the important results. Did this "overstretched" research capacity serve the goal of forced economic modernization? Did it have a close connection to the powerful military-industrial complex? Was the degraded university system able to produce specialized experts for the economy in countries where even high school education was very limited and reserved for the elite prior to World War II? These

and many similar questions are left unaddressed. But this is probably demanding too much of a single volume.

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MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

DINA RIZK KHOURY. *State and Provincial Society in the Ottoman Empire: Mosul, 1540–1834*. (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xviii, 253.

This book by Dina Rizk Khoury studies the linkage between provincial and imperial politics in the Ottoman Empire, using as a case study the province of Mosul (northern Iraq), in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It spotlights the provincial notables who functioned in the intersection of state and province. The Ottoman state, appealing to an ideal Islamic moral and legal universe, protected the interests of the local population against those of the notables; meanwhile, the notables depended on the state for their continued wealth and ascendancy, yet they also mediated between state and people on behalf of both the state's legitimacy and the people's needs. Khoury uses the "universal" processes of war making and tax farming to study state power in the provincial context and to address theories of state-society interaction. The underlying purpose is to explain the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire.

Khoury argues that, in the Iraqi case, war against the Persians increased the state's demand for revenue but not its ability to extract it, causing it to depend on the local notables for money and supplies. A handful of notable households whose wealth came from land rental, tax farming, and commercial rents functioned as contractors for the state and political brokers in the province, marginalizing the lesser administrative, scholarly, merchant, and artisan families. The ideology of this elite group opposed sultanistic authority on the basis of an older Islamic discourse limiting secular power. This commitment led them to stand against the nineteenth-century Tanzimat reforms promulgated by the sultan and the central government, and they were ousted from power by a broad-based rebellion of middle gentry, merchants, and artisans in the name of reform.

This is a bold book, impressive in its sweep. It tackles a large and important problem with many unknowns, but in doing so it leaves some important issues unaddressed. Its consideration of Iraqi society is set against a larger Ottoman history treated as already known, yet early modern Ottoman history is also full of gaps and misconceptions that are ignored here. Moreover, the three centuries from 1540 to 1840 run together in the narrative, which occasionally leads to unwarranted overgeneralizations or anachronisms (e.g. p. 64). Although the book proposes to address

theoretical debates about state power and state-society relations, the narrative marginalizes both state and society; it is actually about a provincial elite and its relations to the state and the economy. The tension between these two aims is evident and may account for some of the book's problems with language. One of these is the combination of modern and premodern terminology for Iraqi institutions, terminology often used inappropriately or without adequate justification. Another is the number of Ottoman terms spelled and defined incorrectly, which raises questions about the use of Ottoman sources.

One might ask, then, if this is really a book on Ottoman history. Although Khoury claims to be addressing the vexed issue of the rise of provincial notables in the Ottoman Empire, the generalizability of her thesis to provinces other than Mosul is uncertain, as it depends quite heavily on local conditions of warfare and landholding. The book's conclusion reveals the real problem being addressed: the role of the state in modern Arab countries, inasmuch as that role is rooted in historical state-society relations. Khoury takes a large step toward a solution by probing the relationships of notables to the state and finding a meaningful pattern of changing investments and ideologies. Her scenario is plausible and should generate further studies.

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HANNA BATATU. *Syria's Peasantry, the Descendants of Its Lesser Rural Notables, and Their Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1999. Pp. xviii, 413. \$49.50.

The work of the late Hanna Batatu (1926–2000) had already risen to the level of legend prior to publication of this study of the politics of Syria's peasantry. His massive, 1,300-page tome on class and revolution in modern Iraq, *The Old Social Classes and the Revolution Movements of Iraq* (1978), became one of the best, if not the best, historical monograph on modern Iraq. Given his two decades of research into Syrian history, the book under review here was eagerly awaited. Published shortly before his death in June 2000, it will surely rise to the level of a classic study of modern Syria.

Batatu's goals for the book are ambitious, perhaps even too ambitious. Part one studies the modern Syrian peasantry, focusing in particular on the complex differentiation that characterizes the country's farmers. He traces such important factors in this stratification as religion, family, "warrior origin," size of holding, and type of agriculture. The author also provides myriad statistics about the living conditions and tenure patterns experienced in the Syrian countryside. Part two then broadens the discussion to examine the cultivators' political attitudes in the first half of the twentieth century. Batatu focuses particular attention on the role of the Sufi mystical brotherhoods in engendering political quietude among the cultivators

as well as the efforts of the Arab Socialist Party and the Communists to organize them. Batatu then moves on, in part three, to discuss the extent to which peasant grievances have impacted Syria's ruling Ba'th Party in its various incarnations. In this context, he links growing peasant consciousness with the general rise of what he terms the "lesser rural notability" within the Syrian military and the party itself. Part four offers a study of Hafiz al-Asad, Syria's ruler from 1970 to 2000. Here Batatu delves into such varied topics as the means Asad used to maintain his power, his political philosophy, and his rocky relationship with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), all in the service of showing the extent to which the policies of Syria's first modern ruler from a peasant background were motivated by that same background.

Batatu's trademark attention to detail and huge assortment of statistics and biographical material make this an indispensable contribution to historians of the modern Middle East, as does the fact that he correctly anchors Syria's politics to its underlying socioeconomic trends. The author's analysis also benefits from another of his trademarks: his extraordinary access to important sources. Over the years, he conducted interviews with some of the leading political figures in modern Syrian and Middle Eastern history, including Salah al-Din al-Bitar and Michel 'Aflaq, founders of the Ba'th Party; the peasant organizer Akram Hawrani; 'Abd al-Hamid al-Sarraj, Syrian military official and minister in the government of the United Arab Republic; and PLO leader Salah Khalaf, a.k.a. Abu Iyad. He also gained access to Syrian Ba'th Party documents and the files of the PLO.

Yet this book is not without its detractions, some of which stem from Batatu's approach to history. Batatu was a scholar impatient with historical analysis that was overly theoretical. He preferred to start with his massive quantities of data and develop broad conclusions thereafter rather than begin with presuppositions or a rigid theoretical framework. Indeed, as he states in the book, he offers only tentative observations about Syria's peasantry. Fair enough, but what is Batatu saying about Syria and its peasantry in the final analysis? What does this vast amount of empirical data say to us about Syrian history beyond the descriptive narrative itself, which ranges from a discussion of Syria's cultivators to factionalism within the Ba'th Party, and from the nature of Asad's rule to Syrian-PLO relations? After decades of research, one would hope that Batatu had at least summed up his theses with an introduction and conclusion—neither of which he provides us (although he does offer an epilogue).

This nonetheless remains an important book. Batatu has provided us with a masterfully detailed study of modern Syrian history. It is our loss that it proved to be his last such contribution.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

MELVIN E. PAGE. *The Chiyawa War: Malawians and the First World War*. (History and Warfare.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 2000. Pp. xvi, 276. \$65.00.

During World War I, nearly a quarter of a million Malawians were coerced into colonial military or labor service and compelled to serve British imperial interests during the British conquest of German Tanganyika. Although the scale of this wartime mobilization in Malawi was unprecedented, the impact of the conflict on Africans there has long remained obscure. Using an impressive combination of archival sources as well as more than 225 Malawian oral histories, Melvin E. Page rectifies this omission and sheds new light on the ordeal undergone by East Africans between 1914 and 1918.

Page assesses the impact of the war on Malawians by addressing a series of themes, which coincide with the chronological unfolding of events. He begins by discussing the war's outbreak and placing it within the framework of the Malawian historical experience during the previous century. Thereafter, the wartime mobilization of Malawian manpower and its far-ranging social implications both at home and within the military are discussed. In all, nearly 20,000 Malawians served as soldiers in the King's African Rifles, while another 200,000 porters were pressed into service. This amounted to seventy-five percent of the colony's adult male population. Those remaining behind in their villages—women, children, and the elderly—confronted chronic labor shortages, which led to much reduced crop yields, widespread malnutrition, and famine. Moreover, pervasive fears about the fate of their departed loved ones were well founded. Soldiers and carriers alike suffered severe privations during the war, and although casualty estimates are imprecise, it appears that death rates amounted to twelve percent among the former and between 2.5 and five percent among the latter.

As the author makes clear, the end of the war brought no surcease to the suffering. No sooner had the guns stopped than the 1919 influenza pandemic struck, quickly carrying off perhaps five times as many people among the undernourished population as had been killed during the war. In addition, postwar inflation, rising colonial tax rates and labor demands, and the government's failure to provide previously promised war gratuities to returning veterans engendered an attitude among most Malawians in which the rewards of service in behalf of Britain were seen as incommensurate with their sacrifices.

Page concludes by placing the Malawian experience within the larger comparative context of other Africans and other peoples worldwide. He argues that the period between 1914 and 1918 marked a transitional epoch between the immediate past and the new nationalist era of the future. The war represented the first truly national experience for Malawians and, in

their ambivalent assessment of Europeans—hated and respected, yet no longer feared—Page discerns an altered African mentality, which he believes was the most important legacy of the war. And in the veterans' disillusionment with the gap between wartime promises and postwar reality, as well as in their willingness to assert their grievances, Page sees a parallel between the experiences of Malawian servicemen and their counterparts in Europe and North America.

Page's work represents an important departure from the colonial hagiography depicting the Great War in East Africa. Trained as a social historian, the author focuses on the lived reality of the war for Africans and its implications for their lives. This approach is most successful when the oral histories Page collected—which are of a very high quality indeed—enable him to recount events through African eyes. Hence, the sections on the responses to British recruitment demands, the wartime experiences of servicemen and civilians, and the Malawian interpretations of the war are especially illuminating and compelling.

While, inevitably, there are a few ways in which this work might be improved—including a map of the administrative districts of Malawi in 1914 and an appendix of the oral histories collected—for the most part, these are minor concerns. The conclusion, however, which is otherwise laudable in its ambitious scope, would have benefited from additional global comparisons that place the Malawian (and African) wartime experience in sharper relief. For instance, the extent of the manpower demands made in Malawi were comparable to those in France and Germany, the two European powers most fully mobilized during the struggle. And the proportionate loss of life among African peoples mobilized during the war was much higher than that from other areas on the periphery of the conflict, notably the United States. These are facts worth mentioning because most non-African historians are unaware of them. Nevertheless, Page's work represents a significant and enduring contribution not only to the history of Malawi but also to that of millions of other Africans who were drawn into the maelstrom of World War I.

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JOCK McCULLOCH. *Black Peril, White Virtue: Sexual Crime in Southern Rhodesia, 1902–1935*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2000. Pp. ix, 272. \$35.00.

In 1903, the Legislative Council of Southern Rhodesia passed an ordinance that imposed the death penalty for rape and attempted rape. Directed at African men, this draconian measure was a response to heightened fears within the white settler community that the sexual virtue of white women was in danger. Waves of "black peril" panic swept through settler society between 1902 and 1916, and although emotions calmed

thereafter, as late as 1935 an African was executed for rape on the testimony of the white victim. Jock McCulloch conducts a meticulous examination of these "moral panics" (p. 4), using them as the point of departure for a wide-ranging consideration of the ways race, gender, class, disease, and state power intersected in the construction of a white colonial identity.

McCulloch begins his study by looking closely at several "black peril" trials. He confirms earlier work that suggested African defendants often were charged and convicted on the basis of highly dubious claims, but he probes further than anyone has into the external social and political pressures that contributed to the initiation and outcome of these cases. These pressures arose in part out of efforts to mobilize settlers along racial lines and against British South Africa Company authority. McCulloch, however, places particular stress on the connection between "black peril" crises and white men's efforts "to restrain the sexual impulses of white women" (p. 5). He points out that most acquittals occurred in cases where white women were prostitutes, unmarried mothers, or otherwise operating outside the boundaries of bourgeois respectability. He also notes that 1903 saw the passage of another ordinance, one that prohibited white women from engaging in consensual sex with black men, reinforced in 1916 with even stricter penalties. Such behavior, the legislators argued, encouraged "black peril" assaults on respectable women. Although white women drew in turn on the danger of "black peril" in their own campaign to outlaw concubinage, arguing that white men who cohabited with African women eroded the racial boundaries that protected white women, legislators refused to place restraints on white males' sexual conduct.

While McCulloch leaves little doubt that the preoccupation with "black peril" figured into white males' efforts to regulate the sexual desire of white females, it is less clear that this struggle was quite so central to "black peril" panics as he suggests. McCulloch concedes that no women ever appear to have been prosecuted under the legislation that prohibited them from engaging in interracial sex, which stands in stark contrast to the evidence he marshals that 200 or so African males were convicted of—and roughly twenty executed for—sexual assault on white women. The contrast in the regulatory consequences of the two ordinances leaves no doubt about who were the primary targets of these measures.

It is one of the great merits of McCulloch's analysis, however, that it insists on tracing Rhodesian settlers' moral panics through varied channels of social experience. Not only does his study show how the specter of the predatory black male was used to mobilize the white community and regulate the sexuality of white females; it also shows how the intersection of sexuality and race provoked other sources of anxiety in colonial society. One of these was the concern that the increased mobility of African women was undermining

the African moral order. A related fear was that syphilis had assumed epidemic proportions among Africans, posing risks to whites because of their intimate associations with domestic servants. McCulloch also examines the efforts of colonial authorities to categorize and contain the mixed race or "coloured" population that arose as a result of cohabitation between white men and African women. His analysis of these and other issues draws on a wealth of archival evidence, supplying a richly documented account of the tensions and contradictions that coursed through the colonial enterprise. We can hardly hope for a more able demonstration of how to write the social history of colonialism than this finely wrought study of the imbrication of race, gender, class, and sexuality in Southern Rhodesia.

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TERESA A. BARNES. *"We Women Worked So Hard": Gender, Urbanization, and Social Reproduction in Colonial Harare, Zimbabwe, 1930–1956.* (Social History of Africa.) Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann. 1999. Pp. xlv, 204. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$24.95.

Teresa A. Barnes's timely study makes an important contribution to Zimbabwean historiography. Until recently, the nationalist paradigm has held enormous sway over scholars, who have accepted too readily supposed nationalism's capacity to articulate and subsume a range of subaltern struggles. Given that the nationalist struggle was rooted in rural areas, scholars initially focused on the clash of a monolithic peasantry with the Rhodesian state. While later studies were more attentive to gender relations and gendered discourses, they remained predominantly rural based and confined to the early decades of the twentieth century. What research was done on class formation tended to be workplace orientated, focusing on relations between male workers on mines and railways to the general exclusion of women. Unlike other African regions, which have a developed urban history, Zimbabwe's urban past is inaccessible to the ordinary student. A rich array of doctoral dissertations on the two major cities, Bulawayo and Salisbury (now Harare), remain unpublished.

Thus Barnes's concern to "demonstrate the salience of gendered history to an improved understanding of the urban past of Zimbabwe" (p. xxvi) in the period 1930–1956 advances historical knowledge in two neglected areas. Her overarching theme is social reproduction: "a multilayered effort in the domains of gender and social power . . . waged by men and women of the post-conquest generations to transmit something African into the future . . . a campaign . . . to enable African people to live together as families, to come and go freely, and to make choices according to their own priorities" (pp. xviii–xix). This, she argues, is

another important coherence obscured by the force of nationalism.

She begins her study by locating early township life in the broader political economy of colonial Zimbabwe, showing how women struggled to maintain the basics of nutrition and diet in the face of colonial disinterest in African urban welfare. Women's work becomes the dominant theme of the second chapter as Barnes outlines the range of female economic activity from factory work and domestic service to prostitution and beer brewing. Female opportunities to accumulate were always limited. Housing regulations meant that female access to residential space came only through men and, in formal terms, marriage. This rendered many women outside of the law, driving them into niches of the unofficial economy.

At this point, Barnes begins to nuance previous work on colonial gender relations. In the central section of her book we learn that the state was not in alliance with elder African males (at least not in urban areas), and neither did it make a concerted attempt to round up African women. Some African males participated in the enterprise of defining new notions of female decency and respectability, which helped women stay in towns. One such notion was "marital migrancy." Here, wives seeking to live with urban-dwelling husbands, and to gain greater access to commodities, remained free from the taint of urban life by keeping a foot in the "old" world of rural reproduction. However, the presence of African women in town always annoyed some men, black and white. In her final chapter, Barnes cleverly weaves gender relations into broader political history. She explains the notorious rape of elite female hostel dwellers during the bus boycott of 1956 in terms of both the challenge their independent status offered to male notions of patriarchy, and their relatively higher class position over poor men. And she shows how the state's assault on a different group of respectable married women became an issue pursued by both genders in the politics of the Reformed Industrial and Commercial Workers Union.

In concentrating on social reproduction, Barnes avoids the pitfall of earlier studies that have tended to celebrate the agency of remarkable (often elite) women such as madams, shebeen queens, or political leaders while ignoring the considerable constraints on ordinary women. However, it could be argued that Barnes dwells too much on the side of constraints. We are shown how women acted in the politics of the open mass nationalist period, but they were far more creative and influential in the realms of culture. They were particularly active in founding and sustaining movements of African Christianity, which traversed Zimbabwean cities. And these movements were pivotal in defining notions of righteousness and respectability, and in providing work ethics, all of which are so central to Barnes's concerns. Moreover, while she considers the role of women's clubs in teaching domesticity, their influence on style, fashion, and leisure is ignored. Because black women usually existed beyond the con-

fines of the workplace and were often ignored by state surveillance, they were freer to elaborate on new urban popular cultures. African women's lives were not *only* hard work.

To her credit, Barnes does hint at some of these dimensions missing from her study. More significantly, she has powerfully demonstrated the importance of a

gendered urban history by showing how workers were far more than "wooden, one dimensional beings" (p. 107). Her study is well researched, engagingly written, and always impeccably situated in the wider literature. In short, this is a book to value.

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Film Reviews

QUILLS. Produced by Julia Chassman, Peter Kaufman, and Nick Webster; directed by Philip Kaufmann; screenplay by Doug Wright. 2000; color; 123 minutes. Distributed by Fox Searchlight Pictures.

There is a story about the Marquis de Sade that the Surrealists liked to tell and that Georges Bataille mentions in *Literature and Evil* (1957). Days before the storming of the Bastille, Sade shouted from his cell that the prisoners were being slaughtered. In the Surrealist telling, Sade had, in a manner of speaking, gotten the jump on the French Revolution and was way ahead of it.

In fact, Sade did play a minor role in the events following July 14, 1789. After being released from prison, Citizen Louis Sade joined the section of the Place Vendôme (later called section des Piques), one of the most radical sections and the one from which Citizen Maximilien Robespierre emerged from obscurity. Sade played an active role in the section while he continued publishing philosophic-erotic literature and staging plays, until the revolutionary authorities arrested him on December 8, 1793, less than one month after the beheading of Marie-Antoinette. Released months after Robespierre's own head was chopped off, Sade was rearrested again on October 15, 1794, and a final time on March 6, 1801. He spent the rest of his life in prison and asylums, most of that time in Charenton, where the film *Quills* takes place. At Charenton, he continued to write and publish his works of philosophical eroticism. He died in 1814.

If one wants historical accuracy, however, *Quills* is not the place to begin. Some elements of the film are loosely based in historical truths. In May 6, 1813, authorities ordered Abbé Coulmier to suspend all theatrical performances at Charenton after a performance of Sade's play. In 1813–1814, Sade had an affair with a seventeen-year-old asylum worker named Magdeleine Leclerc, although Sade's diaries suggest the relationship was more sexual than the film implies. By and large, however, the film's producer warns that *Quills* forsakes "the actual boring biopic approach" and with it any commitment to historical accuracy. The official website for the film (http://www.-quillsmovie.com/index_release.htm) elaborates: "Be forewarned. This is the imagined story of the final days

of the Marquis de Sade, the writer, rebel, and sensualist." This warning should not to be read as some grand metaliterary statement about writers turning life into art, or not just that. Rather, the film is best understood as a discourse operating within certain ideological traditions.

In particular, the film follows in the tradition of Bataille's *Literature and Evil*, Pierre Klossowski's *Sade, Mon Prochain* (1967), Peter Weiss' play *Marat/Sade* (1964), and Niel Schaeffer's recent biography *The Marquis de Sade: A Life* (1999). Here, libertinism and liberty are on the same side of the barricade, and Sade is portrayed as the exemplary victim of the enemies of the revolution (and this includes the revolutionaries themselves, who balked at a revolution that would internally and externally liberate people from the shackles of authority). Here, Sade is the revolution pushed to its ultimate conclusion, the reverse image of the Terror, the despotic military authoritarian regime of Napoleon, and their later recurrences in the modern world. Here, liberty implies shattering the limits and transgressing the moral, political, and artistic barriers by saying and doing what one likes. Here, one finds the individual in extremis as the final, unrestrained point of the revolution, where the lines between liberty and license, cruelty and love, autonomy and madness, vice and virtue, art and life, self and other disappear in a perverse intermingling.

While the film draws on this discursive tradition, it carefully hems it into a second, and more fully articulated, narrative: a liberal interpretation that sees Sade waging a struggle against censorship, hypocrisy, and the cruelty of moral bigots. The official synopsis of the films, for example, says that *Quills* is a "metaphor about freedom of expression and civil liberties." The marquis thus symbolizes artists everywhere who speak truth to power, who write with their blood and pay the price. As the Abbé Collard says of Sade: "He's a writer, not a madman."

Critics have for the most part bought this reading of the film. Even an intelligent critic like Greil Marcus writes that *Quills* is "a horror movie about the Rights Of Man" (www.salon.com). The position at stake here is that artists need to be able to say anything and everything. But the justifications of this position vary. At some points in the film, this position is championed

because literature is not life. At other times, the film seems to argue that untrammelled creativity is necessary for life.

In this sense, the film embodies the principle that morality-based censorship represses people's true natures and makes them hypocrites. Perhaps the character of Sade makes this point best when he says of Dr. Royer-Collard: "We merely held up a mirror. Apparently he didn't like what he saw." In this view, people are satyrs neutered by society, morality, and the police. That is why Geoffrey Rush struts around in his cage with the tense sexuality of an eighteenth-century version of David Bowie. At one point in the film, Sade declaims: "I write for the great eternal truths that bind together all mankind, the whole world over. We eat, we shit, we fuck, we die." No one is immune to such desires; even the good Abbé lusts—however demurely—for Madeleine.

The film, then, in spite of itself, is about desire and its discontents, not freedom of speech. The deplorable act uncovered in the film is not censorship of free speech but censorship of desire. Sade represents a man open to all his desires (in art if not in the real world); this is the theme that provokes and excites, fascinates and generates horror in people. Consequently, the film is about Sade and sadomasochism, and, to the extent that the ideals of free speech are at stake, they are couched in the language of Sadean perversion. Liberal ideals of free speech, when connected to a figure like Sade, become rationalizations masking the contemporary fascination with a historical figure who appeared open to forbidden fantasy; the stuff about censorship, the right of Art to say anything and critique hypocrisy, is at best secondary, a mere smokescreen.

Quills thus expresses the filmmakers' and filmgoers' fantasies of perverse, unlimited gratification and their anxieties about the limits placed on those desires. We have only to look to consumer culture to discover the source of those fantasies and preoccupations. The media projects a continuous barrage of messages inviting people to indulge their fantasies and overcome their inhibitions. In the consumer age, to be free takes on the meaning of being free to enjoy and express desires without being censored for them (either from within or without). That is the fascination a figure like Sade holds over people in the postmodern consumer society. That is the real subject of the film.

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PEARL HARBOR. Produced by Jerry Bruckheimer and Michael Bay; directed by Michael Bay; screenplay by Randall Wallace. 2001; color; 182 minutes. USA. Distributed by Touchstone/Buena Vista Pictures.

Pearl Harbor attempts a bold double alchemy: to turn a historic defeat into a flag-waving spectacular, and to transform a traditionally "male" subject into a film with appeal to the female market tapped so success-

fully by *Titanic* in 1997. The fusion fails. The film sinks under the burden of giving both elements a full development and contriving a happy ending.

The screenplay for *Pearl Harbor*, by Randall Wallace, draws on one of the few "positive" stories to have emerged from the U.S. experience of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor: the defensive feats performed by Lieutenants Taylor and Welch, the fighter pilots who together shot down seven enemy planes. Here, they are promoted and fictionalized into Captain Rafe McCawley (Ben Affleck) and Captain Danny Walker (Josh Harnett), childhood friends who join the prewar airforce. Rafe falls in love with a nurse named Evelyn (Kate Beckinsale) and volunteers to serve in the Royal Air Force in Britain, but he is apparently lost in action. Danny and Evelyn are posted to Pearl Harbor and also fall in love. But Rafe is merely missing in occupied France and returns on the eve of the Japanese attack. Rafe and Danny clash, but they unite to fight off the Japanese, while Evelyn tends the wounded. All three survive the attack, but Danny and Rafe go on to take part in the "Doolittle" air raid on Tokyo. This raid "settles the score" for Pearl Harbor and, with grinding predictability, also resolves their personal lives.

Although the action sequences provoke memories of the Large-scale spectacles of the early 1970s, most obviously *Tora! Tora! Tora!* (1970), the storyline owes more to the films of the World War II era. The film recreates authentic 1940s films rather than historical events. The plot lurches from that of a Tyrone Power antineutrality picture like *Yank in the RAF* (1941) to one of the more somber melodramas from 1942 designed to teach "American womanhood" the necessity of sacrifice. The story even delivers much the same twist as *Mrs. Miniver* (1942) by killing, against our expectation, the nurse Betty (James King) and allowing her pilot fiancé Red (Ewen Bremner) to survive. In the war years, such plots had a national imperative, but, divorced from their historical context, they are just mawkish devices for wringing an emotional response from the audience.

The action sequences are similarly crafted to fulfill expectations derived from film rather than life. Aircraft swoop and turn not like planes in archive film, but rather like the fighters in *Star Wars* (1977). As George Lucas used combat footage from World War II as an inspiration, so we now have World War II reconstructed using Lucas's own special-effects corporations, Industrial Light and Magic and Skywalker Sound.

But, if the action sequences owe too much to late twentieth-century expectations, the "look" of *Pearl Harbor* is punctiliously 1940s. The costumes, framing, color scheme, and the faces of the actors cast are wholly consistent with such sources as the wartime paintings of Norman Rockwell. The only thing missing is smoking: so ubiquitous at the time, so taboo in films today. The film is at its strongest when these down-home images clash with the savagery of the attack: Boy Scouts watching the first wave of planes swoop down;

blood donations lapping into Coke bottles. In a similar vein, the moment when Evelyn uses her lipstick to place triage marks on the foreheads of the wounded, marking them for life or death, is far more moving than the contrivances of the wider plot.

The film makes a token attempt to deal with such historical issues as the breakdown of negotiations between the U.S. and Japan and the missed chances to predict the raid by code breaking, but there is no space to explore these stories meaningfully. Franklin D. Roosevelt (Jon Voight) is depicted quite absurdly against character, making rhetorical points based on his disability. The story of Dorie Miller (Cuba Gooding, Jr.), the black mess steward who manned a gun on the *USS West Virginia* during the attack, is also dutifully related. The closing narration mentions Miller's status as an African-American hero but neglects to point out that, despite his evident courage and ability as a gunner, naval segregation ensured that he was still a mess steward when he died in action in 1943.

The most overt historical distortion comes with the closing depiction of the Doolittle raid. In reality, the raid damaged little but Japanese pride, but here vast factories erupt in flames. The aftermath, as Doolittle's planes ditch in China, degenerates into an absurd shoot-'em-up, something of a "Gunfight in the OK Rice Paddy." The dignified Japanese seen in the body of the film here revert to the crude wartime stereotype. Plenty of war films need a third hour for complete character development or to bring to conclusion the action on the screen. These final sequences, however, actually undermine the integrity of what has gone before.

Despite *Pearl Harbor*'s length, the filmmakers still feel the need to resort to closing narration to explain the "meaning" of events. The message is labored. It is as though we are listening to a Park Service audition for the job of tour guide on the *USS Arizona* National Monument. This would have been a better film if that voice-over had cut in an hour earlier, embraced Pearl Harbor as a defeat, and brought proceedings to a speedier conclusion.

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CAPTAIN CORELLI'S MANDOLIN. Produced by Tim Bevan, Eric Fellner, Mark Huffam, and Kevin Loader; directed by John Madden; screenplay by Shawn Slovo. 2001; color; 131 minutes. Distributed by Miramax.

This film, based on Louis de Bernière's bestselling novel *Corelli's Mandolin* (1994), shares the book's uncomplicated admiration and love of the Greek island of Cephallonia. (Shot entirely on the island, the film is dedicated to the people of Cephallonia who perished in the earthquake of 1953.) Director John Madden instructed his photographer, John Toll, to use the same palette of soft hues and natural light he employed to such effect in his previous film, *Shakespeare in Love* (1998), to bring the island's beauty to

the screen. Visually, the film is lovely to behold; as history, however, it only begins to inform and elucidate.

The plot revolves around the Italian and German occupation of the island during World War II. In 1940, the Italian Army was ordered to manufacture "incidents" along the Greece-Albania border to justify intervention. Albania, already a "protectorate" of Benito Mussolini's son-in-law and foreign minister, Galeazzo Ciano, was to be the base from which fascist Italy would thrust its way into the eastern Mediterranean in an effort to recreate a Roman *mare nostrum*. After nearly twenty years of fascist corruption, brutality, and inefficiency, the Greek campaign had proven a fiasco, and the badly outnumbered Greeks managed to push the Italians back into Albania. Mussolini's Axis partner was then called in to rectify the situation, and Greece was defeated and occupied.

Here, the stereotyped images familiar to all begin their work: the Nazi soldiers are coldly efficient, unsmiling warriors with death on their minds; their Italian counterparts are bumbling but good-natured. This is the almost ubiquitous myth of "*Italiani brava gente*" ("Italians are good people") that developed after the war. Rather than forgetting, as in France, Italians benefitted from a myth, oftentimes forged by others, that their men were good-natured, ready to burst into a song at the drop of a hat (or a pretty girl's handkerchief), but poor soldiers. Surely they were the latter, but that was less a matter of character than of poor morale, miserable leadership, and pathetically inadequate supplies. Both novel and film make use of the "good Nazi" (who fails to catch Corelli's reference to Carl Maria von Weber), played by David Morrissey.

Captain Corelli (Nicholas Cage with a bad Italian accent) is billeted in the home of Dr. Iannis (John Hurt) and his lovely daughter, Pelagia (Penelope Cruz). Pelagia is betrothed to Mandras (Christian Bale), a young fisherman who eventually joins the Communist resistance. Mandras' mother, Drosoula, played by Irene Papas, is the most authentic member of the cast. The expected cultural clashes melt in the face of the captain's obvious humanity, especially in the wake of his beautiful mandolin playing. Corelli's unit, known as the "La Scala Boys" because of their love of opera, are too concerned with wine, women, and song (in reverse order of importance) to threaten the good citizens of Cephallonia.

Two currents that are critical for the development of the plot in de Bernière's novel are totally absent from the film. One is de Bernière's rabid anticommunism; the other is the homosexuality of a major character, Carlo Guercio (Piero Maggì). In the novel, Guercio's experience in war-torn Albania are rendered in heart-wrenching detail, in pages that can equal the best antiwar literature of the twentieth century. But the film glosses over these and other experiences to offer the action-thriller genre of filmed warfare. Guercio's sexuality, for which he is privately tormented, is channeled into a moment of supreme sacrifice. By negating

Guercio's homosexuality (only a hint is proffered when the Italian soldiers are seen frolicking with prostitutes and Carlo seems ill at ease), the filmgoer, unaware of his sublimated homoerotic relationship with Corelli, cannot understand Guercio's heroic act at the film's climax.

These are merely the most glaring departures from the novel, but others are significant as well. The relationship between Corelli and Pelagia is never consummated in the book, giving a delicious tension, while in the film the consummation dutifully takes place in an olive grove overlooking the sea. Dr. Iannis, who dies in the earthquake that destroyed much of the island in 1953, miraculously survives in the film. And, while it takes the novelistic Corelli a lifetime to return to Pelagia, in the film he comes back after the earthquake. But perhaps these are forgivable defects when balanced against the movie's great credit: to bring before a wide audience an almost-forgotten episode of World War II: the Nazi massacre of Italian soldiers on Cephallonia. (The film is also dedicated to these men.)

With the Allied bombardment of Rome and invasion of Sicily in July 1943, King Victor Emanuele III removed Mussolini as prime minister. The coup, although bloodless in the palace, resulted in lost blood everywhere else. For forty-five days, Italy and the Allies dithered as Adolf Hitler sent divisions over the Brenner Pass to secure the Italian peninsula. Rome was left undefended as both the king and the new prime minister, Marshal Pietro Badoglio, fled the Eternal City for the safety of the Allied lines on September 8, 1943. On Cephallonia, the Italian general took his German counterpart at his word when he promised that Italian soldiers, after laying down their arms, would be transported back to Italy. Instead, several thousand defenseless men were mowed down by automatic fire. When transport ships were bombed by the British in the Mediterranean, German soldiers opened fire on the drowning Italian soldiers. In the context of what was taking place in the extermination camps of Europe, this pales by comparison; yet it was a tragic and inhuman event nonetheless.

Captain Corelli's Mandolin was a box office success in the United Kingdom, but it seems to have failed in the United States. This is to be regretted, for, although the film falls far short of the vision of a magnificent though flawed novel, it is nevertheless an opportunity to revisit a painful episode of World War II.

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TAKING SIDES. Directed by István Szabó; produced by Yves Pasquier and Rainer Mockert; screenplay by Ronald Harwood. 2001; color; 105 minutes. Germany; in English. Distributed by Beyond Films, Los Angeles/Little Big Bear Productions, Australia.

Master filmmaker István Szabó turns again to World War II for his subject matter in *Taking Sides*, which received its world premiere in a gala presentation at

the 26th Toronto International Film Festival. Based on the successful stage play by Ronald Harwood, it is, like the director's last film, *Sunshine* (1999), at once deeply moving and dramatically effective. Born in Budapest in 1938, Szabó graduated from the Hungarian Academy of Film in 1961; throughout his prolific career as a filmmaker, he has won over sixty major international awards, including an Academy Award for best foreign film for *Mephisto* (1981), and he has directed such distinguished films as *Father* (1964) and *Colonel Redl* (1986).

Wilhelm Furtwängler, a controversial figure considered by many to be an artistic genius, was arguably the most distinguished conductor of his generation, with a reputation rivalling that of Arturo Toscanini. He held a position of great stature in the cultural life of Germany as music director of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra. After Adolf Hitler came to power in 1933, many Jewish artists were forced to leave the country, while others went voluntarily into exile in protest. The renowned Furtwängler chose to stay on, helping to secure safe haven for Jewish musicians while attempting to avoid association with the Nazi regime. Nonetheless, his postwar investigation by the Allies' Denazification Committee, despite his subsequent acquittal on all charges, permanently affected his reputation. That investigation provides the subject matter for *Taking Sides*.

Steve Arnold (Harvey Keitel), an American Army major, is assigned the Furtwängler dossier and instructed to uncover every possible angle for the prosecution of the artist. Portrayed as tough and uncompromising, yet considerate and kind to his assistants, the determined major, an insurance investigator in civilian life, is required to investigate a world of which he knows little, apart from the fact that the Nazis were guilty of atrocities against the Jews. Arnold's interrogation provides the principal action of the narrative, as orchestra members vouch for Furtwängler's morality in refusing to shake Hitler's hand and testify to the assistance he provided for Jewish players banished from the orchestra.

The film gives voice to various perspectives, inviting speculation on the subject's claims that he was merely a pawn of the Third Reich. His musical brilliance, however, inspired the fires of nationalism at Nazi Party gatherings, opening up questions about whether his failure to oppose Nazi activities was tantamount to support for them. Szabó's film thereby poses—without necessarily resolving—the problem of an individual's responsibility within a totalitarian regime. To the Germans, deeply respectful of their musical heritage, Furtwängler was a demigod; to Arnold, he is rather a duplicitous, cowardly Nazi. Furtwängler was remanded to a German court that failed to find him guilty, and he was never afterward invited to perform in the United States.

Superbly shot by Szabó's longtime collaborator, the legendary Hungarian cinematographer Lajos Koltai, the sets evoke with the precision of documentary

footage shot by Allied forces the rubble of occupied Berlin during the immediate postwar period. The film's authentic locations—including an officer's club set in an old barracks that has been transformed into a bar and ballroom, the staircase of the Bodemuseum, and a Potsdam villa where the Russian cultural officer (Oleg Tabakov) lives amid a decor of “degenerate art”—suggest the element of displacement that characterized Berlin in 1946. It was an international city where Russian, American, and English officers and troops congregated, an atmosphere dramatically conveyed by Szabó's signature casting of nationals in key roles.

The film's intense power centers around a series of interviews and cross-examinations Arnold conducts with Furtwängler in his office, forcing the interrogator to consider how he might have behaved had he found himself in the conductor's situation. Arnold and Furtwängler (Stellan Skarsgård) parry and respond, embodying two cultures meeting in the postwar chaos; the two actors persuasively portray complex characters. One hides behind his art, while the other attacks the naïveté of that position. The hypnotically compelling scenario avoids the limitations of circumscribed period drama by examining with great subtlety the colliding moral and ethical positions represented in the conflict between the American officer and his adversary, enabling the viewer to appreciate the contemporary dimensions of that historical moment.

The director's approach follows the protagonists' thoughts and arguments as they take form and collapse before our eyes. In close-up, the shifting interplay of glances expresses the charged energies of faces in attack or defense; alternating wide-angle shots connect the protagonists to the political and historical world beyond. The film's singular achievement lies in its presentation of two kinds of human behavior, both claiming higher moral principles. Arnold's premise condemns every beneficiary of a dictatorship built upon a murderous ideology, while at the same time defending military intervention from abroad; Furtwängler argues that an entire nation cannot be expected to emigrate, and that those who remain among the depraved must try to defend themselves by accepting the compromises inherent in the mission of safeguarding cultural values. By evoking sympathy and antipathy simultaneously, *Taking Sides* delivers a distinctive form of truth, discovered by the audience through tension and doubt, perplexity and reflection, and by integrating historical understanding with contemporary reality.

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APOCALYPSE NOW REDUX. Produced by Kim Aubry; directed by Francis Ford Coppola; screenplay by John Milius and Francis Ford Coppola. 2001; color; 197 minutes. Distributed by United Artists.

To a great extent, one cannot help but feel a loss for words when considering the release of a new version of Francis Ford Coppola's *Apocalypse Now*. The film, in a sound-enhanced format that now boasts an impressive three hour-plus running time, speaks for itself—and quite loudly at that. Even in its original form, *Apocalypse Now* (1979) was already too big, too abstract, and too ambitious to contain. Audiences were confused and critics sceptical, but with lines like “I love the smell of napalm in the morning” and the sheer impact of Marlon Brando's glistening skull, *Apocalypse Now* marked its place in cinematic history. Furthermore, the film's making has itself long since become mythic; the physical, emotional, and economic setbacks endured by Coppola, his cast, production crew, and family have been recorded both in textual form (Peter Cowie's *Apocalypse Now Book* [2000], Eleanor Coppola's *Notes* [1991], and Marlon Brando's *Brando: Songs My Mother Taught Me* [1992]) and in a documentary film (Eleanor Coppola's *Hearts of Darkness* [1991]). As a result, there seems little that either a new version of the film, let alone another film reviewer, could offer that has not already been said, implied, or inferred in the passage of time. Surprisingly, however, *Apocalypse Now Redux* does have something new to offer, especially for those who barely remember or never even experienced the original theatrical release on the big screen.

To begin with, the new version contains added dialogue and whole sequences that explicitly articulate the thematics of the absurd waste and amorality of war, the schizophrenia of human nature, and the ways in which the former illuminate the latter. Over and over, for example, characters meditate on the dual nature of man: “There are two of you, one that loves and one that kills,” Roxanne de Marais (Aurore Clément) tells Captain Willard (Martin Sheen) in a restored scene. The repetition of such contrived and sophomoric sentiments reminds the audience that *Apocalypse Now* was never a mere war film, never really “about Vietnam” (as Coppola himself announced at the press conference for the film at the Cannes Film Festival in 1979). Nor was it ever, for that matter, a satisfying translation of Conrad's colonial novella *Heart of Darkness*. The film aspired to more than a mere translation of that novel's exploration of imperial self-justification mapped out along the voyage up river in search of Kurtz. Yet, as much as the newly restored scenes so often bolster the abstract, aesthetic, and auteur-driven aspects of the film by protracting or contrasting what was already there, there are also moments whose inclusion, deletion, or sheer detail offer hints as to how America's relation to its history—both military and cinematic—has changed.

Perhaps the most interesting example of how the two versions might reflect sentiments specific to the eras in which they were released can be found in considering the restoration of scenes that take place at a French plantation. The sequence, which connects American involvement in Vietnam to the dark prece-

dents of French colonialism in the region, was apparently cut from the original release because it provided too much of a departure from the forward movement of narrative. But, in the new version, Willard and his crew pause on their journey upriver to investigate a landing. The river mist opens to reveal Philippe de Marais (Christian Marquand), a French plantation owner and colonial holdout. He is surrounded by his family and servants, virtually identical in affect and dress. He orders the Americans to lay down their guns. Willard and his crew, it turns out, have happened upon an anachronism. Long after French imperial power had abandoned Vietnam, De Marais and his family have remained, ghostly reminders of a bygone era. Refusing to relinquish their land and their habits, the De Marais family engage in formal dinners replete with fine wines and exquisite dishes.

It is during such a dinner that Philippe de Marais offers Willard a lesson in history. Willard wonders why De Marais and his family have chosen not to return to France. De Marais explains that the French understand Indochina; it is their home. The American effort, on the other hand, strikes de Marais as pointless. The Americans created the Viet Minh, proof that they are fighting an empty war. The line, "You Americans fight for the biggest nothing in history," was written by Coppola for the 1979 release; it was not heard until 2001. But it is still difficult to get behind the why of that truth.

Marais's utterance remains embedded in that protracted sequence set at the plantation. Is the American audience now able to accept a truer version of its own history, even if more complex? Or was a history lesson lost in the interest of streamlining a confused and meandering film? The answer, or at least an answer, must lie in the imbrication of the two. There is something simpler about leaving Willard and company on the boat, about cutting de Marais, his family, and his sentiments from the film. And there is something messy, unresolved, confused about what results when such sequences are restored. As a result, *Redux* seems truer to the politically weary though perhaps canner audience of the twenty-first century. In the wake of Oliver Stone's repeated attempts to revise history, of the now myriad treatments of the Vietnam War itself—from Stanley Kubrick's *Full Metal Jacket* (1987) to Walt Disney's *Operation Dumbo Drop* (1995) to Terence Malick's *Thin Red Line* (1998; clearly a thinly disguised Vietnam War film despite its ostensible subject)—what version of history could the American public not accept, especially when uttered by a crazy old French patriarch?

Interestingly, both the plantation sequence and another notable restoration, in which Willard procures time with the Playboy Bunnies for his companions by trading a tank of fuel, spotlight the role of women. The plantation scene ends with Willard and Roxanne in bed. The Bunny sequence finds Chef (Frederick Forrest) and Lance B. Johnson (Sam Bottoms) paired with the women, now stranded at a remote Medevac camp.

The once idolized centerfolds are reduced to mere chattel in an economy whose motives and meanings clearly escape them. Perhaps, in some awkward handling of metaphor, these women provide one half of yet another dyad. Perhaps their presence is intended to be read literally, to broaden the scope of Coppola's subject. Women, after all, are affected by war as well; women's place had always secured the colonial order in imperialist regimes. Above all, scenes like that between Roxanne and Willard or between Chef and the centerfold of his dreams provide departures in tone, mood, and setting from the seemingly relentless onslaught of helicopters, shells, and gunfire. They lend the film a sense of balance; and the subtlety with which, in particular, the exchanges between Roxanne and Willard are shot borders on the startling.

But if Coppola is vague on the question of gender, he is clear in the matter of race. Perhaps more obvious now than during its original run is the truly ancillary role granted to African Americans—as actors, characters, and soldiers. Poignancy surrounds the death of young Tyrone Miller (Laurence "Larry" Fishburne)—his mother's cassette-recorded "letter" plays in the background. Yet both he and Chief Phillips (Albert Hall), the film's only other African-American character of note, are sacrificed during the journey to Kurtz's compound. More telling, perhaps, is the way in which these characters figure in the Playboy Bunny sequence. Chief opts to stay with the boat; Tyrone, on the other hand, is seen repeatedly demanding his share of time with women to whom he is never granted access. The film's callous treatment of African Americans—the refusal of miscegenation, its rendering of that refusal as a source of comic relief, and the representation of black Americans as expendable in narrative and other terms—is profoundly and disturbingly underscored in this new version.

Nevertheless, film critics have praised and welcomed the newly restored version, even speaking of its excesses with approving nostalgia. The critical reception stands in marked contrast to 1979, when Vincent Canby charged that the film's effect was of "something borrowed and not yet fully understood." And so this time around, Coppola has been lucky. *Apocalypse Now Redux* opened in limited release on August 15 and entered wider release a week later. One cannot help but wonder how the film's jaded view of American military history, of military engagement in some grand synecdochic way, would have been received, if *Apocalypse Now Redux* had been scheduled for release in the wake of September 11. In a climate dominated by newfound patriotism, in which the media has been censured and antiwar sentiments reach barely a whisper, would critics have hesitated to embrace a film that reveled in exposing the senselessness of war? Or would the demise of Kurtz have triggered a kind of catharsis and left audiences exulting in the assassination of a power-mad, self-made demigod?

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

METHODS/THEORY

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Other Books Received

The following books were recently received in the AHR office. Books listed here do not include works scheduled for review.

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ARTICLES

TO THE EDITOR:

As to the *AHR* debate (106, June 2001) between John Bodnar ("*Saving Private Ryan* and Postwar Memory in America") and Jay Winter ("Film and the Matrix of Memory"), the palm of victory goes to Winter, who very correctly points out the oversimplifications found in Bodnar's use of the concept "collective memory."

And I would add that several of Bodnar's exaggerated conclusions further weaken his essay. For example, he flatly asserts (p. 809) that the violence and trauma of World War II "showed Americans that their fellow citizens were as capable of inflicting brutality as citizens of other nations." Oh? How many Buchenwalds were operated by Americans? How many civilians suffered at the hands of American soldiers, as Chinese civilians were murdered by the invading Japanese? How many Bataan death marches were engineered by Americans? How many civilians were hanged from telephone poles as Russians were by the invading Germans? While the post-World War II films correctly poked holes in the patriotic veneer of the Office of War Information films, revealing instances where some Americans violated "the rules," never was there the *systematic* brutality that too often characterized the German and Japanese campaigns. And the current scholarly debates over Hiroshima/Nagasaki, while intense, are hardly equally divided between the contending interpretations.

Bodnar follows this with his thesis, "after 1945, recognizing the war's incredible scale of brutality caused ordinary Americans and *probably* [emphasis added] people elsewhere to connect the cruelty of warfare with other forms of malevolence in their lives and society. Once war exposed how savage men could be, it did not take much of a cultural leap to see that everyone [!] was threatened by warlike behavior wherever it was manifested" (p. 810). Such connective leaps by Bodnar are astounding and deserve more detailed analysis than would be permitted in a short letter to the editor. But he might just consider such post-World War II factors as the expanding drug culture, the long and seemingly directionless Vietnam War, the explosive civil rights movement, and the worldwide struggle between the democratic West and Soviet authoritarianism as each being significantly more important in Americans focusing on various forms of post-World War II "malevolence" than any memories of World War II violence, even when that violence was temporarily heightened by certain films. "Public anxiety over victimization," to use Bodnar's phrase, in the postwar era can more easily be explained by events of that era rather than by some cinematic and possible psychological connection to World War II itself.

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John Bodnar does not wish to reply.

THE EDITORS

ERRATUM

In the October 2001 issue, p. 1328, the review of Aaron Forsberg's book gave the title incorrectly: the book is *America and the Japanese Miracle: The Cold War Context of Japan's Postwar Economic Revival, 1950-1960*, not *Americans*. Our reviewer, Roger Buckley, regrets the error.

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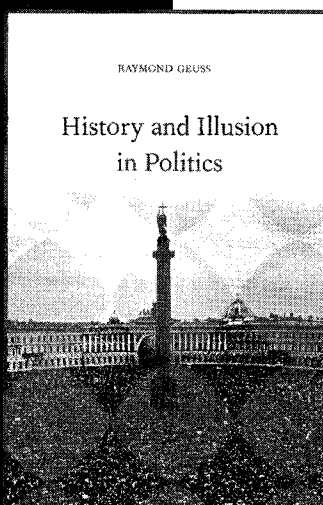
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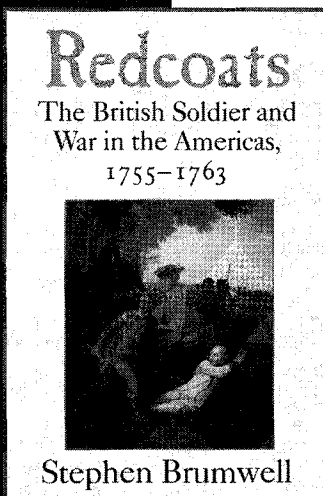
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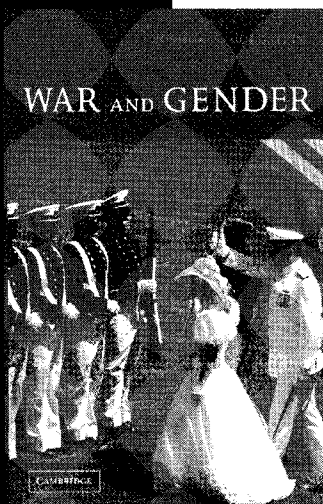


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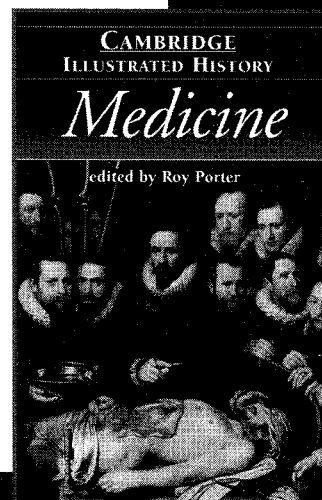
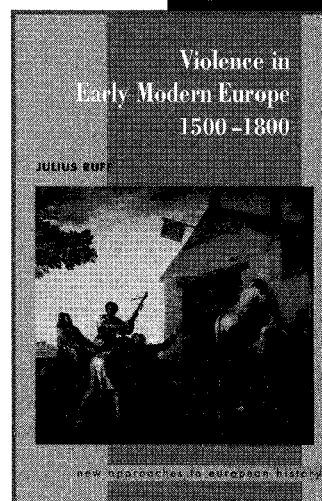
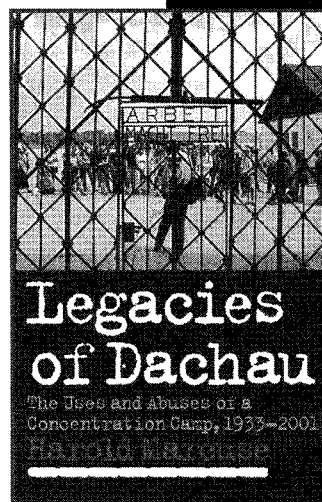
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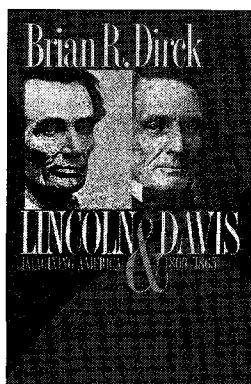


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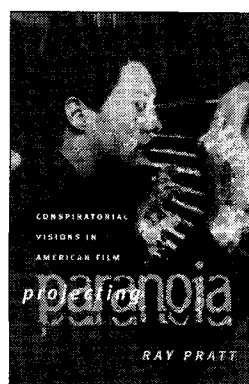
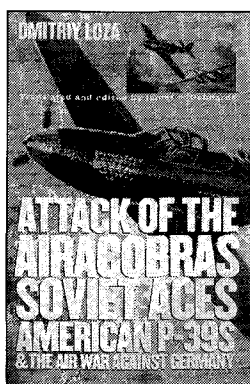
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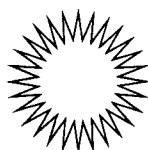
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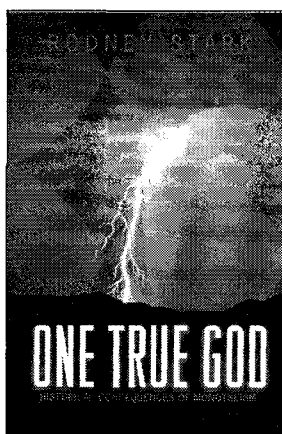
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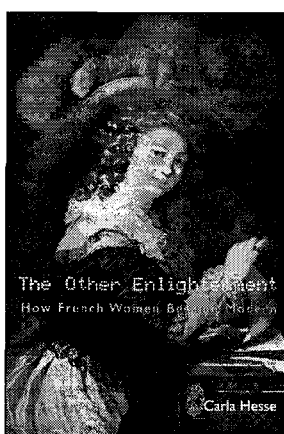
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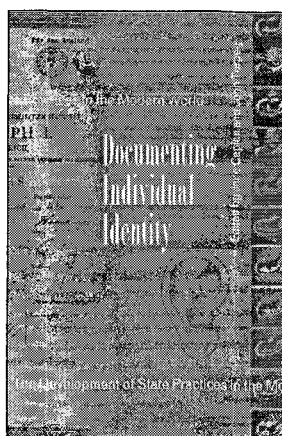
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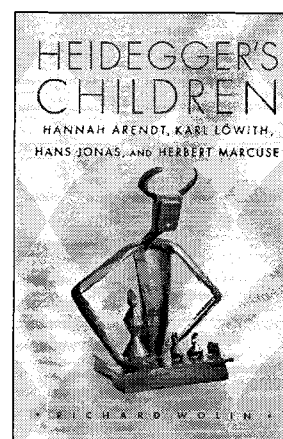
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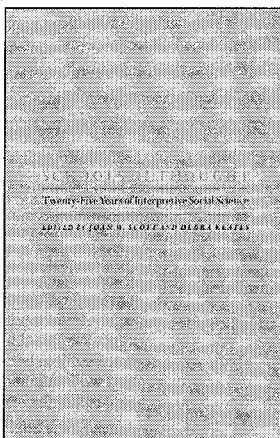
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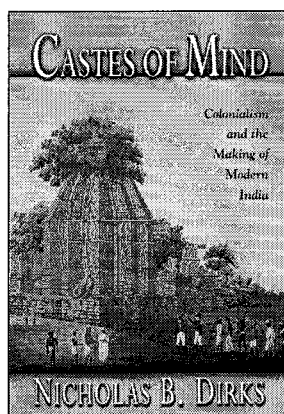
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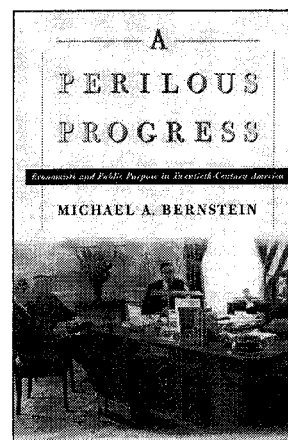
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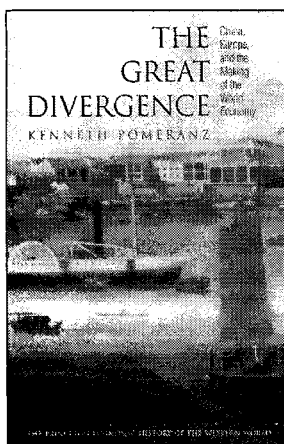


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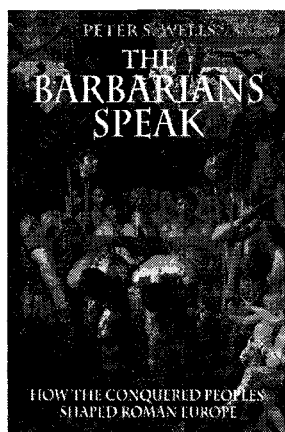
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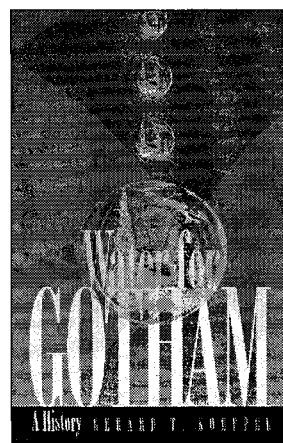
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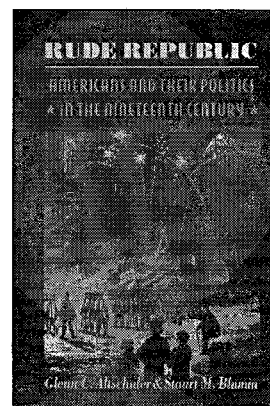
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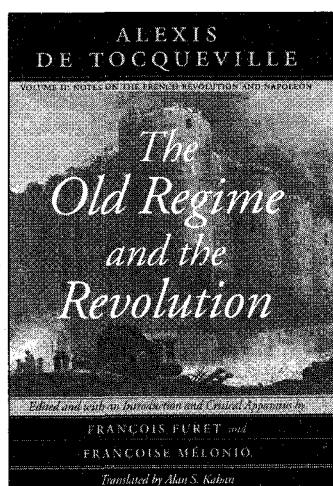
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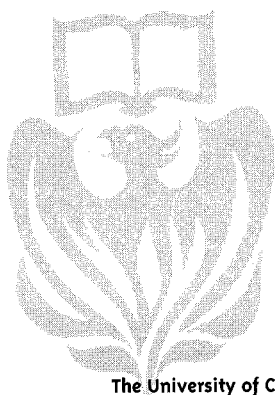
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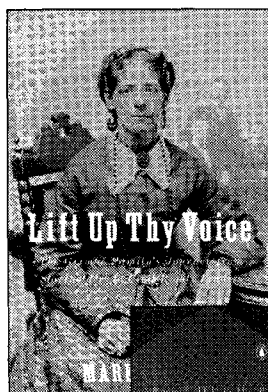
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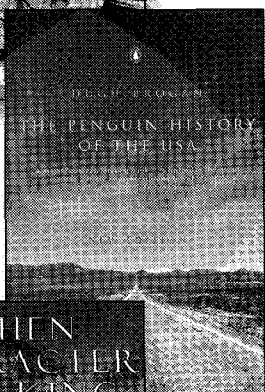


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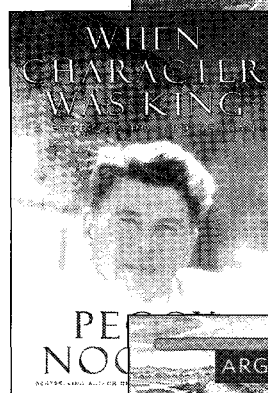
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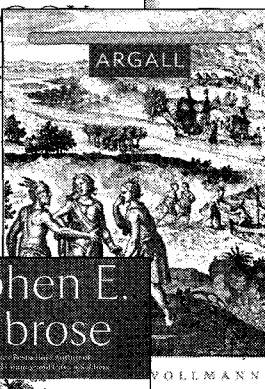
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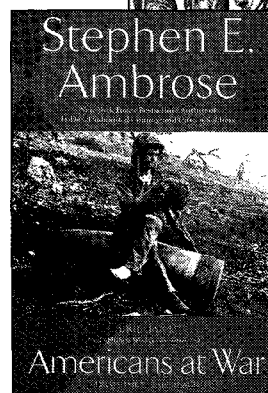
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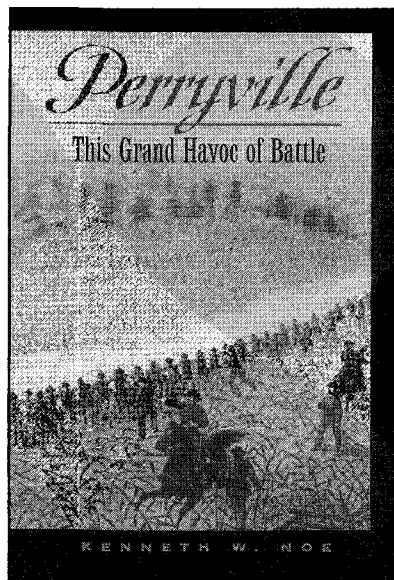
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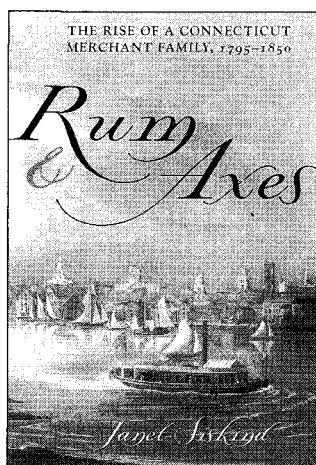
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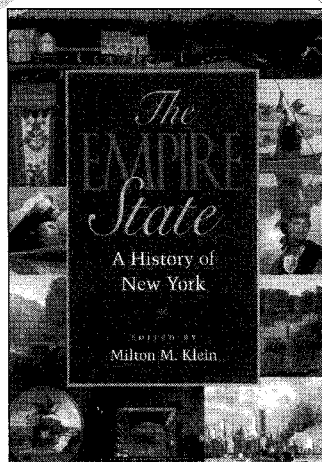
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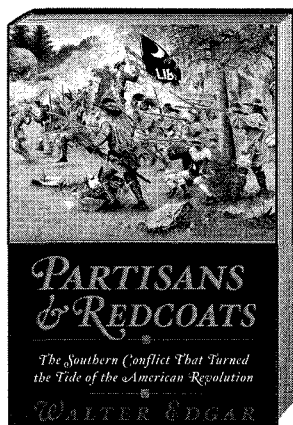
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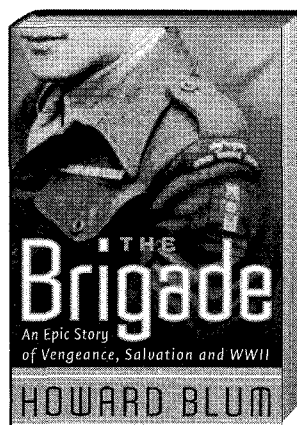
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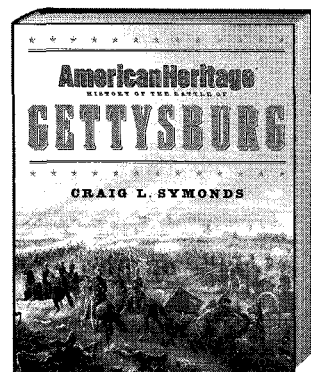
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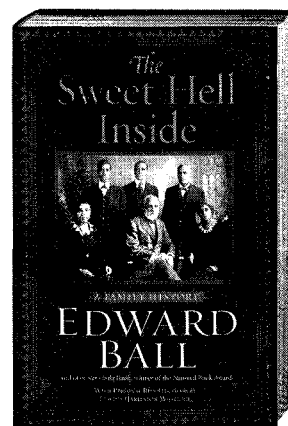
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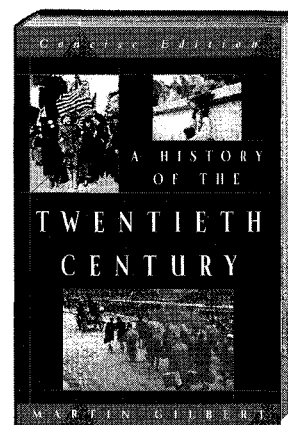
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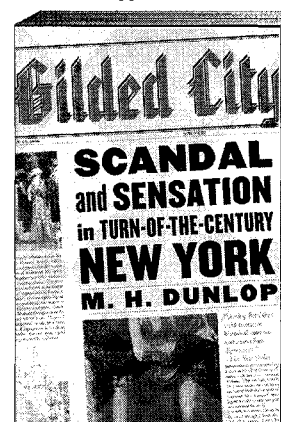
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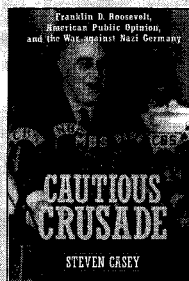
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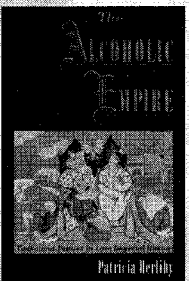
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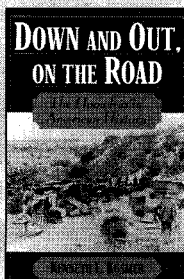
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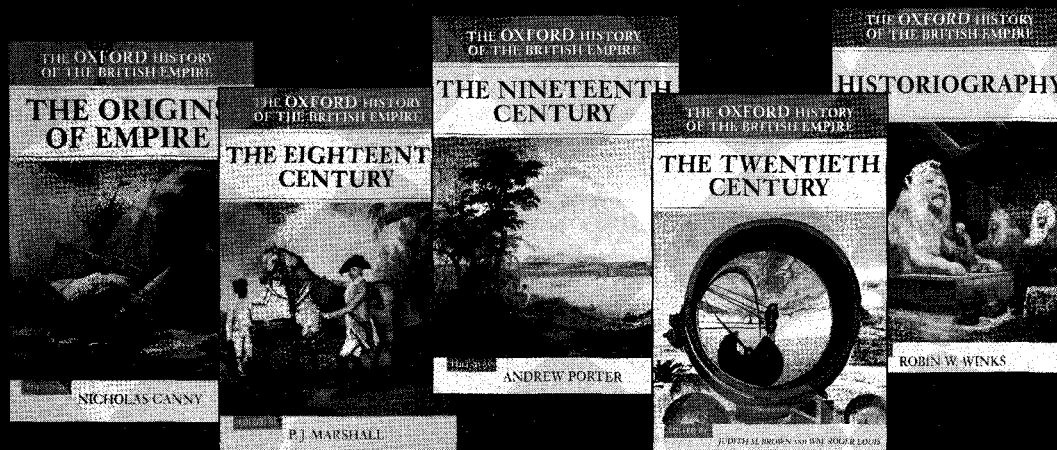
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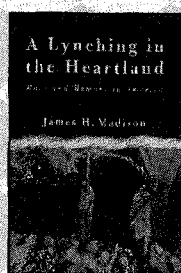
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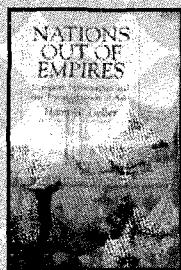
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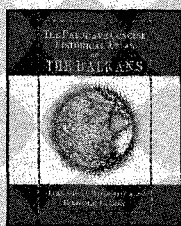
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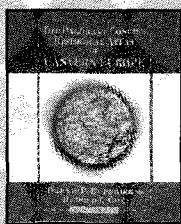
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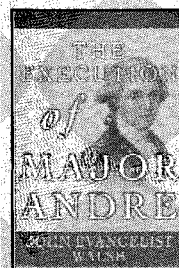
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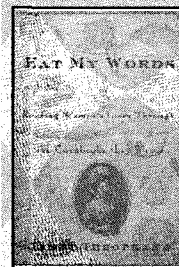
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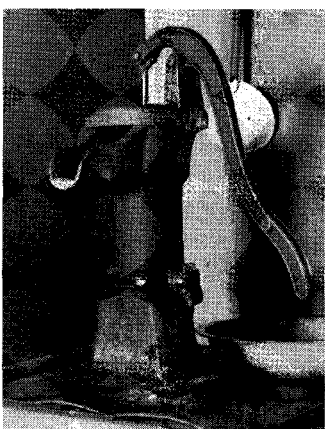
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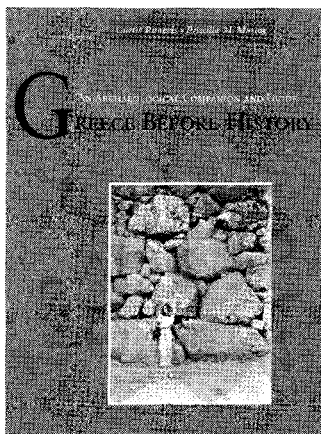
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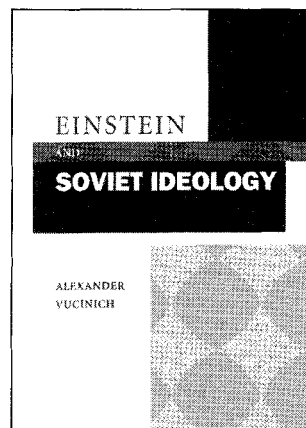
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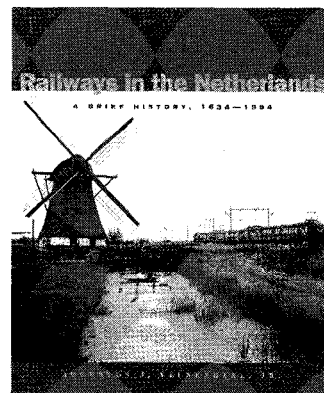
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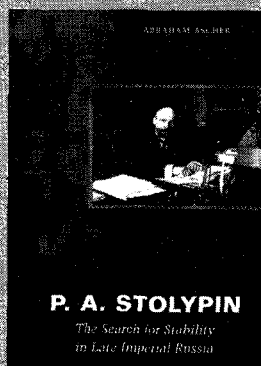
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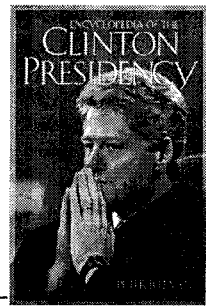
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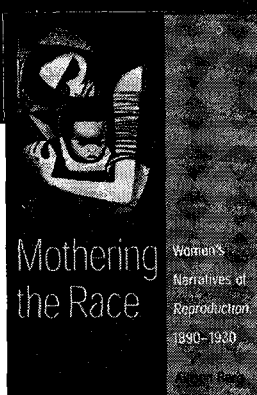
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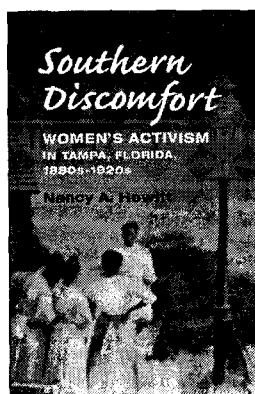
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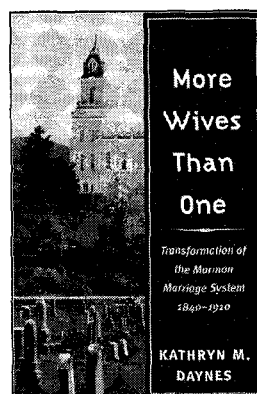
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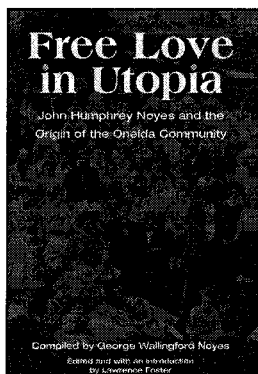
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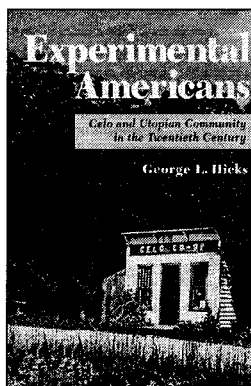
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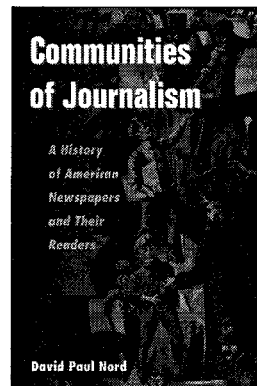
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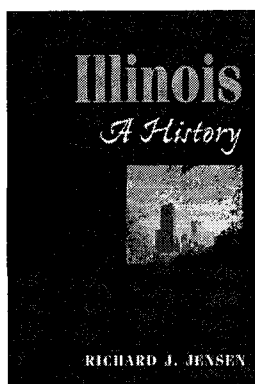
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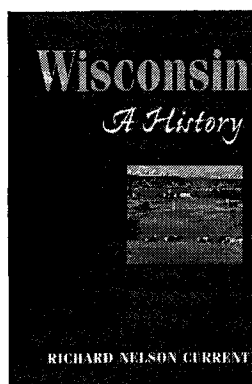
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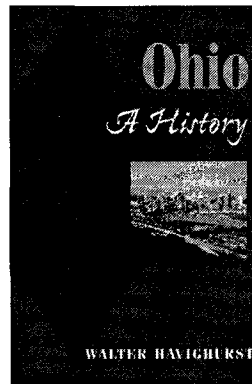
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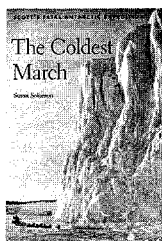
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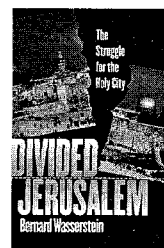
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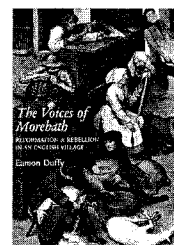
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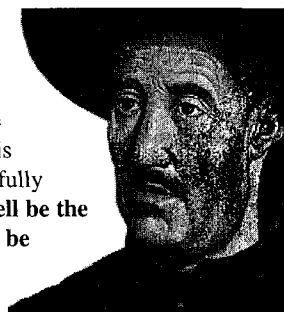
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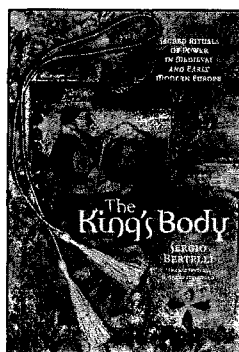
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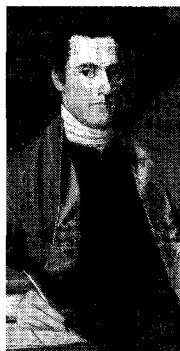
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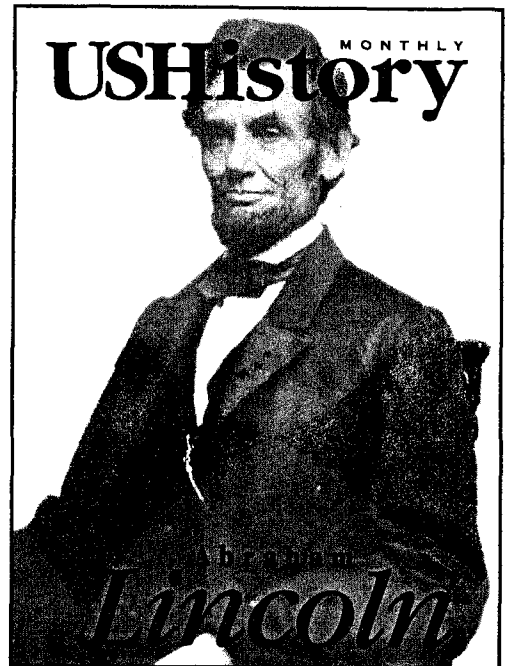
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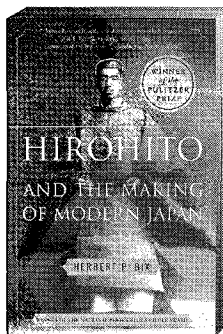
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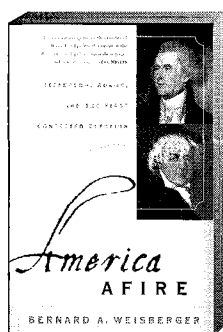
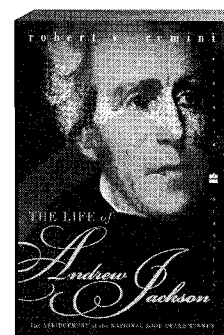
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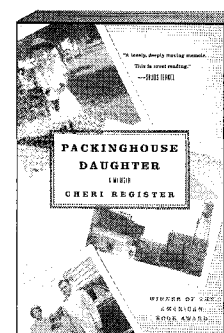
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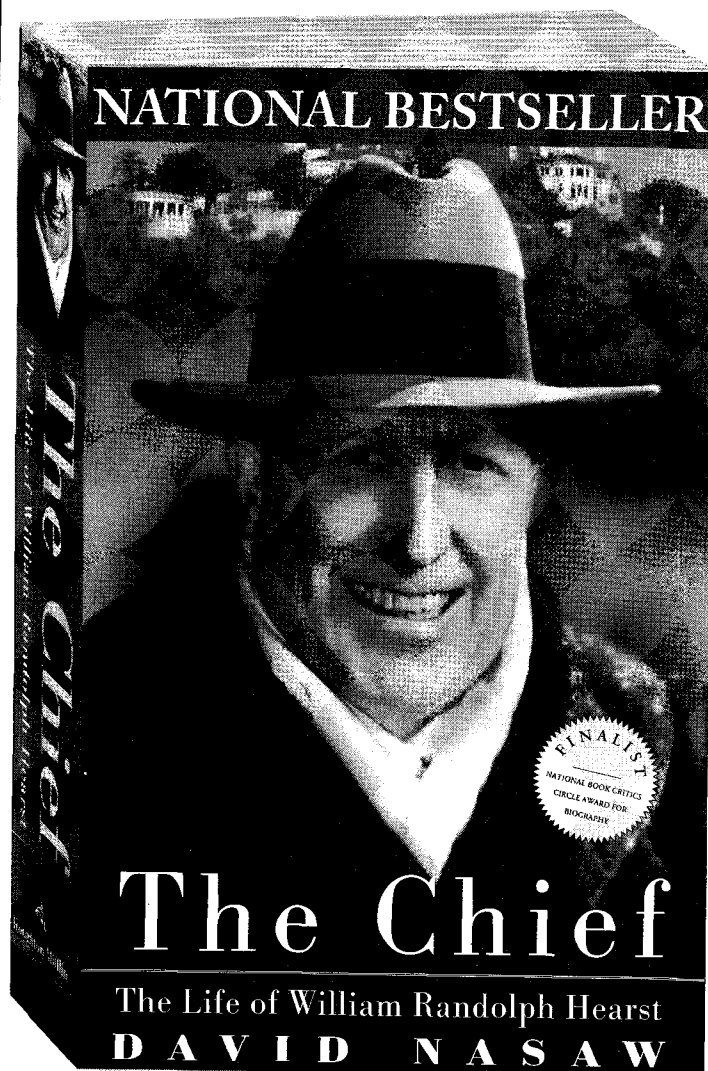
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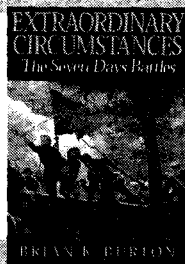


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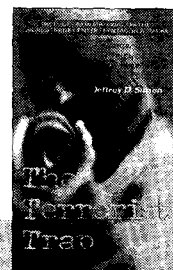
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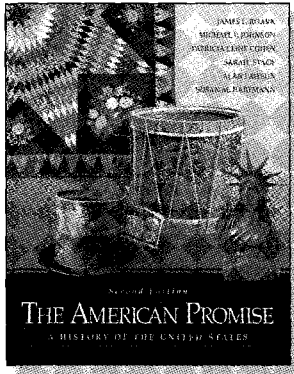
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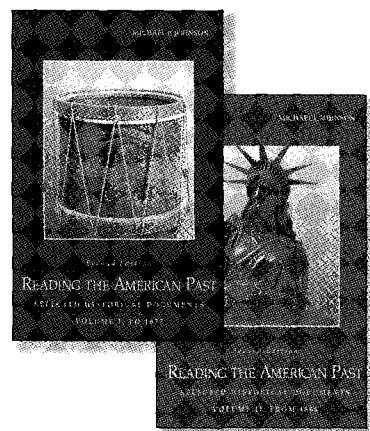
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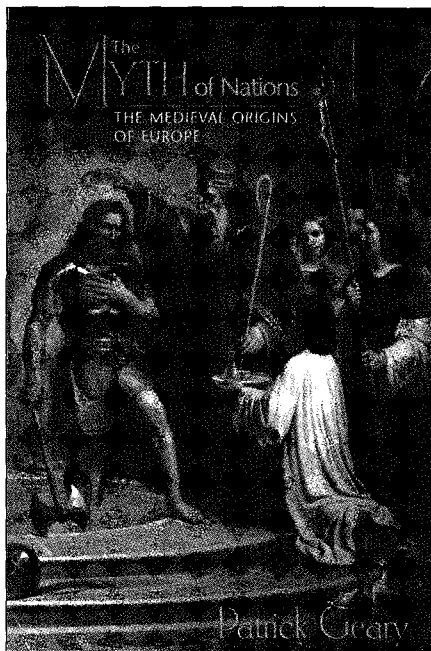
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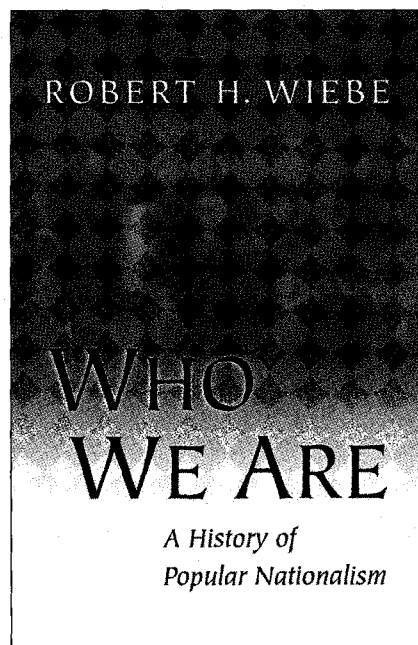
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